





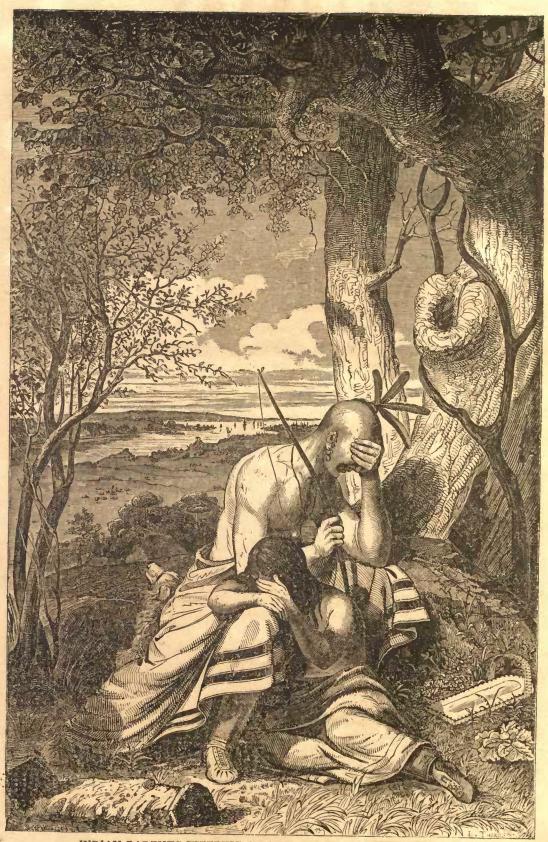


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AMERICAN HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Illustrated with numerous Engravings.

EDITED BY SAMUEL L. KNAPP.

VOL. II.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY A. NEAL & CO. NO. 15 ANN STREET. 1837.

STEREOTYPED BY JAMES TURNEY JR.

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TO VIAL MARCHIAD

BERNARD MOSES

PREFACE TO VOLUME SECOND.

In our first volume of THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, we have presented our readers with the biography of the carly navigators, from the pen of the accomplished scholar and excellent divine, Dr. Belknap; as also the history of South America, from the renowned historian Dr. Robertson. It was a fairy field, gleaned by a mighty magician, and can never fail of creating a deep interest in the minds of all classes of readers. To these splendid works we have added the two volumes of North American History, from the candid pen of Grahame; which brought down the chain of events from the first settlement of the colonies to the commencement of the reign of William and Mary. The space between that era and the one immediately preceding the revolution, has been supplied from several authorities of accredited correctness. From this period we have taken up Ramsay's lucid history, and continued it to the close of the first volume of our work; and shall go on with it until he closes his immortal labours in 1807. From this date we shall continue the LIBRARY from choice works down to the present time, making free use of those abundant and rich materials which are to be found scattered everywhere in the pathway of the diligent scarcher after truth. Facts shine upon facts, and that which was once obscure becomes bright as day; and we trust that if a liberal patronage is extended to sustain us in these labours, that we shall be able to produce a work not only of reference, but of pleasant reading, in matters and things appertaining to our country, which has not heretofore been in our possession in any connexion with historical documents. The epochs in our history should follow each other in succession, in order that we may see distinctly the progress of intelligence among the people of the United States; for "in every country, whether ancient or modern, whose annals I have examined, I have found such indications of gradual advancement, that it has become the tendency of my mind to believe, that the history of the human species would, if sufficiently contemplated by the moral philosopher, with due regard to the principles and necessities of our nature, he found to exhibit from its earliest period a course of continuous improvement;" and in none more so than our own. We are the only nation who have no age of fable. The reord was made and kept, as soon as the deed was accomplished, and to do our fathers justice we should not suffer one word of that record to escape us.

THE EDITOR.



AMERICAN HISTORY:

CHAPTER XVIII.

Campaign of 1779.

Throughout the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connexions," they planned sun-

dry expeditions, on this principle. One of these, consisting of both a naval and land

force, was committed to Sir George Collver and General Matthews, who made a descent on Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Notfolk, on the opposite side of the river, tell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels; but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched 18 miles in the night, and, arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, navat stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was earried on at Kemp's landing. Shepherd's-gosport, Tanner's creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business, along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt, except the church, and one dwelling house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships was either earried off or destroyed. After demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store-houses, and other public buildings in the dock-yard at Gosport, the British embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia, distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed, that, by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power. against which they had not the means of defending themselves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence. Some pride as others gloried in their possessions. by the considerations which bias men in the lanthe sacrifices which enthusiastic patriotism is willling to make, proceeded in their schemes of distress: but the more extensively they carried on

ated to the re-union of the empire.

In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected agaiost the exposed margin of Connecticut. Gov. Tryon was appointed to the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by General Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collyer. They proceeded from New York, by the way of Hell-gate, and landed at East Haven. The royal commanders made an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated. "that their property lay within the grasp of that power, whose lenity had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation; that the existence of a single house, on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude; that they, who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance,

One of the many addresses, from which the above extract is taken, was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting, of the militia near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour, for his answer; but he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer: " Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the eruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost the power exerted against injured in-nocence." The British marched from their landing to New Haven. The town on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water side were covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen, who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly reembarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The toned state of the American mind, that property militia of that place and the vicinity, posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, hearty whigs gloried in their losses with as much but soon retreated to the back of the town. On the approach of the British, the town was evacu-British, supposing the Americans to be influenced ated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. guid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on They imagined that their sex would protect them.

this mode of warfare, the more obstacles they cre- of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants; broke open desks, trunks, elosets and chests, and took everything of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, honnets, aprons and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its clothing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they began to burn the houses. which they had previously plundered. The women begged General Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their requests: but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged, that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied; but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard consisting of German yeagers set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared; but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country, who successively came in to their aid; but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion, also burned East Haven, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandize, were destroyed. Particular aecounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to Congress. By these it appeared, that there were burnt at Norwalk, two houses of public worship, 80 dwelling houses, 87 burns, 22 stores, 17 shops, 3 mills, and 5 vessels: and at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, 15 dwelling houses, 11 barns, and several stores. There were, at the same time, a number of certificates transmitted to General Washington, in which sundry persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women and prisoners. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British, in this and other similar expeditions, resolved; "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures, to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging the enemy in Great Britain or the the West Indies:" but their resolve was never earried into effect.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of love and attachment to the British nation, felt the keenest sensations

but the latter filled them with distress, not only sides of the North River. for what they suffered, but for the degradation of sisting of 200 intantry and 150 cavalry, under the proached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, a country they revered as the natal soil of their command of Colonel Anthony Walton. White, passnapped her teeth, dropped her head between her forefathers. The one ennobled the British name trolled constantly, for several months in front of legs, and was evidently on the point of springing treal, Quebec, and the whole province of Canada. Sound, and on the North River. This corps, had soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Have The other was remarkable only for the burning of sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and ing refreshed himself, he again descended, and magazines, store-houses, dock-yards, the towns of was particularly useful in checking their excur-Fairfield and Norwalk, and for the general distress of a defenceless peasantry.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologised for by the British in a very unsatisfactory manner. The latter, in their vindication, alleged that the houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions con-

cealed their retreat.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general, undertook the justification of the measure, on principles of policy. " I should be very sorry," said he, "if the destruction of these villages would be thought less reconcileable with humanity, than the love of my country, my duty to the king, and the laws of arms. The usurpers have proand the laws of arms. tessedly placed their hopes, of severing the empire, in avoiding decisive actions; upon the waste of the British treasures; and upon the escape of their own property, during the protraction of the war. Their power is supported, by the general dread of their tyranny and threats, practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in our forbearance: I wish to deteet this delusion." These devastations were the subject of an elegant poem, written on the spot, a tew days afterwards, by Colonel Humphreys.

While the British were proceeding in these de solating operations, Washington was called upon for continental troops; but he could spare very iew. He durst not detach largely; as he appre hended that one design of the British in these movements was, to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though, from his small force, he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, vet, instead of pressing General Washington for a large detacliment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they will commit: but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point.

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margit of their country, 120 miles in extent, would suifer the fate of Fairfield and Norwala. The season of the year added much to their difficulties; as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted, without hazarding their subsistence. These fears were not of long dara tion. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their imnediate return to New York. This they effected, in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that, in the whole expedition, it did not exceed

one hundred and fifty men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, by means of their superior marine force, having the cormand of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, led it in their power to make deseems, where they pleased, with on expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risk no more by way of covering the country, than was consistent with the geperal safety.

boast of the honours of their common country: British head quarters in New York, and on both, it in one hand, while he held the torch with the ligence of their movements.

About this time, General Putoam, who had been in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post, at out horses or drag-ropes. He however planted ger. He escaped in an adventure of one mahis cannon on the high ground, near the meetinghouse, and, by several fires, retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till ty, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommoshort, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of except one, which went through his hat. He pro-

ed Gov. Tryon on his return.

[ISRAEL PUTNAM, a major-general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigor- at a small distance, in a circle round him. They ons, but it was never cultivated by education. When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his savage voices. They then set the piles on fire size. After bearing his sareasms until his good nature was entirely exhausted, he attacked and they strove to kindle it; at last the blaze ran vanquished the unmannerly fellow, to the great fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon bediversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping, and wrestling, he almost always bore away the prize. In 1739, he removed to Pomsiderable tract of land. He had, however, to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles, not the least. In one night seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she wolf, who, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the ha-voe, Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with to all he held most dear. To quit the world would a number of his neighbours to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her. At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons tie endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soon collected with guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. But the dogs were afiaid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the eave, and shoot the wolf; but as the negro declined, he resolved was quitting its last hold on sublinary things. to do it binuself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern, head foremost, with a blazing torch, made of strips man victim immolated, had run and communicated of birch bark, in his hand. He descended fifteen the tidings. That commandant spurned and sefeet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees, in an abode which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly cele rity, and violence, which not a little bruised him.

The rear thereof, con- other, he descended, a second time. As he apwith the conquest of Crown Point, Oswego, Mon- the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and seized the wolf by her ears, kicked the rope, and sions, and in procuring and communicating intel- his companions above, with no small exultation dragged them both out together.

During the French war he was appointed to stationed with a respectable command at Reading, command a company of the first troops which were raised in Connectiont, in 1755. He render Horse-Neek, was attacked by Governor Tryon, ed much service to the army in the neighbourhood with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a of Crown Point. In 1756, while near Ticonde picquet of 150 men and two iron field pieces, with roga, he was repeatedly in the most imminent dewith twelve bullet-holes in his blanket. In A gust he was sent out with several hundred men o watch the motions of the enemy. Being ambuhe perceived the enemy's horse, sopported by the caded by a party of equal numbers, a general, beinfantry, was about to charge. General Putnam, irregular action took place. Putnam had discharater ordering the picket to provide for their safeged his fusee several times, but at length it misses fire while its muzzle was presented to the breast or plunged down the precipice at the church. This a savage. The warrior with his lifted hatche, is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of and a tremendous war-whoop, compelled him to surrender, and then bound him to a tree. In the dation of foot-passengers. The dragoons stopped course of the action the parties changed their pe sition, so as to bring this tree directly between them. The balls flew by him incessantly; many struck the tree, and some passed through has the many balls that were fired at him, all missed clothes. The enemy now gained possession of the ground, but being afterwards driven from the ceeded to Stanford, and having strengthened his field, they carried their prisoners with them. At picquet with some militia, faced about, and pursu- night he was stripped, and a fire was kindled to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, and bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still gan to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, fret, in Connectiont, where he cultivated a con- at the very idea of which, all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his in human tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium the depredations of wolves on his sheep-fold was of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, so far as the cirsearcely have cost him a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domessoul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence. beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past: nature, with a feeble struggle, when a French officer rushed through the crowd. opened a way by scattering the burning brands and unbound the victim. It was Molang kimself, to whom a savage, unwilling to see another linverely reprimanded the barburians, whose nocturnal powwas and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratifude, The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained till he could safely deliver him into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding that he could not chew them on account of the blow he His army was posted at some distance from Loading has gun with nine buck shot, and carrying had received from the Frenchman, this more hu-

mane savage seaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive, the refreshment being finished, he took the moccasins from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists; then ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree: the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner: his legs were stretched apart, and fastened to two suplings. Then a number of tall, but slender bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could convemently find lodging, in order to prevent the possipunful posture he remained till morning. During the night, the longest and most dreary conreivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a my of cheerfulness come easnally across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludierous group for a painter, of friends! and, John, if you, my son, are called which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and more asins, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Tieonderoga, and the prisoner was officer should act in opposition, privately conveyplaced under the care of a French guard.

The savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took this opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de

the greatest indulgence and lumanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a provincial major in his that day. custody. He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition, without coat, waistcoat, or hose: the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged, his beard long and squalid, his legs torn and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irent with the prudence of a prisoner, and the meekmass of a christian. Major Putnam was immediitely treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by this liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed; and by his assistance he was soon after exchanged.

When General Amberst was marching across the country to Canada, the army coming to one of the likes, which they were obliged to pass, found the Freuch had an armed vessel of twelve guns upon a. He was in great distress, his boats were no match for her, and she alone was capable of sinking his whole army in that situation. While he was pondering what should be done, Putnam comes to him, and says, "General, that ship must in taken." "Ay," says Amherst, "I would give the world she was taken." "I'll take her." says Putnam. Amherst smiled, and asked how ! " Give me some wedges, a beetle, (a large wooden linnmer, or maul, used for driving wedges,) and a few men of my own choice." Amherst could not con-ceive how an armed vessel was to be taken by iour or five men, a beetle and wedges. However, ine granted Putoam's request. When night came, Putnam, with his materials and men, went in a boat under the vessel's stern, and in an instant drove in the wedges between the rudder and ship. and left her. In the morning, the sails were seen fluttering about: she was adrift in the middle of the lake; and being presently blown ashore, was easily taken.

At the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, Colonel Putnam, on hearing of the battle at Lexington, left his plough in the middle of the field, and without changing his clothes, repaired to Cambridge, riding in a sindirecting him to lie down on his back on the bare gle day one hundred miles. He was soon appointed a major-general in the provincial army, and returning to Connecticut, he made no delay in bringing on a body of troops.

Among other examples of patriotism that might be related, the following is from a living witness. poles were cut down, which, with some long The day that the report of the battle of Lexington reached Barustable, a company of militia immediately assembled and marched off to Cambridge. In the front rank there was a young man, the son bulty of his escape. In this disagreeable and of a respectable farmer, and his only child. In marching from the village, as they passed his portant events, was distinguished by one of the house, he came out to meet them. There was a most gallant enterprises, which took place in the house, he came out to meet them. momentary halt. The drum and fife paused for an instant. The father, suppressing a strong and evident emotion, said, "God be with you all, my into battle, take care that you behave like a man, or else let me never see your face again!" tear started into every eye, and the march was resumed.

Not long after his appointment, the commander of the British army, unwilling that so valuable an ed to him a proposal, that if he would quit the rebel party, he might rely on being made a major-general in the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services; the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry but he spurned the offer. On the 16th of June, gestures; but they were suffered no more to offer 1775, it was determined, in a council of war, at which General Putnam assisted, that a fortified post should be established at, or near Bunker's Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Mon-Hill. General Putnam marched with the first detreal by a French officer, who treated him with tachment, and commenced the work: he was the principal agent or engineer who traced the lines of Colonel the redoubt, and he continued most, if not all the night, with the workmen; at any rate, he was on the spot before sun-rise in the morning, and had taken his station on the top of Bunker's Hill, and participated in the danger, as well as the glory of

When the army was organized by General Washington at Cambridge, General Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In Aug. 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the by thorps and briers, his face gashed with wounds, defeat of our army, on the 27th of that month, he went to New-York, and was very serviceable in ritated beyond all sufference at such a sight, could the city and neighbourhood. In October or Noscarcely restrain his speech within limits consist- vember, he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick. might be sent for, to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and did not wish to have his weakness known: but yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He, however sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported, that General Putnam's army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men. In the spring, he was appointed to the command of a separate army, in the highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp: Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply:

" Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and he shall be hanged as a spy. "[SRAEL PUTNAM."

"P. S. Asternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of fort Montgomery, the commander in chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed General Putnam to fix on a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retarement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind.

He died at Brookline, Connecticut, May 29,

1790, aged seventy-two years.

Rogers' Amer. Biog. Dic.1

The campaign of 1779, though barren of imcourse of the war. This was the capture of Stoney Point on the North river. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, at noon, on the 15th of July, set out at the head of a strong detachment, of the most active infantry in A the American army, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment, being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half past eleven, the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of 150 volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fluery, advanced with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were particularly instruct ed to remove the abbatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart. and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended. The works were defended by a deep morass which was also at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass. the double row of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. General Wayne as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball; but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason, "that if he died, he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to ninety-eight. The killed of the garrison were sixty-three, and the number of their prisoners 513. Two flags two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumph to the American. Congress gave their thanks to General Washington, "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states, and which were, among many other signal intances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprise." They also gave thanks to General Wayne, and ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck. and presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, and another to Major Stewart. At the same time they passed general resolutions, in honour of the officers and men, but particularly designating Lieuten

Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid-de-

camp, they gave the rank of captain.

The elemency shown to the vanquished, was universally applanded. The customs of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwaik, would have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garrison to the sword; but the assailants no less generous than brave, ceased to destroy, as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon the capture of Stoney-Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with effect, that the ship ping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post, and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautions prudence of Washington, to risk an engagement for either or both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stoney Point on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprize of the Americans at Stoney Point, was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Paulus Hook, opposite to New York, which was effected by Major Lee, with about 350 men. Major Sutherland, the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block-house, on the left of the fort; but about 30 of his men were killed, and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable, Major Lee in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congress honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair, to be struck, and presented to him as a reward, "for his prudence, address, and bravery." They also passed resolutions applauding his humanity, and expressing their high sense of the good conduct of his troops; and at the same time ordered a considerable donation in money to be distributed among them.

These advantages were more than counterbalaneed, by an unsuccessful attempt, made by the state of Massachusetts, on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel Macleane, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, landed with a detachment of 650 men, from Halifax on the banks of Penobscot river, in the eastern confines of New England, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a wellchosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston. To counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors, might be secured for an expedition which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for forty days was laid by the state of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of 18 armed vessels, besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of Commodore Saltonstal. The largest vessel in this fleet was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces, com-manded by General Lovel, embacked on this expedition. On the 25th of July, the American fleet, consisting of 37 sail, appeared off Penobscot. Colonel Macleane had four days before gained information of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched. The remaining two were in no part above five feet high. The ditch was only about three feet deep. There was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. the colonel to sufrender, which being refused, he transactions which took place in their own limits. Among these people, the royal emissaries had sucproceeded to creet a battery at the distance of 570 In the year 1779, though the war was carried on cessfully planted the standard of loyalty; and of

ant Colonel Fluery, Major Stewart, Lieutenants yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept for little more than distress or depredation, in the up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparation for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, Sir George Collyer appeared in full view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy Hook, on hearing of the intended attack on Colonel Macleane's party, and in about eleven days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the Raisonnable, of 64 guns, and five frigates. The Americans at first made a show of resistance; but they intended no more, than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing, and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the Raisonnable was irresistible. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other, took place. Sir George destroyed and took seventeen or eighteen armed vessels. American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

While the war languished as to great objects in the country where it originated, it was raging on a new element, and involving distant countries in its a considerable body of militia was ordered to join wide spreading flame. Hostilities, between the fleets of France and Great Britain, were carrying on in both the Indies, and in the European seas, as well as on the coast of America. His Most Catholic Majesty was also, about this time, induced to take a decided part with France, against Great

To the surprise of many, the Marquis D' Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a manifesto to Lord Viscount Weymouth amounting to a declaration of war against Great Britain. This event had often been predicted by the minority in the British parlirment; but disbelieved by the ministry. The latter reasoned, "that Spain could have no interest in joining their adversaries; that she had colonies of her own, and could not set so bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans," It was also said "that Spain was naturally attached to Great Britain." They were so far imposed upon by their eagerness to effect the conquest of the United States, as to believe that to be true which they wished to be so. The event proved, that the politics of foreign powers, are not reducible to fixed principles. times one interest clashes with another; and it is not always the case that the strongest preponder-Whether the influence of the French counsels, or the prospect of recovering Gibralter, Jamaica, and Florida, or the pressure of recent injuries, determined the court of Spain to adopt this measure, it is impossible with certainty to decide; but circumstances make it probable, that the hope of regaining Gibralter and Jamaica was the principal inducement.

The situation of Great Britain was at this time truly distressing. She was weakened and distracted by an unnatural war, in which victory produced no advantages; but defeat all its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revolted colonics, though without foreign aid, was doubtful, she was suddenly involved in a new and much more dangerons war, with one of the greatest powers in Europe. At the very time, while she was engaged in this double warfare, against old friends and old enemies, his Most Catholic Majesty added his

force to that of her numerous foes.

In this situation, a dereliction of the American war was recommended, by some leading characters in the nation; but every proposition of that kind was overruled; and assurances, from both houses of parliament, were given to his majesty, "to support him in carrying on the war against all his enemies.

From these events, which only affected the United States, as far as they increased the embar-

northern states, the re-establishment of British government was scriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the king's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East Florida, and the whole was put under the command of Major General Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adja-There were at that time but few concent states. tinental troops in Georgia, or South Carolina, and scarcely any in North Carolina; as during the late tranquility in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army, commanded by Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North Carolina, to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops: but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, General Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South Carolina, was appointed by Congress, to take the command of their southern army.

This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, him; but they added much more to his numbers,

than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience. necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. The first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, being detached with this view, landed on the island; but General Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove them off. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well served by a party of Charleston militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed. and twenty-two wounded. Among the former, was Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South Carolina who lost his life in supporting his independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise, to the northward of Savannah; but they fixed posts at Ebenezer, and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. They also endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by reinforcements from the tories, in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that, if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority, as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty, than for the honour and an interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of the colonies, which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of of civil society. While the war raged the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects The American general on his landing, summoned rassments of Great Britain, I return to relate the of exemption from the control of government.

the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied, and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering the defenceless settlements, through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately pursued, and came up with them, near Kettle-creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour. The to-ries were totally routed. About forty of them were killed; and in that number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action, the British were disconcerted. The tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South Carolina for offending against an act, called the sedition act, which had been passed since the revolution, for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die; but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black-swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts, he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with the view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design General Ash, with 1500 North Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar-creek: but in a few days he was surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, who, having made a circuitous march, of about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on his rear, with about 900 men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and 162 were taken. Few had any chance of escaping, but by crossing the Savannah; in attempting which, many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp, did not exceed 450 men. The few continentals under Colonel Elbert, made a brave resistance; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived General Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British the Indians, and the tories of North and South

Inexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were subject to those reverses of fortune, which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprised, and had to learn by repeated misfortunes the necessity of subordination, and the advantages of watchfulness and discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable: but such is the difference of the state of society, and of the population, in the old and new world, that in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with those, which, in Europe, would have called into the field as many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and of five hundred millions of acres of land; and yet, from the remote situation of the invading powers, and the thin population of the invaded states, especially in the southern extreme of the union, this momentous question was materially affeeted by the consequences of battles, in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The series of disasters, which had followed the American arms, since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned well-founded appre-hensions for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was

that class was a great proportion of those, who, in raised. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almost unanimous vote, and, in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome, invested, in conjuction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia, near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness, to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purrysburgh and Black-swamp, while General Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended 150 miles, towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina, over the same river, near to its mouth with about 2400 men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured were associated with them on this expedition. The superior British force, which crossed Savannah river, soon compelled General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of Sourh Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached 300 of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie; but proceeded with the main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that General Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina; and because his marching down, on the south side of the river Savannah, would occasion but little additional delay, in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Prevost was seriously pushing for Charleston, he re-crossed the Savannah, and pursued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea coast, with but little opposition; and in the mean time, the Americans retreated before them, towards Charleston. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and, above all, the dread of the Indian savages, who accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charleston. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace. at all events. They also stated that Charleston was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances, combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced General Prevost to extend his plan, and push for Charleston. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march, with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main; but he halted two or three days, when advanced near half the distance. In that interval, every preparation was made by the South Carolinians, for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suberbs were burnt. Lines and abbatis were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula, between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected; yet in a few days, great preparations were made, and a force of 3300 men assembled in Charleston for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the south side of Ashly river, an advanced detachment of 900 men crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the meantime, Lincoln was marching on as fast as possible, for the relief of Charleston; but as his arrival was doubtful, and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality, during the war between Great Britain and America: and that the question, whether the state shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers." The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted, that as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault; but it was not attempted. In the night of the same day, Major Benjamin Huger, commanding a party without the lines, was, through mistake killed by his countrymen. This was a loss indeed. The liberality. generosity and public spirit, which distinguished him as a citizen, added to great political and military talents, rendered his untimely death the subject of universal regret. By his fall, the country was deprived of one of its firmest and most useful friends, and the army last one of its brightest ornaments. Prevost, learning by an intercepted letter that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charleston, and filed off with his whole force from the main, to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the victnity of Charleston, watching each others' motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about 1200 Americans on 6 or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The latter had redoubts with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals; and the whole was secured with an abbatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James Island. with a body of Charleston militia, at the moment when General Lincoln began the attack from the main; but, from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination, till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James Island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150. Among the former was Colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge among the less-informed American officers. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son, Captain Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword to his son, with an exhortation, to behave worthy of it, and to use it in the defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation, he desired him to return to his proper station, adding for reason, "that there he might be useful; but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations; and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent to Charleston, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-royal, and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place, under Colonel Maitland : but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause; but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army; and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. forces under the command of General Prevost, spread themselves over a considerable part of the

richest settlements of the state, and where there | ficers, who remonstrated against his continuing in are the fewest white inhabitants, in proportion to the number of slaves. There was much to attract, but little to resist the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house, and, unopposed, took whatever they chose. They not only rifled the inhabitants of household furniture, but of wearing apparel, moncy, rings, and other personal ornaments. Every place, in their line of march, experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair of Stono, the continental forces, under the command of Lincoln, retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet, on the coast, roused the whole country to immediate

Count D'Estaign, after repairing his ficet at Boston, sailed for the West Indies. Having received instructions from the king his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, and being strongly solicited by General Lincoln, President Lowndes, Governor Rutledge, and Mr. Plumbard, consul of France, in Charleston, he sailed from the West Indies, September 1st, for the American continent, with expectation of rendering essential service, in operating against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of 50 guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known. General Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah: and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Great numbers were employed, both by day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity, which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaign, before the arrival of Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevest, in his answer, declined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hestilities, twenty-four hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the twenty-four hours elapsed, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, with several hundred men, who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceed ing by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it; and in the meantime. the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened, by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by the able engineer, Major Moncrief. The besiegers, on the 4th of October, opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon, from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and ehildren out of town. This was refused. The combined army suspected, that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South Carelinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers, that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on Count D'Estaign by his marine of subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles nels of commerce had been previously shut, by

risk so valuable a fleet, on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British ficet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days, the lines of the besiegers might have been earried, into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter: but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-hill battery, early in the morning of the 9th, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. These boldly marched up to the lines. under the command of D'Estaign and Lincoln; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross-fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaign and Count Pulaski were both wounded. The former slightly; but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French and upwards of two hundred of the continentals and militia were killed or wounded. General Prevest, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, and Major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about 150 were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault. the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaign re-embarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place, forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered, October 1st, to Colonel White, Captain Elholm and four others, one of whom was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these, and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Captain French was impressed with an ppinion. that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up, without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island: but this was of no advantage to the United States, For, of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing 6000 men, for two years and eight months, on that Island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been afforded by a couple of frigates craising in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue, and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes, with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits

who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions, respecting the southern states, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the state of Georgia, for 150 miles from the sea coast. and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments,

were thoroughly broken.

The campaign of 1779 is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes which had previously excited their activity, had in a great measure ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively disregard property, and brave all dangers in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms near the beginning of 1777, and the hopes of capturing Burgoyne's army in the close of it, together with the brisk circulation of a large quantity of paper money, in good credit, made that year both active and decisive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778, banished all fears of the success of the revolution; but the failure of every scheme of co-operation produced a despondency of mind unfavourable to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as the Americans vainly presumed, the campaigns of 1178 and 1779 terminated without any direct advantage, from the French fleet sent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in these expectations, they were less prepared to prosecute the war with their own resources, than they would have been, if D'Estaign had not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in its numbers and badly clothed.

In the first years of the war, the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times; but in the progress of it, the inhabitants. cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of Incrative business. This made distinctions between the army and the citizens, and was unfriendly to military exertions. While several foreign events tended to the embarrassment of Great Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans: and for a time, made it doubtful, whether they would ultimately be independent citizens, or conquered subjects. Among these, the daily depreciation of their bills of credit, held a distinguished pre-eminence. This so materially affected every department, as to merit a particular discussion. The subject to prevent an interruption of the thread of the narrative is treated in a separate ckapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Continental Paper Currency.

In the medern mode of making war, money is not less essential, than valour in the field, or wisdom in the cabinet. The longest purse decides the fate of contending nations, as often as the lengest sword. It early occurred to the founders of the American empire, that the established revenues of Great Britain must, eventually, overbalance the sudden and impetuous sallies of men. contending for freedom, on the spur of the occasion, and without the permanent means of defence; but how to remedy the evil puzzled their wisest politicians. Gold and silver, as far as was known, had not a physical existence in the country, in any quantity equal to the demands of war; ner could they be procured from abroad; as the chan-

cies of war, even though it had been practicable, would have been impolitic. The only plausible expedient, in their power to adopt, was the emission of bills of credit representing specie, under a public engagement to be ultimately sunk by equal their value was the unavoidable consequence.taxes, or exchanged for gold or silver. This practice had been familiar from the first settlement of the colonies, and, under proper restrictions, had been found highly advantageous. Their resolu-tion, to raise an army in June, 1775, was therefore followed by another to emit bills of eredit, to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that sum, on the 25th of the next month, it was resolved to add another million. For their redemption they pledged the confederated colonies, and directed each colony to find ways and means, to sink its proportion and quota, in four annual payments; the first to be made on or before the last of November, 1779. That time was fixed upon from an expectation, that, previous to its arrival, the contest would be brought to a conclusion. On the 29th of November, 1775, an estimate having been made by Congress of the public expenses already incurred, or likely to be incurred, in earrying on their defence, till the 10th of June, 1776, it was resolved to emit a farther sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed, as the former, by four annual payments; the first, to be made on or before the last day of November, 1783. It was, at the same time, determined, that the quotas of bills to be redeemed, by each colony, should be in a relative proportion to their respective numbers of inhabitants. This estimate was calculated to defray expenses, to the 10th of June, 1776, on the idea, that an accommodation would take place before that time. Hitherto all arrangements, both for men and money, were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a reconciliation. Early in 1776, Congress obtained information, that Great Britain had contracted for of the first emissions of Congress. 16,000 foreign mercenaries, to be sent over for the purpose of subdaing America. This enforced the necessity of extending their plan of defence, beyond the 10th of the next June. They, therefore, on the 17th of Yebruary, 1776, ordered four respective quotas of forty-five millions of dollars. was the animation of the times, that these several millions of dollars, circulated, for several months, without any depreciation, and commanded the resources of the country for public service, equally with the same sum of gold or silver. The United States derived for a considerable time, as much benefit from this paper creation of their own, though without any established funds for its support or redemption, as would have resulted from a free gift of as many Mexican dollars. While the ministry of England were puzzling themselves for new taxes, and funds, on which to raise their supplies, Congress raised theirs by resolutions, directing paper of no intrinsic value to be struck off, in form of promissory notes. But there was a point, both in time and quantity, beyond which this conwas about eighteen months from the date of their lions of dollars.

able sum for circulation, they must necessarily one. depreciate. It was, therefore, on the 34 of Octo-

the voluntary association of Congress, to suspend plars; and, in the month following, a lottery was had deluged the states, it was resolved, in October, foreign trade. America having never been much set on foot; for obtaining a farther sum on loan. 1779, that no farther sum should be issued, on any taxed in any direct way, and being without estab. The expenses of the war were so great, that the account whatever, than what, when added to the lished governments, and especially as she was money arising from both, though considerable, was Besides, as the contest was on the subject of tax- therefore, reiterated the expedient of farther emisation, the laying of taxes adequate to the exigen-sions. The ease, with which the means of proeuring supplies were furnished, by striking off receive them, prompted Congress to multiply them beyond the limits of prudence. A diminution of This at first was scarcely perceivable; but it daily increased. The zeal of the people, nevertheless, so far overbalanced the nice mercantile calculations of interest, that the campaigns of 1776, and 1778, were not affected by the depreciation of the paper currency. Congress foresaw that this could not long be the ease. It was, therefore, on the 22d of November, 1777, recommended to the several states, to raise by taxes the sum of five millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1778.

Previously to this, it had been resolved to bor row larger sums; and for the encouragement of lenders, it was agreed to pay the interest which should accrue thereon, by bills of exchange, payable in France, out of monies borrowed there, for the use of the United States. This tax unfortunately failed in several of the states. From the impossibility of procuring a sufficiency of money, either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of decreased as the quantity increased. Congress, amounted to many millions; which mixed with the anxious to put a stop to the increase of their bills continental money, and added to its depreciation. of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what What was of very little value before, now became were issued, called upon the states on the 1st of less. The whole was soon expended; and yet, sury, their respective quotas of fifteen millions of millions annually from and after the year 1779, as a fund for reducing their early emissions and loans. Such had been the mistaken ideas, which originally prevailed, of the duration of the contest, that, though the war was raging, and the demands for money unabated, yet the period had arrived which Jersey, though they felt the injury, saw the nehad been originally fixed upon, for the redemption cessity and patiently submitted.

In addition to these fifteen millions, called for on the 1st of January, 1779, the states were, on the 21st of May following, called upon to furnish, army. This was called a requisition for specific millions of dollars to be emitted, and on the 9th Congress wished to arrest the growing depreciaof May, and the 22d of July following, emitted tion, and, therefore, called for taxes in large sums, ten millions more, on the same security. Such proportioned to the demands of the public, and also to the diminished value of their bills. These reemissions, amounting in the aggregate to twenty quisitions, though nominally large, were by no tee of the several states. The old money was to means sufficient. From the fluctuating state of be called in by taxes; and, as soon as brought in, the money, it was impossible to make any certain to be burnt; and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the calculations; for it was not two days of the same new was to be emitted for every twenty of the value. A sum which, when demanded, would have old: so that when the whole two hundred millions purchased a sufficiency of the commodities wanted were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of for the public service, was very inadequate, when the new should be issued in their place; fourthe collection was made, and the money lodged in tenths of which were to be subject to the order of the treasury. The depreciation began at different Congress, and the remaining six tenths to the orperiods in different states; but in general about the middle of the year 1777, and progressively increased for three or four years. Towards the last to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent, to of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one. In 1778, it advanced from two or three for one, to five or six for one; in 1779, from five or six for one, to twenty-seven or twenty-eight for in Europe, at four shillings and sixpence for each gressional alchemy ceased to operate. That time one; in 1780, from twenty seven or twenty-eight dollar. for one, to fifty ar sixty for one, in the first four first emission, and that quantity about twenty mil- or five months of that year. Its circulation was afterwards partial; but where it passed, it soon that the currency would be reduced to a fixed Independence being declared, in the second year depreciated to 150 for one. In some few parts, it of the war, and the object for which arms were at continued in circulation for the first four or five the means of purchasing the specific supplies refirst assumed being changed, it was obvious that months of 1781; but in this latter period, many more money must be procured, and equally so, that, would not take it at any rate, and they who did, reif bills of credit were multiplied beyond a reason- ceived it at a depreciation of several hundreds for geneies of the war. That these good effects

ber, 1776, resolved to borrow five millions of dol- the floods of money, which, at successive periods, very questionable: but, from the partial compli-

present sum in circulation, would in the whole be contending against what was lately lawful author far short of a sufficiency. The rulers of America equal two hundred millions of dollars. It was at rity, could not immediately proceed to taxation. thought it still premature to arge taxation. They, the same time resolved, that Congress should emit only such part of the sum wanting to make up two hundred millions, as should be absolutely necessary for the public exigencies, before adequate supbills of credit, and the readiness of the people to plies could be otherwise obtained; relying, for such supplies, on the exertions of the several states. This was forcibly represented in a circular letter from Congress to their constituents; and the states were earnestly entreated to prevent that deluge of evils, which would flow from their neglecting to furnish adequate supplies, for the wants of the confederacy. The same circular letter stated the practicability of redeeming all the bills of Congress, at par, with gold and silver, and rejected, with indignation, the supposition that the states would ever tarnish their credit, by violating public faith. These strong declarations, in favour of the paper currency, deceived many to repose confidence in it to their ruin. Subsequent events compelled Con gress to adopt the very measure in 1780, which, in the preceding year, they had sineerely reprohated.

From the non-compliance of the states, Congress was obliged, in a short time after the date of their circular letter, to issue such a farther quantity, as, when added to previous emissions, made the sum of 200 millions of dollars. Besides this immense farther emissions was reiterated; but the value sum, the paper emissions of the different states January, 1779, to pay, into the continental trea- from its increased depreciation, the immediate wants of the army were not supplied. dollars, for the service of that year, and of six source which for five years had enabled Congress to keep an army in the field being exhausted, General Washington was reduced, for some time, to the alternative of disbanding his troops, or of supplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter; and the inhabitants of New York and New

The states were next called upon to furnish, in lieu of money, determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the use of the supplies, or a tax in kind; and was found, on experiment, to be so difficult of execution, so inconvenient, partial and expensive, that it was speedily abandoned. About this time, Congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to issue a new species of paper money, under the guaranbe paid also in specie, at the redemption of the bills, or, at the election of the owner, annually in bills of exchange on the American commissioners

From the execution of these resolutions, it was expected, that the old money would be cancelled; standard; that the states would be supplied with quired of them; and that Congress would be furnished with efficient money, to provide for the exiwould have followed, even though the resolutions As there was a general clamour on account of of Congress had been carried into execution, is

fairly made, and the new paper answered very little purpose. It was hoped by varying the ground of credit, that Congress would gain a repetition of the advantages, which resulted from their first paper expedient; but these hopes were of short du-By this time, much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itself, and confidence in public engagements was at a low ebb. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained, by honesty and princtuality. The several expedients proposed by Congress far raising supplies, having failed, a crisis followed, very interesting to the success of the revolution. The particulars of this are related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some observations on that primary instrument of American independence, the old continental bills of credit, shall for the present close this subject.

It would have been impossible to have carried on the war, without something in the form of money. There was spirit enough in America, to bring to the field of battle as many of her sons, as would have out-numbered the armies of Great Britain, and to have risked their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating and protracting, to its utmost length, a The continued exertions, necessary war of posts. for this species of defence, could not be expected from the impetuous sallies of militia. A regular, permament army became necessary. Though the enthusiasm of the times might have dispensed with present pay, yet, without at least as much money as would support them in the field, the most pa-

triotic army must have dispersed.

The impossibility of the Americans procuring gold and silver, even for that purpose, doubtless weighed with the British as an encouragement, to bring the controversy to the decision of the sword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means, was accomplished by those which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinsic value was made to answer all the purposes of gold and silver, and to support the expenses of five campaigns. This was in some degree, owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity, in discharging the engagements of government. From New York to Georgia, there never had been, in matters relating to money, an instance of a breach of public faith. In the scarcity of gold and silver, many emergencies had imposed a necessity of emitting bills of credit. These had been uniformly and honestly redeemed. The bills of Congress being thrown into circulation on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. The enthusiasm of the people contributed to the same effect. That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was essentially necessary to a proper defence, were opinions en graven on the hearts of a great majority of the citi-It was, therefore, a point of honour, and considered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then so little regarded that the whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cause of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its value diminished from the increase of its quantity. Repeated emissions begat that natural depreciation, which results from an excess of quantity. This was helped on by various causes, which affeeted the eredit of the money. The enemy very ingeniously counterfeited their bills, and industriously circulated their forgeries through the United States. Congress allowed, to their public agents, a commission on the amount of their purchases. Instead of exerting themselves to purchase low, they had, therefore, an interest in bnying at high prices. So strong was the force of ing from the hands of an executor, a competency prejudice, that the British made of supplying ar- to set out in business, was obliged to give a final the morals of the inhabitants.

the approbation of Congress. While these causes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and, at the same time, that fervour and patriotism, which disregarded interest, was daily declining. vent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, Congress attempted to prop its credit by means, which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people, without answering the end proposed. They recommended to the states, to pass the laws for regulating the prices of labour, and of all sorts of commodities; and for confiscating and selling the estates of tories, and investing the money, arising from the sales thereof, in loanoffice certificates. As many of those who were disaffected to the revolution, absolutely refused to take the bills of Congress, even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same with the view of counteracting their machinations, Congress early recommended to the states, to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at its nominal value, in the discharge of bona fide debts, though contracted to be paid in gold or silver. With the same views, they farther recommended, that laws should be passed by each of the states ordaining that, "whosoever should ask or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or silver or any species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the said bills for any commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased, from the same person, in gold or silver, or offer to sell any commodities for gold or silver, and refuse to sell the same for the said bills, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property so sold or offered for sale." which were passed by the states, for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment to be visionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to sacrifice every thing in the cause of their country, and who implicitly obeyed every mandate of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws, in the first instance, made an artificial scarcity, and, had they not been repealed. would soon have made a real one; for men never exert themselves, unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of torics, for the most part, brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally the public treasury. The sales were generally made on credit, and, by the progressive depreciation, what was dear, at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of payment. The most extensive mischief resulted in the progress. and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws which made the paper bills a tender, in the discharge of debts, contracted payable in gold or silver. When this measure was first adopted, little or no injustice resulted from it; for, at that time, the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold or silver, of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws, which were originally innocent, became eventually

the occasion of much injustice.

The aged, who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow, who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration ofall his well-meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling, where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin, who had grown up with an unquestion able title to a liberal patrimony, was legally strip ped of every thing, but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiv-

ances of the states, the experiment was never mies by contract could not for a long time, obtain | discharge on the payment of six pence in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of eare and diligence were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a triffing sum. A few persons escaped these affecting calamities, by secretly transfering their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which resulted from the legal tender of these paper bills, were foreign from the intentions of Congress, and of the state legislatures. It is but just ee to add, farther, that a great proportion of them flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780. when the bills fell to forty for one, it was designed by most of the rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that the whole sum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or silver. In every department of government, the Americans cired from ignorance; but in none so much, as in that which related to money.

> Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many. It was at all times the poor man's While it was current, all kinds of labour very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment: and none were employed, without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people, whose daily labour was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always procured its full va-Ine. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation, than continental money. That, for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome, was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Money lenders, and they whose circumstances enabled them to give credit, were essentially injured. All that the money lost in its value was so much taken from their capital; but the active and industrious indomnified themselves, by conforming the price of their services to the present state of the depreciation. The experience of this time inculcated on youth two salutary lessons; the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, and the necessity of their own exertions. They who were in debt, and possessed property of any kind, could easily make the latter extinguish the former. Every thing that was useful, when brought to market, readily found a purchaser. A few eattle would pay for a comfortable house; and a good horse for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm would discharge the long out-standing accounts, due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realised to the poor man and the debtor; but unfortunately what these gained, was just so mueli taken from others.

> The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils, which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws enstranged the minds of many of the citizens, from the habits and love of

justice.

The nature of obligations was so far changed, that he was reckoned the honest man, who, from principle, delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had creeted, to secure the observance of honesty, in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Time and industry soon repaired the losses of property, which the citizens sustained during the war; but both, for a long time, failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles.*

^{*} This was written in 1778, since which period a new constitution, good laws, and a vigorous administration of justice, have effected a considerable amelioration in

CHAPTER XX.

Of Indians and expeditions into the Indian country.

WHEN the English colonies were first planted in North America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, who principally supported themselves by fishing, hunting, and by the The arts and spontaneous productions of nature. arms of Europeans soon gave them an ascendancy over such untutored savages. Had the latter understood their interest, and been guided by a spirit of union, they would soon have expelled the invaders; and in that case, they might now be floutishing, in the possession of their ancient territories and independence. By degrees, the old inhabitants were circumscribed within narrower limits: and, by some strange fatality, their numbers have been constantly lessening. The names of various nations, which, in the seventeenth century, boasted of several thousands, are now known only to those who are fond of curious researches. Many are totally extinct; and others can show no more than a few straggling individuals, the remnants of their fallen greatness. That so many tribes should, in so short a time, lose both their country and their national existence, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of the world. Spirituous liquors, the small pox, and an abridgment of territory, to a people whose mode of life needed an extensive range, evils which chiefly resulted from the neighbourhood of Europeans, were among the principal causes of their destruction. The reflections, which are excited by reviewing the havor made among the native proprietors of this new world, are in some degree alleviated by its counterpart. While one set of inhabitants was insensibly dwindling away, another improving in the arts of civil and social life, was growing in numbers, and rapidly filling up their places.* As the emigrants from Europe, and their descendants, extended their possessions on the sea coast, the aborigines retired from it. By this gradual advance of the one, and retiring of the other, the former always presented an extensive frontier, to the incursions of the latter. European emigrants, from an avidity for land, the possession of which is the ultimate object of human avarice, were prone to encroach on the territories of the Indians; while the Indians, from obvious principles of human nature, beheld with concern the descendants of the ancient proprietors circumscribed, in their territory, by the descendants of those strangers, whom their fathers had permitted to reside among them. From these causes, and especially from the licentious conduct of disorderly individuals, of both Indians and white people, there were frequent interruptions of the peace in their contiguous settlements.

In the war between France and England, which commenced in 1775, both parties paid assidnous attention to the Aborigines. The former succeeded in securing the greater number of adherents; but the superior success of the latter, in the progress, and at the termination of the war, turned the current of Indian affections and interest in their favour. When the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies began to grow serious, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of consequence to both parties. Stretching for fifteen hundred miles along the whole north-western fromtier of the colonies, they were to them desirable friends, and formidable enemies. As terror was one of the engines, by which Great Britain intended to enforce the submission of the colonies, nothing could be more conducive to the excitement of this passion, than the co-operations of Indians. Policy, not cruelty, led to the adoption of this expedient : but it was of that over-refined spccics which counteracts itself. In the competition for the friendship of the Indians, the British had

advantages, far superior to any possessed by the The expulsion of the French from Cacolonists. nada, an event which had taken place only about thirteen years before, was still fresh in the memory of many of the savages, and had inspired them with high ideas of the martial superiority of the British The first steps taken by the congress, to troops. oppose Great Britain, put it out of their power to gratify the Indians. Such was the effect of the nonimportation agreement of 1774. While Great Britain had access to the principal Indian tribes, through Canada on the north, and Florida on the south, and was abundantly able to supply their many wants the colonists had debarred themselves from importing the articles, which were necessary for the Indian trade.

It was unfortunate for the colonies, that, since the peace of Paris, 1763, the transactions with the Indians had been mostly carried on by superintendants, appointed and paid by the king of Great Britain. These, being under obligations to the crown, and expectants of farther favours from it, generally used their influence with the Indians, in behalf of the mother country, and against the colonies. They insinuated into the minds of the uninformed savages, that the king was their natural protector, against the encroaching colonists; and that, if the latter succeeded in their opposition to Great Britain, they would next aim at the extirpation of their red neighbours. By such representations, seconded with a profusion of presents, the attachment of the Indians was pre-engaged, in support of the British interest.

The Americans were not unmindful of the savages on their frontier. They appointed commissioners to explain to them the grounds of their dispute, and to cultivate their friendship, by treaties and presents. They endeavoured to persuade the Indians, that the quarrel was, by no means, relative to them; and that, therefore, they should

take part with neither side.

For the greater convenience of managing the intercourse between the colonies and the Indians, the latter were divided into three departments, the northern, southern, and middle; and commissioners were appointed for each. Congress also resolved to import and distribute among them a suitable assortment of goods, to the amount of fortythousand pounds sterling, on account of the United States; but this was not executed. All the exertions of Congress were insufficient for the security of their western frontiers. In almost every period of the war, a great majority of the Indians took part with Great Britian, against the Americans. South Carolina was among the first of the states, which experienced the effects of British influence over the Indians. The Cherokees and the Creeks inhabit lands not far distant from the western settlements of Carolina and Georgia. The intercourse with these tribes had, for several years prior to the American war, been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and devoted to the royal interest. His great influence was wholly exerted in favour of Great Britain. A plan was settled hy him in concert with the king's governors and other royal servants, to land a royal armed force in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontier of the southern states; and there in conjunction with the tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of Congress, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea coast. The whole scheme was discovered, by the capture of Moses Kirkland, one of the principal agents employed in its execution, while he was on his way to General Gage with dispatches, detailing the particulars, and soliciting the requisite aid to accomplish it. The possession of Kirkland, and of his papers, enabled the Americans to take such steps, as in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal servants; yet so much was carried into effect, that the Cherokees began their massacres, at the very time the British fleet attacked the fort * It has been computed, that five bundred civilized human beings may enjoy life in plenty and comfort, where only one savage drags out a miserable existence. at the very time the British fleet attacked the lost of the fort, about 360 were instantly slain. No Sullivan's island. The undisturbed tranquilies of the fort, about 360 were instantly slain. No quarters were given. Colonel John Butler again ty, which took place in South Carolina and the

adjacent states, after the British had failed in their designs against them, in the spring and summer of 1776, gave an opportunity for carrying war into the Indian country. This was done, not so much to punish what was past, as to prevent all future co-operation between the Indiaos and British, in that quarter.

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, sent about the same time, a considerable force, which traversed the Indian settlements, burned their towns, and destroyed their fields of corn. Above five hundred of the Cherokees were obliged from the want of provisions, to take refuge in Florida, and were there fed at the expense of the British government. These unfortunate, misled people sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and soon afterwards assented to a treaty, by which they ceded a considerable part of their land to South Carolina. The decision with which this expedition was conducted, intimidated the Cherokees, for some years from farther hos-

Very different was the case of those Indians, who were in the vicinity of the British posts, and contiguous to the frontier of the northern and middle states. The presents which they continually received from England, the industry of the British agents, and the influence of a great number of American refugees who had taken shelter among them, operating on their native passion for rapine, excited them to frequent hostile excursions. onel John Butler, a Connecticut tory, and Brandt, a half Indian by blood, were the principal leaders of the savages in these expeditions. The vast extent of frontier, and remote situation of the settlements, together with the exact knowledge which the refugees possessed of the country, made it practicable for even small parties to do extensive mischief.

A storm of Indian and tory vengeance burst in July 1778 with particular violence on Wyoming, a new and flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of the Susquehannah. Unfortunately for the security of the inhabitants, the soil was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were steadily enforced. In this remote settlement, where government was feeble, the tories were under less control; and could easily assemble undiscovered. Nevertheless, twenty-seven of them were taken and sent to Hartford, in Connecticut: but they were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming settlement, with their combined forces, estimated at 1100 men, 909 of whom were Indians. The whole was commanded by Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory. One of the forts, which had been constructed for the security of the inhabitants, being very weak, surrendered to this party; but some of the garrison had previously retired to the principal fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. Colonel John Butler next demanded the surrender thereof. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer, who commanded, sent a message to him. proposing a conference at a bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, Colonel Zebulon Butler, Dennison, and some other officers repaired to the place appointed; and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enemy appeared. The Wyoming people advanced, and supposed that the enemy were retiring. They continued to march on, till they were about three miles from the fort. They then saw a few of the enemy, with whom they exchanged some shot; but they presently found themselves ambuscaded, and attacked by the whole body of Indians and tories. They fought gallantly, till their retreat to the fort was cut off. Universal confusion ensued. Of 417, who had marched out

the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison, consisting of thirty men the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the scattered settlers had previously retired, some through the woods to Northampton, others down the river to Northumberland. In this retreat, some women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suffered from want of provisions. Several of the settlers at Wyoming had erected good houses and barns, and made very considerable improvements. These and the other houses in the vicinity, were destroyed. Their horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, were for the most part killed, or driven away by the enemy.

A large proportion of the male inhabitants, were, in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near 200 women were made widows, and a much greater number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians, by Colonel Butler of the Pennsylvania troops. He and his party having gained the head of the Delaware, Oct. 1st. marched down the river for two days, and then struck across the country to the Susquehannah. They burnt or destroyed the Indian villages, both in that quarter, and the other settlements: but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles, on both sides of the Susquehannah. The difficulties which Colonel Butler's men encountered, in this expedition, were uncommonly great. They were obliged to carry provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to wade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march they were obliged to endure chilly nights, and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their arms dry. They completed the expedition in sixteen days. About four weeks after Colonel Butler's return, some hundreds of Indians, a large body of tories, and about fifty regulars entered Cherry Valley, within the state of New York. They made an unsuccessful attempt on Fort Alden; but they killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children; and also Colonel Alden and ten soldiers.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through in consequence of the spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincennes, in the winter, to have all things in readiness, for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending away a considerable part of his Indians, against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties. he arrived with 130 men, unexpectedly at St. Vincennes.

The inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered on the 23d Feb. 1779, to the Americans; and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day, Hamilton, with the garrison, were made prisoners of war, on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the council of Virginia, letters and papers, relating to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean, justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, eaptain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The board reported, that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties, on the defenceless inhabit-

demanded the surrender of Forty-Fort. This was justs of the United States; had sent considerable mote Indians. Much was therefore expected from agreed to, under articles of capitulation, by which detachments of Indians against the frontiers; had their expulsion. When General Sullivan was on and concert the operations of the cusuing cam- the American general, Clinton, with upwards of and two hundred women, were permitted to cross paign; had given standing rewards for scalps; and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton; and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties raised with great industry, a dam across the mouth of Indians and tories, who went out, from time to of the lake Otsego, which is one of the sources of time, under general orders to spare neither men, the river Susquehannah. The lake, being conwomen, nor children. They therefore considering them as fit objects, on whom to begin the work of the dam. General Clinton having got his batof retaliation, advised the governor to put them in teaux ready, opened a passage through the dam irons; confine them in the dungeon of the public for the water to flow. This raised the river so jail; debar them the use of pen, ink and paper; high, that he was enabled to embark all his troops. and exclude them from all converse, except with and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertheir keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Shaick, with fifty-five men, marched from fort Schuyler to the Onondaga settlements, and on the 19th of April, burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and amunition of the Indians were either destroyed two hours; but then gave way. This engageor brought off, and their settlements were laid ment proved decisive. After the trenches were waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty- forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt four made prisoners. This expedition was per-formed in less than six days, and without the loss

of a single man.

In this manner, the savage part of the war was carried on in America. Waste, and sometimes eruelty, were inflicted and retorted, with infinite variety of scenes of horror and disgust. The selfish passions of human nature, nurestrained by social ties, broke over all bounds of decency or humanity. The American refugees, who had fled stroyed. All their fields of corn, and whatever to the western wilderness, indulged their passion was in a state of cultivation underwent the same for rapine by assuming the colour and dress of Indians. At other times, they acted as guides, and conducted these merciless ravagers into such settlements, as afforded the most valuable booty, and the fairest prospect of escape. The savages encouraged by British presents and agents, and led on by American refugees well acquainted with chards, in which were several hundred finit trees. the country, and who cloaked the most consummate villany under the specious name of loyalty. extended their depredations and murders far and gardens, replenished with a variety of useful vege-

A particular detail of the devestation of property; of the distress of numbers, who escaped only many outrages they had suffered from them, by fleeing to the woods, where they subsisted, without covering on the spontaneous productions of the earth; and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of every age and sex, would be sufficient to fill every breast with horror.

In sundry expeditions, which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them; but these partial successes produced no lasting benefit. The few who escaped, had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent security of the frontier inhabitants, it was resolved, in the year 1779, to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops were selected for this purpose, and put under the command of General Sullivan.

The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, commonly called the Mohawks, were immense and fertile tract of country, which lies between New England, the middle states, and the province of Canada. They had been advised by Congress, and they had promised, to observe a neutrality in the war; but they soon departed from this line of conduct. The Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans; but a great majority took part decidedly against them. Over-

appointed a great council of them, to meet bim his way to the Indian country, he was joined by 1000 men. The latter made his way down the Susqueliannah, by a singular contrivance. stream of water in that river was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he stantly supplied by springs, soon rose to the height tion they soon joined Sullivan.

The Indians, on hearing of the expedition projected against them, acted with firmness. collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan, on the 29th August attacked them in their works. They had a cannonade for more than up all ideas of farther resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. General Sullivan penetrated into the heart of the country inhabited by the Mohawks, and spread desolation every where. Many settlements in the form of towns were defate. Scarcely any thing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be seen. To the surprise of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns well cultivated, and their houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orwere cut down; and of them many appeared to have been planted for a long series of years. Their tables, were laid waste. The Americans were so full of resentment against the Indians, for the and so bent on making the expedition decisive, that the officers and soldiers cheerfully agreed to remain, till they had fully completed the destruction of the settlement. The supplies obtained in the country lessened the inconvenience of short rations. The ears of corn were so remarkably large, that many of them measured twenty-two inches in length. Necessity suggested a novel expedient for pulverizing the grains thereof. The soldiers perforated a few of their camp-kettles with bayonets. The protrusions occasioned thereby formed a rough surface, and, by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a coarse meal was produced, which was easily converted into agreeable nourishment.

The Indians, by this decisive expedition, being made to feel, in the most sensible manner, those calamities they were wont to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings they had the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in ease of their provoking the resentment of the Americans, damped the ardour of their warriors for making incursions into the American settlements. The frontiers, though not restored to perfect tranquility, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities, in which they had been lately involved.

Though these good consequences resulted from come by the presents and promises of Sir John this expedition; yet, before its termination, several Johnston, and other British agents, and by their detached parties of Indians distressed different setown native appetite for depredation, they invaded tlements in the United States. A party of sixty Inthe frontiers, carrying slaughter and devastation dians, and twenty-seven white men, under Brandt, wherever they went. From the vicinity of their attacked the Minisink settlement on the 23d July, settlements, to the inhabited parts of the United and burnt ten houses, twelve barns, a fort and two States, they facilitated the inroads of the more re- mills; and carried off much plunder, together with

several prisoners. The militia from Goshen and and put to death these harmless, inoffensive peo-the vicinity, to the amount of 149, collected and ple, though they made no resistance. In conforpursued them; but with so little caution, that they were surprised and defeated. About this time General Williamson and Colonel Pickens, both of South Carolina, entered the Indian country, adjacent to the frontier of their state, August 22d, 1779, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and insisted upon the Indians removing immediately from their late habitations, into more remote settlements.

In the same month, Colonel Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians. He left Pittsburgh with 605 men, and was gone five weeks; in which time, he penetrated 200 miles from the fort, and destroyed a number of Indian huts and five hundred acres of

The state of New York continued to suffer in its frontier, from Indians and their tory associates. These burnt fifty houses, and forty-seven barns, the principal part of Canijohary, a fine settle-ment about 56 miles from Albany. They also destroyed twenty-seven houses at Schoharie, August, 1780, and twenty at Norman's creek. In about two months afterwards, they made a second irruption, and attacked Stone Arabia, Canasoiraga and Schoharie. At the same time, they laid waste a great extent of country about the Mohawk river, killed a number of the settlers, and made many prisoners.

The Cherokee Indians, having forgotten the consequences of provoking the Americans to invade their settlements, in the year 1776, made an inenrsion into Ninety-Six district, in South Carolina, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens, in 1781, collected a party of the militia, and penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space, he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a number of prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as this. The Americans did not expend three rounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped, after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting them was introduced. The American militia rushed forward on horseback, and charged the Indians with drawn swords. The vanquished Cherokees again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it; but not till they had promised, that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists, instigating them to war, they would deliver, to the authority of the state of South Carolina, all who should visit them on that errand.

Towards the end of the war, in 1782, there was a barbarous and unprovoked massaere of some civilized Indians, who had been settled near the Muskingum. These, under the influence of some pious missionaries of the Moravian persuasion, had been formed into some degree of civil and religious order. They abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason that, " the Great Being did not make men to destroy men; but to love and assist each other." From a love of peace, they advised those of their own colour, who were bent on war, to desist from it. They were also led from humanity, to inform the white people of their danger, when they knew that their settlements were about to be invaded. This provoked the hostile Indians to such a degree, that they carried these pacific people quite away from Muskingum, to a bank of Sandusky Creek. They, finding corn dear and scarce in their new habitations, obtained liberty to come back, in the fall of the same year, to Muskingum, that they might collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near Monongahela, heard that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, on the Muskingum, they gave out that their intentions were hostile. Without Governor Rutledge, and such of his council, as he vantage of a strong southerly wiod, and flowing any farther inquiry, 160 of them crossed the Ohio,

ple, though they made no resistance. In confor imity to their religious principles, these Moravians patiently submitted to their hard fate, without attempting to destruy their murderers. Upwards of ninety of this pacific race were killed by men, who, while they called themselves Christians; were more deserving of the name of savages, than those whom they inhumanly murdered.

Soon after this unprovoked massacre, a party of Americans set out for Sandusky, to destroy the Indian towns in that part; but the Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians opposed them. An engagement ensued, in which some of the white people were killed, and several were taken prisoners. Among the latter were Colonel Crawford, and his son-in-law. The colonel was sacrificed to the manes of those Indians, who were massacred at the Moravian towns. The other prisoners were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the American war, the desolation brought by the Indians, on the frontier settlements of the United States, and on the Indians by the Americans, was sufficient to excite compassion in the most obdurate hearts.

Not only men and warriors, but women and children, were indiscriminately murdered, while whole settlements were involved in promiscuous desolation. Each was made a scourge to the other; and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly distressing, by the dispersion of families, the breaking up of settlements, and an addition of savage cruelties, to the most extensive devastation of those things, which conduce to the comfort of human life.

CHAPTER XXI.

Campaign of 1780 in the Southern States.

THE successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of Count D'Estaign, from the coast of the United States, [1780] soon dissipated all apprehensions, previously entertained for the safety of New York. These eireum-stances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton, the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance, for the two preeeding campaigns, he turned his attention southwardly, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest, among the weaker states. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known, that Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army, in New York, to Lieutenant General Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps, British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample supply of inilitary stores and provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee in Georgia, Jan. 21, 1780. In a few days, the transports, with the army on board, sailed from Savannah, for North-Edisto. After a short passage, on the 4th of February, the troops made good their landing, about thirty miles from Charleston, and took possession of John's Island and Stono ferry; and soon afterwards of James Island, and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the eanal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley river, opposite to Charleston.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the

thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen, without a legal trial. The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia, as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation.

The tedious passage, from New York to Tybee, gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses, which the royal army had sustained, in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch au order to New York, for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed Major General Prevost, to send on to him twelve hundred men, from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier General Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the Savannah, and through the intermediate country; and, soon afterwards joined Sir Henry Clinton, near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces, without delay, proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, March 29, and erected fortifications, both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. An advanced party crossed Ashley river, and soon afterwards broke ground, at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous, in preparing for its defence. The works, which had been previously blown up, were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the whole, was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch, made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong, on the right and left, and so constructed, as to rake the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a horn-work had been erected, which, being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field-works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed; and, immediately afterwards, the town was summoned to surrender, On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and, from that day, an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened, a work was thrown up, near Wando river, nine miles from town; and another, at Lempriere's point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirtytwo, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force, opposed to this, was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, Commodore Whipple, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar; but, on farther examination, this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

Admiral Arbuthnot, on the 9th of April, weighed

Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well-directed Clinton had offered, and requested his acceptance river, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel, the terms before proposed. The royal commandbesiegers soon obtained a superiority over those unwilling to press to unconditional submission an of the town. The former had twenty-one mor- enemy, whose friendship they wished to concil ate, tars and royals; the latter only two. The regu-returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was lar force in the garrison, was much inferior to signed on the 12th of May, and Major General Lesthat of the besiegers. Few of the militia could lie took possession of the town, on the next day. be persuaded to leave their plantations, and rein- The loss on both sides during the siege was nearly force their brethren in the capital. A camp was equal. Of the king's troops, 76 were killed, and formed at Monk's corner, to keep up the commu- 189 wounded. Of the Americans, 89 were killed nication between the town and country; and the and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 pieces of armilitia without the lines, were requested to ren- tillery were surrendered. By the articles of eadezvous there; but this was surprised, and routed pitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The British and deposit their arms in front of the works; but having now less to fear, extended themselves to the the drums were not to beat a British march nor the eastward of Cooper river. Two hundred and fifty colours to be uneased. The continental troops horse, and 600 infantry were detached on this service, April 16; but nevertheless, the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a num-tia were to be permitted to return to their respecber sufficient to attack that small force.

reinforcement of 3000 meo, from New York. council of war agreed that "a retreat would be habitants of all conditions were to be considered, attended with many distressing inconveniences, if as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property, not altogether impracticable;" and advised, "that on the same terms with the militia. The officers offers of capitulation, before their affairs became of the army and navy were to retain their servants, more critical, should be made to General Clinton, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. They which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and were permitted to sell their horses; but not to re afford security to the persons and property of the move them. A vessel was allowed to proceed to inhabitants." These terms, being proposed, were Philadelphia, with General Lincoln's despatches instantly rejected; but the garrison adhered to unopened. them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neigbouring states. The bare offer of ca- war, inclusive of the militia, and every adult male pitulating dispirited the garrison; but they con-inhabitant, were above 5000; but the proper gartinued to resist, in expectation of favourable events. rison, at the time of the surrender, did not exceed The British speedily completed the investiture of 2500. The precise number of privates, in the conthe town, both by land and water. After Admiral tinental army, was 1977; of which number 500 Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel were in the hospitals. The captive officers were Pinckney, and 150 of the men under his command, much more in proportion than the privates, and were withdrawn from that post to Charleston, consisted of one major-general, six brigadiers, nine The fort on the island was surrendered on the 6th colouels, fourteen lieutenant colonels, fifteen maof May, without opposition, to Captain Hudson of jors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, the royal navy. On the same day, the remains thirty-two second lieutenants and eusigns. The of the American cavalry which escaped from the gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia late surprise at Mank's corner, were again surprised officers, from a sense of honour, repaired to the by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, at Laneau's ferry, on Santee; and the whole were either killed, eaptured, or dispersed. While every thing prospered mands. The regular regiments were fully officer-with the British, Sir Henry Clinton began a cord, though greatly deficient in privates. respondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison, in case of their cans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuesurrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with cessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated them, as far as they respected his army; but some the policy of sacrificing the towns of the union, in demur was made, with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which, it was hoped, might too much for their defence. be obtained on a conference. This was asked; hostilities should re-commence at eight o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. garrison then re-commenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed; and each cannonaded the other, with unusual briskness. The Britwithin twenty-five yards of the American works, third of that number. As long as an evacuation and were ready for making a general assault by was practicable, he had such assurances of supland and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only hope left was, that 9000 men, val force, might fail in forcing extensive lines, defended by less than 3000 men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 11th

engage it; and anchored near the remains of Fort addressed General Lincoln in a petition, expressing | habitants to return to their allegiance. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on their acquiesence in the terms, which Sir Henry fire, on the ships in their passage. To prevent of them. On the reception of this petition, General the royal armed vessels, from running into Cooper Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept opposite to the exchange. The batteries of the ers, wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war, till exchanged, The militive homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they About this time, Sir Henry Clinton received a adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by A the British troops, in person or property. The in

The numbers which surrendered prisoners of defence of Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates, equal to their respective com-

This was the first instance, in which the Ameripreference to endangering the whole, by risking

Much censure was undeservedly east on General but Clioton, instead of granting it, answered, "that Lincolo, for attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander-in-chief of the American army. Charleston was the only considerable town, in the southern extremity of ish batteries of the third parallel opened on this the confederacy, and for its preservation, South occasion. Shells and careasses were thrown, into Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to almost all parts of the town, and several houses make great exertions. The reinforcements, prowere burned. The cannon and mortars played on mised for its defence, were fully sufficient for that the garrison, at a less distance than a hundred purpose. The Congress, and the states of North yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the and South Carolina, gave General Lincoln ground ters; but their submission produced no cessation American lines, that, with their rifles, they could to expect an army of 9900 men, to second his opeeasily strike any object on them. The British, rations: but, from a variety of causes, this army, having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced including the militia, was little more than oneport, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before he could be ascertained of the futility of the flower of the British army, seconded by a nathese assurances, the British had taken such a incapable of being moved from the field of battle: position, that a retreat could not be successfully

of May. On that day, a great number of citizens chief adopted sundry measures to induce the in- Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton high encomiums,

stated to them, in a handbill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority, "that the helping hand of every man was wanting, to reestablish peace and good government; that the commander-in-chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success; but, as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." who had families were informed, "that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia, for the maintenance of peace and good order; but, from those who had no families, it was expected, that they would cheerfully assist, in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised. "that, when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops." About the same time, Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, May 22, declared, "that if any person should thenceforward appear in arms, in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country. or should, under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants. June 1st. with some exceptions, "pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities, which they heretofore had enjoyed, under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures.

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was, to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, to awe the inhabitants. They also marched, with upwards of 2000 men. towards North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charles-Among the corps which had come forward. with that view, there was one commanded by Colanel Buford, which consisted of three or four hundred continental infantry, and a few horsemen. Colonel Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, advanced in front of the British army, in quest of this party. After a rapid march of one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, he came up with them, at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, an action ensued. Buford committed two capital mistakes in this affair. One was, sending his wagons and artillery away, before the engagement. The wagons might have served as a breast work, to defend his men against the attacks of the cavalry. Another mistake was, ordering his men not to fire, till the enemy were within ten yards. A single discharge made but little impression, on the advancing British horsemen. Before it could be repeated, the assailants were in contact with their adversaries, cutting them down with their sabres. The Amerieans, finding resistance useless, sued for quarof hostilities. Some of them, after they had eeased to resist, lost their hands; others their arms; and almost every one was mangled with a succession of wounds. The charge was urged, till five out of six of the whole number of the Americans were, by Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, either killed or so badly wounded, as to be and by the same account, this took place, though they made such ineffectual opposition, as only to Shortly after the surrender, the commander-in-kill five, and wound twelve of the British. Lord

keener edge to military resentment.

instructions to the principal loyalists, in that state, all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, of America, our friends and countrymen. Camden, and Nigety-Six, they generally laid down Sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, Sir William when a proper opportunity should present itself.

Howe, had been severely censured. It had been A party, always attached to royal government, confidently asserted, that a majority of the Ameriand that under proper regulations, substantial ser-their number was inconsiderable, in comparison vice might be expected from them in restoring with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, the country to peace.

At this crisis, every bias in favour of Congress protection, was removed. Their armies in the southern states, regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, forth, to those of the inhabitants, who would with whig militia, commanded by General Rutherford. arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of opposing its re-establishment. While there was the friends of independence, the British were in of the river Yadkin. force, posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies, or republican demagogues. It soon appeared, that the disguise, which fear had the progress of the British arms. Representaimposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by a hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from to be marched to the southward. North Carolina the inhabitants, that tranquility, which previous snccesses had procured, was disturbed, and that ascendency, which arms had gained, was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many was, a determined whigs retreated before them, and took hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel war, under the shelter of British protection. Such Sumter, a distinguished partisan, who was well were not less astonished than confounded, on find-qualified for conducting military operations. A ing themselves virtually called upon, to take up party of exiles, from South Carolina, made choice arms in support of royal government. This was of him for their leader. At the head of this little done in the following manner. After the inhabit- band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and ants, by the specious promises of protection and took the field against the victorious British, after security, had generally submitted as subjects, or the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas taken their parole as prisoners of war, a procla- of farther resistance. This unexpected impedimation was issued by Sir Henry Clinton, which ment to the extension of British conquests, roused him to file off from the direct road to Camden, toset forth, "that it was proper for all persons to all the passions, which disappointed ambition can wards the well cultivated settlements in the vicin-

special manner, to royal favour. This barbarous such as were in actual confinement excepted, massacre gave a more sanguinary turn to the war. should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed Tarleton's quarters became proverbial; and, in from their paroles, and restored to all the rights the subsequent battles, a spirit of revenge gave a and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants; and that all persons under the description above Sir Henry Clinton, having left about 4000 mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to remen for the southern service, embarked early in turn to their allegiance, and to his majesty's gov-June, with the main army for New-York. On his criment, should be considered as enemies and departure, the command devolved on Lieutenant rebels to the same, and treated accordingly." It General Cornwallis. The season of the year, the was designed by this arbitrary change of the pocondition of the army, and the unsettled state of litical condition of the inhabitants, to bring them South Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion into a dilemma, which would force them to take of North Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the necesto attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and sity of either fleeing out of the country, or of beremain quiet. His lordship committed the care coming a British militia. With this proclamation, of the frontier to lord Rawdon, and, repairing to the declension of British authority commenced; Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear commercial and civil regulations of South Caro- and convenience, had generally submitted, the lina. In the meantime, the impossibility of fleeing greatest part of them retained an affection for their with their families and effects, and the want of an American brethren, and shuddered of the thought army, to which the militia of the state might re- of taking up arms against them. Among such it pair, induced the people in the country to ahandon was said, "if we must fight, let it be on the side

A great number considering this proclamation their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state, in self-defence being induced thereto, by the royal bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants, who menaces, that they who did not return to their aldid not flee out of the country, preferred submis- legiance, as British subjects, must expect to be sion to resistance. This was followed by an untreated as rebels. A greater number from being in usual calm, and the British believed, that the state the power of the British, exchanged their paroles was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was as prisoners, for the protection of subjects; but now given, to make an experiment, from which this was done in many cases, with a secret resermuch was expected, and for the omission of which, vation of breaking the compulsory engagement,

though they had conformed to the laws of the state, cans were well affected to the British government, rejoiced in the ascendency of the royal arms; but or induced by convenience, to accept of British

The precautions, taken to prevent the rising of were either captured or defeated. There was no the royalists in North Carolina, did not answer the which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal under the direction of Colonel Moore, took up government. Every encouragement was held arms, and were, in a few days, defeated by the Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicions as to time, was successful. He reached the 71st regiment stationed in the Cheraws, with no regular army, within four hundred miles, to aid about 800 men, assembled from the neighbourhood

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who during the siege of Charleston, had been requested by General Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negociating with North Carolina. Virginia, and Congress, to obtain a force for checking tions, to the same effect, had also been made in due time by General Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army, also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of

for this enterprise, and recommended him, in a those taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and newal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them, favourable to their wishes, to be true. they conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against the inhabitants, and confined several of them, on suspicion of their being accessary to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare was on July 12th, two months after the fall of Charleston, when 133 of Colonel Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing, in the beginning of the year. The steady, persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South Carolina, turned out with great alacrity, to join Colonel Suinter; though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased, in every other part of the state. His troops, in a few days, amounted to 600 mcn. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British, at Rocky Mount : but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth, filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that, to keep militia together, it is necessary to employ them, this active partisan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging-rock. Prince of Wales's regiment was almost totally destroved. From 278, it was reduced to nine. loyalists, who were of that party which had advanced from North Carolina, under Colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The whig militia, on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who as a royal militia, were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people, by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, orders were given, March 26, for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from General Washington's head quarters, to South Carolina; but the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion, as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers, employed in providing for the army, would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed; declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched though the intermediate space of 800 miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were, with great exertions, at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, April 16, landed soon afterwards at Petersburgh. and thence proceeded through the country towards South Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of Major General Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of General Gates. The success of the latter, in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe, that his presence, as commander of the southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised take an active part, in settling and securing his inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal ity of the Waxhaws; but General Gates, on taking majesty's government; that all the inhabitants of the province, who were then prisoners on parole, among the conquerors of America; but the re- be necessary; supposing it to be most for the in-

terest of the states, that he should proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest road, to the vicinity of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny: but the officers, who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches, in the place of bread. They were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common, in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unlicalthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesonie food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, in-instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour, displayed on this occasion, contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army, having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, sand-hills, and swamps, reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of August. The next day, General Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South Carolina, lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred, at this juncture, to produce a general revolt in favour of Congress. The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government, with the expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state, in re-uniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plun-der and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the dissevered members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of the real friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind; together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties, to join General Gates; and more to wish him the completest success.

General Gates, on reaching the frontier of South Carolina, issued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens, "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government, imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest. He also gave "assurances of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced, by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens, resolved on freedom inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation; excepting from this amnesty, only those who, in the hour of devastation, had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation, on the persons and property of their fellow citizens." army, with which Gates advanced, was, by the arrival of Stephen's militia, increased nearly to 4000 men; but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry, and seventy cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th of August. The force, which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry, and 300 cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat; but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night, Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order: Colonel Armand's advance cavalry; Colonel Pottersfield's light infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand, in Indian-file, two hundred yards from the road; Major Armstrong's light infantry, in the same order as Colonel Potterfield's; on the left flank of the legion, advanced guard of font, composed of the advanced picquets; first brigade of Maryland; sccond brigade of Maryland; division of North Carolina; Virginia rear guard; volunteer cavalry, upon the flanks of the baggage, equally divided. The light infactry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry; and Colonel Armand was directed, in that ease, to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night, and engaged. Some of the eavalry of Armand's legion being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order. Both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Potterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. At the first outset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets, by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed the unworthy example; but the continentals, who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground, and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better. For some time they had the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners. Overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North Carolina militia, it should be remarked that part of the brigade commanded by General Gregory acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately in the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded, by a bayonet, in bringing off his men; and several of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets.* Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camdan, after this action, 206 of whom were continentals, \$2 were North Carolina militia, and two were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps, may in some degree, be estimated with the number of The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greatest part of their baggage. Almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action, and dispersed. The fugitives, who fled

by the common road, were pursued above twenty miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion; and the way was covered with arms, baggage, and wagons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner, and died on the next day, of his wounds. He was a German by birth, but had long been in the French service. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, in Annapolis, with a very honourable inscription, General Ruthenford, of North Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery; but the completeness of their victory was, in a great degree, owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds, To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charleston, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officers, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprise this party, at Fishing creek. The British rode into their camp, before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumter had taken every prudeot precaution to prevent a surprise; but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he prevailed on a few to stand their ground, for a short time: but the greater part of his corps fled to the river, or the woods. He lost all his artillery; and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. The prisoners, he had lately taken, were all retaken.

On the 17th and 18th of August, about 150 of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte. had reason to apprehend, that they would be immediately pursued, and out to pieces. There was ne magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of detence. It was, therefore, concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this retreat would be the picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off The inhabitants, hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance; but there were few who could give it. Several men were to be seen with but one arm: and some without anv. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances, the remains of that numerous army, which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Salisbury, and soon afterwards to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to the latter place; and was there, in concert with the government of North Carolina, devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose lord Cornwallis, yet the season, and had health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed, therefore, the most favourable conjuncture, for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Congress, a severer policy was heoceforward adapted.

Unfortunately for the iohabitants, this was taken up on grounds, which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The

^{*} This detail was furnished by Dr. Williamson, surgeongeneral of the North Carolina militia, who, after the battle, went into Camden with a flag.

rights of sovereignty, over a conquered country, ter his victory, September 16, issued a proclamaand that, therefore, the efforts of the citizens, to tion, for the sequestration of all estates, belonging assert their independence, exposed them to the to the active friends of independence. By this, he penal consequences of treason and rebellion. In-constituted "John Cruden, commissioner, with finenced by these opinions, and transported with full power and authority, on the receipt of an orindignation against the inhabitants, they violated der or warrant, to take into his possession the the rights, held sacred between independent hostile estates, both real and personal, not included in the "that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour; that those persons who, by an open avowal of rebelthey should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them, or destroyed." He also ordered, in the most positive manner, "that every posing the re-establishment of his majesty's just militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and lawful authority." It was further declared, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Cainden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged, in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficecy of these submissions. This, in their British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavto follow their inclinations. To treat men thus at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts; but the impartial world must regret, that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated, by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies, in South Carolina, several of the liberty. Several of the richest men in the state most respectable citizens, though in the power of suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and their conquerors, resisted every temptation to re- possession of their conquerors, rather than stain same the character of subjects. To enforce a get their honour by joining the enemies of their counneral submission, orders were given by lord Corn- try. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much walfis, immediately after this victory, to send out to this firmness. They crowded on board prison of South Carolina a number of its principal citi- ships, and other places of confinement, to solace zens. Lieutenant Governor Gadsden, most of the their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors civil and militia officers, and some others,* who were regaling themselves, at concerts and assemhad declined exchanging their paroles, for the protection of British subjects, were taken up, August associate with them; but no sooner was an Amer-27, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent ican officer introduced as a prisoner, than his comto St. Augustine, General Moultrie remonstrated pany was sought for, and his person treated with against the confinement and removal of these gen- every possible mark of attention and respect. On tlemen, as contrary to their rights, derived from other occasions, the ladies, in a great measure, rethe capitalation of Charleston. They, at the same tired from the public eye, wept over the distresses time, challenged their adversaries to prove, that of their country, and gave every proof of the warmany part of their conduct merited expulsion from est attachment to its suffering cause. Among the their country and families. They received no numbers who were banished from their families, farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been and whose property was seized by the conquerors, "adopted from motives of policy." To convince many examples could be produced, of ladies cheerthe inhabitants, that the conquerors were seriously fully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers; resolved to remove from the country, all who re- exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance; and fused to become subjects, an additional number of repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family above twenty citizenst of South Carolina, who re- attachments to interfere with the duty they owed mained prisoners on parole, were sent off to the to their country. When, in the progress of the same place, in less than three months. General war, they were also comprehended under a general Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs, both of North Ca-sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they rolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, parted with their native country, and the many enwere associated with them.

To compel the re-establishment of British go-

Orders were given by lord Cornwallis, capitulation of Charleston, of those in the service, or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress: and also the estates, both real and personal, of lious principles, or by other actorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance, in op-" that any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner, in the execution of his duty, by the concealment, or removal of property, or otherwise, should, on conviction, be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion.'

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became opinion, absolved them from their obligations to ery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now support the royal cause, and left them at liberty became apparent. As the slaves had no interest circumstanced, with the severity of punishment, of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of blies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to dearments of home, and followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were lorined, and great expectations indulged, of spediball, Noble Whimberly Jones, William Lee, William Logan, Arthur Middleton, Christopher Peters, Benjamin Potsell, Samuel Prideau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Walter, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkinson.

Barish conceived themselves in possession of the vernment, lord Cornwallis, in about four weeks af-| Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually, as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, a useful lesson to the world.

> The disaster of the army, under General Gates, overspread, at first, the face of American affairs, with a dismal gloom; but the day of prosperity to the United States, began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment, to dawn. Their prospects brightened up; while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious; while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South Carolina, and re-commencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge, to the rank of brigadier general. About the same time, Marion was promoted to the same rank, who, in the north-eastern extremity of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan. Unfurnished with the means of defence, he was obliged to take possession of the saws of the saw-mills, and to convert them into horsemen's swords. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged, when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times, he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a show of numbers to the enemy. For several weeks he had under his command, only seventy men. At one time, hardships and dangers reduced that number to 25; yet with this inconsiderable number, he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's creek, and Black river; belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats, they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harrassing the enemy, or of serving their country, presented itself.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct, in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed; but not subdued. The severity, with which revolters, who fell into the hands of the British, were treated, induced those who escaped, to persevere, and

seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants, in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force, by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. The British persuaded the people to form a royal militia, by representing. that every prospect of succeeding, in their scheme of independence, was annihilated; and that a far ther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the north-western settements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North Carolina, it was hoped that the friends o royal government would be roused to activity, ir, at Camden, put under such a commander as lord the service of their king. In the meantime, ever

Their names were: Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cochran, John Edwards. Thomas Perguson, George Flagg, William Hassel Gibbes, William Hall, Thomas Heyward, jr. Isaac Holmos, Richard Hutson, William Johnson, Rev. John Lewis, William Livingston, John Loveday, Richard Lushingson, William Massey, Edward Miseady, Alexander Moultrie, John Mowatt, John Nenfville, Edward North, Joseph Parker, John Ernest Poyas, David Ramsay, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, John Sanda, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sanda, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sanda, Hugh Rutledg

preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season, and the state of the

stores, would permit.

That spirit of enterprise, which has already been mentioned, as beginning to revive among the American militia, about this time, prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta, in Georgia; but in this he failed, and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains, and at considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced those hardy republicans, who reside on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprise for reducing that distinguished partisan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders, of the adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel, of North Carolina, together with Colonels Lacy, Hawthorn and Hill, of South Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to 1600; though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon, to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse of their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels, by common consent commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted, for weeks together, without tasting bread, or salt, or spirituous liquors, and slept in the woods with-out blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst. At night, the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at most, the limbs of trees were their only covering. Ears of corn or pompions, thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. These attacked Major Ferguson, 7th October, on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Lacy of South Carolina led one, which attacked on the west. The two others were com-manded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland; one of which attacked on the cast, and the other in the centre.

On this occasion, Colonel Cleveland addressed his party in the following plain unvarnished language: "My brave fellows! we have beat the tories, and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow citizens, in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. 1 will show you by my example, how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we be repulsed, let us make a point to return, and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck, in the second attempt, than in the first. If any of you be afraid, such have leave to retire; and they are requested, immediately, to take themselves off."

Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire: but they only fell back a little way and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire, in almost every direction. British, being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen; and many of them were

shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen, with such exactness, that they killed each other, when taking sight, so effectually, that their eyes remained, after they were dead, one shut, and the other open, in the usual manner of marksmen, when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery, as was possible, in his situation: but his encampment, on the top of the mountain, was not well chosen; as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march, on charging and driving the first part of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with most of his men; but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict, he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended, by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of 800 became prisoners, and 225 were killed and wounded. Very few of the assailants fell; but in their number was Colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer, in Ninety-Six district, who had been very active in opposing the re-establishment of British govern-Ten of the royal militia, who had surrendered, were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure, by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several of the captured Americans, in South Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged, that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisao, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities, necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage, which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well-concerted scheme, for strengthening the British army, by the co-operation of the tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. rout of the party, which had joined Major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution, which made them averse to joining their countrymen, in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward, they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army, towards Salisbury; intending to push forwards in that direction While on his way thither, the North Carolina militia were very industrious and successful, in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and, from behind trees, made sure of their objects. The late conquerors were exposed to unseen dangers, if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards, from their main body. The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis; and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his wagons; and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of Gates, had, in a great measure, worn off. The defeat of Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis encouraged the American militia to take the field; and the necessity of the times induced them to submit to stricter discipline .-Sumter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventures, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army

position from time to time, about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmished with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent incursions: beat up their quarters; intercepted their convoys; and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made, but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid sundry plans for destroying his force : but they all failed in the execution. He was attacked, November 12th, at Broad river, by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action, the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days afterwards, November 20th, he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with 170 dragoons, and 80 men of the 63d regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which, they fired in security. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but, being unable to dislodge the Americans, he retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, Major Money, Lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans Lieutenants Gibson and Cope. lost very few; but General Sumter received a wound, which, for several months, interrupted his gallant enterprises, in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed, in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congress.

For the three months, which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was industriously preparing to take the field.-Having collected a force at Hillsborough, he advanced to Salisbury, and soon afterwards to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power, to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence, which popular opinion has over public affairs, in a commonwealth, Coogress resolved to supersede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of inquiry. The cases were no ways parallel; he had lost a battle; but not a post. The only charge, that could be exhibited against General Gates, was, that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuse him of no military crime, unless that to be unsuccessful might be so reckoned. The public, sore with their losses, were desirous of a change; and Congress found it necessary to gratify them; though at the expense of the feelings of one of their best, and, till August 1780, one of their most successful officers. ginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. When General Gates was at Richmond, on his way home from Carolina, the house of burgesses of that state unanimously resolved, December 18th, "that a committee of four be appointed to wait on General Gates, and assure him of their high regard and esteem; that the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated, by any reverse of fortune,; and that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world, the gratitude which the country owed to him, in his military character."

These events, together with a few unimportant skirmishes, not worthy of being particularly mentioned, closed the campaign of 1780 in the southern states. They afforded ample evidence of the folly of prosecuting the American war. Though British conquests had rapidly succeeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unsubdued, or rather more alienated from every idea of returning to their American marksmen; and many of them were in the state, he constantly kept the field, in sup-slain. An unusual number of the killed were found port of American independence. He varied his ish garrisons kept down open resistance, in the vicinity of the places where they were established; but as soon as they were withdrawn, and the people left to themselves, a spirit of revolt, hostile to Great Britain, always displayed itself; and the standard of independence, whensoever it was prudently raised, never wanted followers, among the active and spirited part of the community.

CHAPTER XXII.

Campaign of 1780, in the Northern States.

WHILE the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the year 1779, the American northern army took post at Morristown, and built themselves huts agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country, from the incursions of the British, being only twenty miles from New York.

Lord Stirling made an ineffectual attempt, in January, 1780, to surprise a party of the enemy on Staten Island. While he was on the island, a number of persons, from the Jersey side, passed over, and plundered the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. In these times of confusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans. Whensoever the opportunity offered they were in the habit of going within the settlements, of the apposite party, and, under the pretence of distressing their enemies, committed the most shameful depredations. In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened, by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New York. The rare circumstance which then existed, of a connexion ! etween ! he main and York island, by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprise; but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant General Kniphausen who then commanded in New-York apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city, as a militia, for its defence. They very cheerfully formed then selves into companies and discovered great zeal in the service.

An incursion was made into Jersey, from New York, with five thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant General Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabethtown, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood, lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, of great activity, ability and influence; whose successful exertions, in animating the Jersev militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence; and shot his wife instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her, through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children. Her body, at the request of an officer of the new levies. was moved to some distance, and then the house. and every thing in it was reduced to ashes! The British burnt about twelve other houses, and also the Preshyterian church; and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced, they were annoved by Colonel Dayton, with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther opposed by General Maxwell, who, with a few continental troops, was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt and soon after returned to Elizabethtown. Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned, with his victorious troops, from Charleston to New York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen; and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body. American officer." They urged, "that, unless a desertion took place.

giment and a piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. An engagement took place. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops, on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated; but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabethtown. The next day, they set our on their return to New York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about eighty: and that of the British, was supposed to be more. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and to destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves, that the inhabitants were so dispirited, by the recent loss of Charleston, that they would submit without resistance; and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to them: but if these were their views, they were disappointed in both. The firm opposition, made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with the conduct of the same people, in the year 1776, made it evident, that not only their aversion to Great Britain continued in full force; but that the practical habits of service and danger had improved the country militia, so as to bring them near to an equality with regular

By such desultory operations, were hostilities carried on, at this time, in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconcilement or subjugation.

The loyal Americans, who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been in the year 1799, permitted to set up a distinct government in New York, under a jurisdiction, called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them, who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs, and two or three schooners. In a proclamation left behind them, they observed,"that they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends and connexions; and that they conceived themselves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation, enabled them to make hasty desents, and successful enterprises. A war of plunder, in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on, in this shameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maratime parts of New Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress, which the Americans suffered, from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch, till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth "that four months' pay of a private would not procure, for his family, a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not pur-

have exceeded all the profits of the conquest. Brit- of continental troops. Colonel Augel, with his re- | speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable;" and concluded with saying, "that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in something equivalent." In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raised, paid, subsisted, and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for state establishments. This mischevious measure partly originated from necessity; for state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops not only with clothing, but with many conveniences. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little or nothing at all. The officers and men, in the routine of duty, mixed daily, and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service, which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and suffering, a disposition to mutiny began to show itself in the American army. This broke forth into full action, among the soldiers, stationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken: and thirteen of the sixteen were instantly killed.

About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied, and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument, that could interest their pride or their passions. They were reminded of their good conduct, and of the important objects for which they were contending: but their answer was "our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief.' After much expostulation, they went to their futs While the army was in this feverish state of discontent, from their accumulated distresses, a printed paper addressed to the soldiers of the continental army, was circulated in the American camp, This vas in the following word: "The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the Congress, and of your commanders, can no longer conceal from you the miseries of your situation. You are neither fed, clothed, nor paid. Your numbers are wasting away by sickness, famine, and nakedness, and rapidly so, by the period of your stipulated services being expired. This is now the period to fly from slavery and frand.

"I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen, that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled; and that Great Britain and Ireland are united, as well from interest as from affection. I need not tell you, who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible, that, in order to procure your liberty, you must quit your leaders and join your real friends who scorn to impose upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told, you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false. Associate then together: make use of your firelocks; and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

About the same time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the whole American southern army. Such was the firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their attachment to the cause of their country, that, though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to a change of sides, yet, on the arrival of but a scanty supply

So great were the necessities of the American | army, that Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties, for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days. At other times, he was compelled to send out detachments of his troops, to take provisions at the point of the bayonet. This expedient at length failed; for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no farther supplies. These impressments were not only injurious to the morals and discipline of the army; but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the support which the American general had previously experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their own army, compared with what they suffered from the British. The general, whom the inhabifants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no alternative, but to disband his troops, or to support them by force. The situation of Washington was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well-fed, paid and clothed, would have been a work of difficulty; but retain them in service, and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, not only of the comforts, but often of the oecessaries of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude, as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties, Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary; but various causes had concurred, about this time, to produce an unprecedented deficiency. The seasons both in 1779 and 1780 were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen, who were attached to the cause of independence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls for militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or who, from principles of religion, held the unlawfulness of war, or who were secretly attached to the royal interest, had been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reasoned, that all labour on their farms, beyond a bare supply of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the principal cause of the sufferings of the army was, the daily diminishing value of the continental bills of credit. The farmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment of taxes, the less quantity of country produce would discharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the longer they kept their grain on hand, the more of the paper currency was obtained in This either discouraged them exchange for it. from selling, or made them very tardy in coming to market. Many secreted their provisions, and denied having any; while others, who were contigious to the British, secretly sold to them for gold or silver. The patriotism, which at the commencement of the war, had led so many to sacrifice property, for the good of their country, had, in a great degree, subsided. Though they still retained their good wishes for the cause, yet these did not carry them so far, as to induce a willingness to exchange the hard-earned produce of their farms, for a paper currency, of a daily diminishing value. For provisions carried to New York, the farmers, received real money; but for what was carried to the Americans, they only received paper. The value of the first was known; of the other daily varying, and in an unceasing progression, from bad to worse. Laws were made against this intercourse; but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been, in the evasion of which multitudes find an immediate interest.

In addition to these disasters from short crops, and depreciation money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adoptTo provide for an army under the best establish- character they wrote sundry letters to the states, a door to many frauds: but it was the hard case of the Americans, to be called on to discharge this their support. and under ill digested systems, and with a paper currency that was not two days of the same value. Abuses crept in; frauds were practised; and economy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, Congress adopted the expedient of sending a committee, of their own members, to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler, of New York, Mr. Peabody, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Matthews, of South Carolina, were appointed. They were furnished with ample powers and instructions to reform abuses, to alter preceding systems, and to establish new ones in This committee proceeded to camp, their room. This committee proceeded to camp, in May, 1780, and thence wrote sundry letters to the representations previously made, of the distresses and disorders every where prevalent. In particular, they stated, "that the army was unpaid for five months; that it seldom had more than occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat: that the army was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirituous liquors of any kind; that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of was on the point of being exhausted."

A tide of misfortunes, from all quarters, was, at this time, pouring in upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety, by concession of any sort. They seemed to rise from the pressure of calamities. When Congress could neither command money nor credit, for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association, to procure a supply of necessary articles, for their suffering soldiers. The sum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank; the principal design of which was, to purchase provisions for the troops, in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charleston, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans, never to return to the events, as threatened the subversion of independence, operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame, which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was rekindled. A willingness to do, and to suffer, in the cause of American liberty, was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigorated by private assurances, that his Most Christian Majesty would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the states to be a part: "The crisis calls for exertion. Much is tion of a single will. to be done in a little time; and every motive, that can stimulate the mind of man, presents itself to glorious struggle, in which indecision would be so destructive on the one hand, and on the other, no deciding efforts."

the American camp, were enlarged so far, as to

ments, and with a full military chest, is a work of stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was difficulty; and though guarded by the precautions agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the which time and experience have suggested, opens field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for To obtain the men, it was produty, without sufficient knowledge of the business, posed to complete the regular regiments, by drafts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states, nearly exhausted by the war, ardently wished for its termination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its distresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States was to bring into the field 35,000 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their support. The tardiness of deliberation in Congress was, in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate esti-Congress and the states; in which they confirmed mates were made of every article of supply, necessary for the ensning campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were assigned to the ten northern states, in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these resix days' provisions in advance; and was on several quisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntarily enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by drafts or lots from the militia. The towns in New England, and the counties in the middle states, were respectively called on, for credit left; that the patience of the soldiers, worn a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of down by the pressure of complicated sufferings the people in New England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months' service. Maryland directed in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength her lieutenants of counties to class all the property, in their respective counties into as many equal classes, as there were men wanted; and each class was by law obliged, within ten day thereafter, to furnish an able bodied recrnit, to serve during the war; and, in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county lieutenants were anthorised to procure men, at their expense, at any rate, not exceeding fifteen pounds in every hundred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon great, and particularly enhanced by the critical the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentrated the requisite power in her president Joseph Reed, and authorised him to draw forth the resources of the state, under certain limitations; and, if necessary, to declare martial law over the state. The legisgovernment of Great Britain, such unfavourable lative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed; but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few oceasions could occur, in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent, in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that, however favourable republies may be to the liberty and happiness of the people, in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operation require unless they imiin readiness for this event, Congress circulated tate the policy of monarchies, by committing the among them an address, of which the following is executive departments of government to the direc-While these preparations were making in Amer-

ica, the armament, which had been promised by view. No period has occurred in this long and his Most Christian Majesty, was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted, to send out troops to the United conjuncture has been more favourable to great and States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service .--The powers of the committee of Congress, in Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness than was the honour of serving under authorise them to frame and execute such plans Washington. The number of applicants was much as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw greater than the service required. The disposiforth the resources of the country, in co-operating tion, to support the American revolution, was not ed, and were very inadequate to the end proposed. with the armament expected from France. In this only prevalent in the court of France, but it aniand waves did not second the ardent wishes of the their original intention of attacking New-York. French troops. on the 1st of May, 1780, they did not reach a port raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in in the United States, till the tenth of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, ment was extremely mortifiying. and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports, with four old French ceiving such an aid from their allies, as would enregiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to 6000 men, under the command of Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau. To the French, immediate possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island; and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. An address of congratulation, from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, was presented to Count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed "their most grateful sense of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally, the monarch of France; and While these disasters were openly menacing the also gave assurances of every exertion in their ruin of the American cause, treachery was silently power, for the supply of the French forces, with undermining it. A distinguished officer engaged, all manner of refreshments, and necessaries for rendering the service happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his answer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force, foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. That which was destined for their aid; and that he was ordered by the king, his master, to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support." "The French troops," he said, " were under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the Americans as brethren." He returned their the colonies. His distinguished military talents compliments by an assurance, " that, as brethren, had procured him every honour a grateful country not only his own life, but the lives of all those under his command were devoted to their service."

and affection for their allies, to wear black and

and the relief of the second.

affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them, against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed upfavourable to this spirit of enter-Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as men, to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line, at New York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days six sail of the line. The British admiral, having secure from attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month, with his tacking the French force at Rhode Island.

Though they sailed from France When the expectations of the Americans were great forwardness of preparatioo, to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen had sailed for France. The disappoint-The Americans had made no common exertions, on the idea of reable them to lay effectual siege to New York, or to strike some decisive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the dust. Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades were added to the deep cloud, which, for some time past, had overshadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780 passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments, and reiterated distresses. The country was exhausted; the continental currency expiring. The army, for want of subsistence, was kept inactive, and brooding over its calamities. for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British, an important post committed state, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism, was the birth place of a man, to whom none of the other states have produced an equal. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great Britain, and the orders of General Washington, would live with to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished military talents could bestow. Poets and painters had marked him as a suitable subject for the display of their talents. Washington recommended, in public orders to He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his the American officers, as a symbol of friendship countrymen, and was in the full eojoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase of which, the white cockades, the ground to be of the first colour wealth of worlds ought to have been insufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, The French troops, united both in interest and but forgiven him his crimes. Though, in his accounts against the states, there was much room to suspect fraud and impositioo, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great measure served as a cloak to cover the whole. He, who had been prodigal of life, in his country's prise. This was the deficient clothing of the cause, was indulged in extraordinary demaods for his services. The generosity of the states did not men, were shabby; and a great proportion of the keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equialongside of allies, fully clad in the elegance page unsupported by the resources of private forof uniformity, must have been more or less than tune, unguarded by the virtues of economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money: and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour reversed by the arrival of Admiral Greaves, with and duty. The calls of luxury were pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island, fame and country. Contracts were made, specu-11e soon discovered, that the French were perfectly lations entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and provictorious troops from Charleston, embarked about perty, furpished him with with the farther means of 8000 of his best men, and proceeded as far as Hun-gratifying his favourite passions. In these cirtingdon-bay, on Long Island, with the apparent cumstances, a change of sides afforded the only design of concurring with the British fleet, in at- hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time, When held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted this movement took place, Washington set his arcoffers. The disposition of the American forces, my in motion, and proceeded to Peekskill. Had in the year 1780, afforded an opportunity of ac-Sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be complishing this, so much to the advantage of ed for the purpose, and carried to the beach, withhis design it was intended to attack New York in the British, that they could well afford a liberal out the posts of both armies, under a pass for John his absence. Preparations were made for that reward for the beneficial treachery. The Ameri- Anderson. He met General Arnold at the house purpose; but Sir Henry Clioton instantly turned can army was stationed in the strong holds of of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet about, from Huntingdon-bay, towards New York, the Highlands on both sides of the North River. In the meantime, the French fleet and army In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the combeing blocked up at Rhode Island, were incapaci-tated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes Gibralter of America. It was built, after the loss were nevertheless indulged, that by the arrival of of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North another fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, then River, and was deemed the most proper for com-

thated the whole body of the nation. The wind favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute vested, by less than twenty thousand men. Though some, even then, entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast, which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and intrusted him with the important post. Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negociation, with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point, under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negociation was the strongest post of the Americaps; the thoroughfare of communication, between the eastern and southern states; and was the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this oegociation, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of great hopes, and of nocommon merit. had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the fine arts, which, by industrious cultivation, had been greatly improved. He possessed many amiable qualities, and very great accomplishments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for this business: but his high ideas of eandour, and his abhorence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practising those arts of de-

ception which it required.

JOHN ANDRE, aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, and adjutant-general of the British army in the revolutionary war, was born in England in 1749. His father was a pative of Geneva, and a considerable merchant in the Levant trade; he died in 1769. Young Andre was destined to mercantile business, and attended his father's counting house, after having spent some years for his education at Geneva. He first entered the army in January 1771. At this time he had a strong attachment to Honoria Sneyd, who afterwards married Mr. Edgeworth. In 1772 he visited the courts of Germany, and returned to England in 1773. He landed at Philadelphia in Sept. 1774, as lieutenant of the Royal English Fusileers; and soon proceeded by way of Boston to Capada to join his regiment. In 1775 he was taken prisoner by Montgomery, at St. John's; but was afterwards ex-changed, and appointed captain. In the summer of 1777 he was appointed aid to General Grey, and was present at the engagements in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1777 and 1777. On the return of General Grey, he was appointed aid to General Clinton. In 1780 he was promoted to the rank of major, and made adjutant general of the British army.

After Arnold had intimated to the British, in 1780, his intention of delivering up West Point to them, Major Andre was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was for some time carried on between them under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned pames of Gustavus and Andersoo; and at length to facilitate their communications. the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North River, and took a station coovenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September 21, 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was despatchunfinished daylight approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold to respect this objection was not obin the West Indies under the command of Count manding its navigation. Rocky ridges, rising one served. He was carried within them contrary to de Guichen, the superiority would be so much in behind another, rendered it incapable of being in-

on the following night he proposed to return to the when I passed from them it was by the same au-Vulture, the boatman refused to carry him, because thority. I used no deception. I had heard that a she had during the day shifted her station, in couprovincial officer had repented of the course he sequence of a gun having been moved to the had taken, and that he avowed, that he never meant shore and brought to bear upon her. This em- to go so far as he had gone in resisting the authobarrassing circumstance reduced him to the ne-rity of his king. The British commander was willcessity of endeavouring to reach New York by ing to extend to him the king's elemency, yea, his land. Yielding with reluctance to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimen- I made no plans; I examined no works:-I only tals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, received his communications, and was on my way and put on a plain suit of clothes; and receiving a to return to the army, and to make known all I pass from the American general, authorizing him, had learned from a general officer in your camp. under the feigned name of John Anderson, to pro- Is this the office of a spy? I never should have ceed on the public service to the White Plains, or acted in that light, and what I have done is not in lower if he thought proper, he set out on his return the nature of a spy. I have noted neither your in the evening of the 22d, accompanied by Joshua strength, or nakedness. If there be wrong in the Smith, and passed the night at Croinpond. The next transaction, is it mine? morning he crossed the Hudson to King's Ferry on the east side. A little beyond the Croton, Smith, deeming him safe, bade him adieu. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New York in perfect security, when September 23d, one of the three militia men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bri-bound to wear my uniform any longer than it was dle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self-possession, which can be attributed only to a kind providence, not the punishment, I beseech you. It is not death asked the man hastily where he belonged, and being answered, "to below," replied immediately, "and so do I." He then declared himself to be a British officer, on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was now too late to repair it. He offered them his purse and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape; but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots exact returns, in Arnold's handwriting, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependences, critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before Lieut. Col. Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still nipotence, not from human beings. Justice is all maintained the character which he had assumed, I claim; that justice which is neither swayed by and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. A letter was accordingly sent to Arnold, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped. The Allen, is given in the sketch of his life: it differs in several respects from the account of the affair in the Encyclopædia Americana, and throws light upon circumstances which have been heretofore obscure.

A board of general officers, of which Major General Greene was president, and the two foreign generals, Lafayette and Steuhen, were members, was called to report a precise state of the case of Andre, who had acknowledged himself adjutantgeneral of the British army, and to determine in what character he was to be considered, and to what punishment he was liable. He received from the board every mark of indulgent attention; and from a sense of justice, as well as of delicacy, he was informed on the first opening of the examination, that he was at perfect liberty not to answer any interrogatory which might embarrass his own feelings. But he disdained every evasion, and frankly acknowledged every thing which was material to his condemnation.

with a general officer of the American army, by the order of my own commander. I entered the thing but a spy. I am not a spy; I have exam- ficers by his fate, was as universal as it is unusual

bounty, in hopes to allure others to do the same

"The office of a spy, a soldier has a right to refuse; but to carry and fetch communications with another army, I never heard was criminal. The circumstances which followed after my interview with general Aroold, were not in my power to con-He alone had the management of them.

" It is said that I rode in disguise. I rode for security, incog. as far as I was able, but other than criminal deeds induce one to do this. I was not expedient or politic. I scorn the name of a spy; brand my offence with some other title, if it change I fear. I am buoyed above it by a consciousness of having intended to discharge my duty in an honourable manner.

" Plans, it is said, were found with me. This you, honestly, that they would have been commu- all due honours paid to my memory. The martyr nicated, if I had not been taken. They were sent is kept in remembrance when the tribunal that by general Arnold to the British commander, and I my heart I spurn the thought of attempting to I had spoken comes from no idle fears of a cowscreen myself by criminating another; but as far ard. I have done." as I am concerned, the truth shall be told, whoever that many a brave officer would be glad, at this time, to have been able to retrace his steps; at came out to negociate this allegiance only, be treated as one who came to spy out the weakness of a camp? If these actions are alike I have to learn my moral code anew.

" Gentlemen officers, be it understood that I am no supplicant for mercy; that I ask only from Omprejudice nor distorted by passion; but that which flows from honourable minds, directed by virtuous determinations. I hear, gentlemen, that my case is likened to that of Captain Hale, in 1776. I have all that dignifies man, that adorns and elevates human nature, that I could be named with that accomplished, but unfortunate officer. His fate was wayward and untimely; he was cut off yet younger than I now am. But ours are not parallel cases. He went out knowing that he was assuming the character of a spy; he took all its liabilities on his head, at the request of his great commander. He was ready to meet what ho assumed, and all its consequences. His death the law of nations sanctioned. It may be complimentary to compare me with him, still it would be unjust. He took his life in his hand when he assumed the character and the disguise. I assumed no disguise, nor took an American officer.

have in the most undisguised manner given you "I came," said he, " to hold a communication every fact in the case. I rely only on the proper construction of these facts. Let me be called any

tinued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when American lines by an unquestionable authority: ined nothing; learned nothing; communicated nothing but my detention to Arnold, that he might escape, if he thought proper so to do. This was, as I conceived, my duty. I hope the gallant officer, who was then unsuspicious of his general, will not be condemned for the military error he

" I farther state that Smith, who was the medium of communication, did not know any part of our conference, except that there was some necessity for secrecy. He was counsel in various matters for General Arnold, and from all the intercourse I had with him; and it was Smith who lent me this dress-coat of crimson, on being told by General Arnold that my business was of that private nature that I did not wish to be known by English or Americans; I do not believe that he had even a suspicion of my errand. On me your wrath should fall if on any one. I know your affairs look gloomy, but that is no reason why I should be sacrificed. My death can do your cause no good. Millions of friends to your struggle in England you will lose if you condemn me. I say not this by way of threat, for I know brave men are not awed by them; nor will brave men be vindictive because they are desponding. I should not have said a word had it not been for the opinion of others which I am bound to respect.

"I have done. The sentence you this day pronounce will go down to posterity with exceeding great distinctness, on the page of history: and if humanity and honour mark this day's decision, your names each and all of you, will be remembered by both nations when they have grown greater and more powerful than they now are; is true; but they were not mine; yet I must tell but if misfortune befals me, I shall, in time, have condemned him is forgotten. I trust this honourshould have delivered them. From the bottom of able court will believe me when I say, that what

The court deliberated long, and at last came to suffers. It was the allegiance of General Arnold the decision, that Major Andre was a spy, and that I came out to secure. It was fair to presume ought to suffer death. He was calm as a philosopher when the award of the court was read.

The morning of the 2d of October, 1780, least we have been so informed. Shall I, who dawned upon the American army. This time was fixed for the execution of the prisoner. It was some distance from the prison to the place of execution, and this the prisoner desired to walk. There had been some fog during the night, which was now settling about the surrounding mountains. Some of the leaves had begun to wear an autumnal appearance. The army was drawn out to witness the sad spectacle. He passed through files of soldiers, on whose pale faces sat the utmost melancholy, bowing to every one he knew.

As the prisoner came within sight of the gallows, he turned to the officers who were with narrative of the bearer of this letter, Mr. Solomon heard of him and his misfortunes. I wish that in him, and said, "Could not this have been otherwise?" He was answered, no. "Well, then," said he, "it is only one pang. I am reconciled to my death, but not to the manner of it. Soldiers, bear witness that I die like a brave man." His manly air; his cheek, fresh as from morning exercise; his nerves firm as ever were in a human frame; his softened tone of voice; his sweet smile; were all witnessed by the spectators: and as he was launched into eternity, a groan involuntarily burst from the bottom of every bosom.

The greatest exertions were made by sir Henry Clinton, to whom Andre was particularly dear, to rescue him from his fate. It was at first represented, that he came on shore under the sanction upon myself any other character that that of a of a flag; but Washington returned an answer to British officer, who had business to transact with Clinton, in which he stated, that Andre himself disclaimed the pretext. An interview was next "In fine, I ask not even for justice; if you proposed between Lieut. Gen. Robertson and Gewant a victim to the names of those fallen unneral Greene; but no facts, which had not before neral Greene; but no facts, which had not before timely, I may as well be that victim as another. I been considered, were made known. When every other exertion failed, a letter from Arnold, filled with threats, was presented.

The sympathy excited among the American of-

dre were dug up and carried to his native land by

royal mandate.-En.]

To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Beand Andre, had been for some time carried on, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent at night from the shore, to fetch Major Andre. On its return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished, till it was too near the dawn of day, for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatman refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon, brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre's return to New York, by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this, he exchanged his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat; was furnished with a horse, and, under the name of John Anderson, with a passport, "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper; he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed, a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, who were, with others, scouting between the out-posts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him. "where he belonged to." He was then replied, "so do I," declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His death." captors proceeded to search him. Sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secret-They contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordinance, and defences, at West Point, works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass; they would convey and accompany him to New York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, ing, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, the on one side of which should be a shield with this ing motto, vincit Amor Patriæ; and that the commander-in-chief be requested to present the same. with the thanks of Congress, for their fidelity, and the eminent service they had rendered their counand asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to aeon board the Vulture sloop of war. Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson forwarded to Washington all the effect his escape. The same packet, which de-turn with him to New York, any person whatever, Vol. 11.—No. 2*

on such occasions; and proclaims the merit of him tailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought who suffered and the humanity of those who in- a letter from him, io which he avowed his name flicted the punishment. In 1821 the bones of An- and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. letter was expressed in terms of digoity without insolence, and of apology without meanness. He stated therein, that he held a correspondence with a person, under the orders of his general; that this attention went no farther than meeting that person, fore this, a written correspondence, between Arnold on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence : and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to eoucert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. His principal request was, that, "Whatever his fate might be, a deeency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that, though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor."

Washington referred the whole case in the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, Andre voluntarily confessed every thing, that related to himself, and, particularly, that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. board did not examine a single witness; but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That Major Audre came on shore, on the night of the 21st of September, in a private and secret manner; that he changed his dress within the American lines, and, under a feigned name, and disguised habit passed their works; that he was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New York; and that, when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts, they farther reported answered, "to below," meaning New York. He it as their opinion, "that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy; and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-General Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote ed in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand-writing, pressing letters to Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. Arnold in particular urged, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the that every thing done by Major Andre was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right and permanent provision, and future promotion, if to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, Major Andre ought not to suffer." And interview, also, took place between General Robertand delivered him, a prisoner, to Lieutenant-Colo-son, on the part of the British, and General Greene, nel Jameson, who commanded the scouting par- on the part of the Americans. Every thing was ties. In testimony of the high sense, entertained urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Pauld- could suggest, for averting the proposed execution. Greene made a proposition for delivering captors of Andre, Congress resolved, "that each up Andre for Arnold; but this could not be acof them receive, annually, two hundred dollars in ceded to by the British, without offending against specie, during life; that the board of war be di-every principle of policy. Robertson urged, "that rected to procure for each of them a silver medal, Andre went on shore, under the sanction of a flag, and that, being then in Arnold's power, he was inscription, Fidelity, and on the other, the follow- not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was re-plied, that "he was employed in the execution of measures, very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to autry." Andre, when delivered to Jameson, con-thorise or countenance; and that Major Andre, in tinned to call himself by the name of Anderson, the course of his examination, had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose quaint him with Anderson's detention. This was that he came on shore under the sanction of a inconsiderately granted. Arnold, on the receipt flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so wide-of this letter, abandoned every thing; and went ly, both in their statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of disinterested genpapers found on Andre, together with a letter giv- tlemen might be taken on the subject, and nomiing an account of the whole affair; but the ex-nated Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson press, by taking a different route from the gene- also urged, that Andre possessed a great share of ral, who was returning from a conference, at Hart- Sir Henry Clinton's esteem; and that he would be ford, with Count de Rochambeau, missed him, infinitely obliged, if he should be spared. He of-This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to fered, that, in case Andre were permitted to re-

that might be named, should be set at liberty. these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate Andre, by ackoowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag, which he had sent for that purpose." He declared, that, if Andre suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed, "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, who had hitherto been spared, only through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy, if Major Andre suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington, by his own honour, and for the sake of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of Andre; but if that warning should be diregarded, and Andre suffer, he called heaven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood, that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save Andre; but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army, that his life was forfeited; and that national dignity, and sound policy required, that the forfeiture

should be exacted.

Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From ao adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of receiving a negative answer, the guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way, over which he passed, was crowded, on each side, by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well dressed youth in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations, at the fatal spot, he asked, with some degree of concern, "must I die in this manner?" He was told, it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but soon subjoined, "It will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart, with a pleasing countenance, and with a degree of composure, which excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say? He answered, "nothing but to request, that you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.

This execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty, and murder were plentifully charged on the Americans; but the impartial of all nations allowed that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned. without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war, in favour of so distinguished an officer: but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty, that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps Andre's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said, that it was more consonant to exlenity, to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger

the independence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public safety imposed a necessity of inflicting the rigours of martial law. yet the rare worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy case the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partisans of royal government, but among the firmest American republicans, the friendly tear of sympathy freely flowed. for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned; others justified; but all regretted the

This grand project terminated with no other alteration, in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers, for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately appointed a brigadier-general, in the service of the king of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme, respecting West Point, made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud, which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself, that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should beable to raise a numerous force, from the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was, an address directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, Oct. 7, 1780, five days after Andre's execution. In this, he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that, when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object. He, however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that were then offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist; when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wishedfor redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalist." He acknowledged that, "in these principles, he had only retained his arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the cootinental army. It was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them, that he was authorised to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each. besides payment for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were, in a great degree, obliged to support themselves, from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their day, and risking their lives, in the unproductive service of Congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circum-stacces of Arnold's case added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether the providential es-into a British port. The San Julian, of 70 guos,

ed, at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character; but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution, and an eight years' contests, for officers to change sides has not been can war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred, that bore any resemblance to the character of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

course of this campaign, shall close this chapter. He crossed the sound to Long Island, with eighty men, Nov. 28th; made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and reduced it, without any other loss, than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant colonel, a captain,

and fifty-five privates.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Foreign Affairs, connected with the American Revolution, 1780, 1781.

THAT spark, which first kindled at Boston gradnally expanded itself, till sundry of the nations of Europe were involved in its wide-spreading flame. France, Spain, and Holland were, in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, sneeessively drawn in for a share of the general calamity.

These events had so direct an influence on the American war, that a short recapitulation of them

becomes necessary.

Soon after his Most Catholic Majesty had declared war against Great Britain, expeditions were carried on by Don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, against the British settle ments, in West Florida. These were easily reduced. The conquest of the whole province was completed in a few months, by the reduction of Pensacola, May 5th, 1781. The Spaniards were not so successful in their attempts against Gibralter and Jamaica. They had blockaded the former of these places, on the land side, ever since July, 1779; and soon afterwards invested it as closely by sea, as the nature of the gut, and variety of wind and weather, would permit. Towards the close of the year, the garrison was reduced to great straits. Vegetables were with great difficulty to be got at any price : but bread, the great essential both of life and health, was most deficient. Governor Elliot, who commanded in the garrison, made an experiment, to ascertain what quantity of rice would suffice a single person; and lived for eight successive days, on thirty-two onnces of that nutritious grain.

The critical situation of Gibralter called for relief. A strong squadron was prepared for that purpose, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney. He, when on his way thither, fell in with fifteen sail of merchantmen, under a slight convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and captured the whole, July 10th, 1780. Several of the vessels were laden with provisions, which being sent into Gibralter, proved a seasonable supply. In eight days afterwards, he engaged, near Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish squadroo, of eleven sail of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. Early in the action, the Spanish ship San men, blew up; and all on board perished. action continued with great vigour, on both sides cape from the deep laid scheme against West was taken. A lieutenant, with 70 British seamen, projected and executed, that in about two hours,

tend humanity, to take one life, than by, ill-timed these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceas- same force was also taken: but afterwards totally lost. Four escaped; two of them being greatly damaged. The Spanish admiral did not strike, till his ship was reduced to a mere wreck. Captain Macbride, of the Bienfaisant, to whom he struck. disdaining to convey infection, even to an enemy, war, produced but one such example. In civil informed him, that a malignant small-pox prevailed on board the Bienfaisant; and offered to permit unusual: but in the various events of the Ameri- the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the Phrenix, rather than, by a removal, to expose them to the small-pox, trusting to the admiral's hosour. that no advantage would be taken of the circumstance. The proposal was cheerfully embraced. fatal sentence, which put a period to his valuable trusts, exclusively, on men of clean hands, and of and the conditions honourably observed. The conwithholding all public confidence from those, who sequence of this important victory was, the immediate and complete relief of Gibralter. This be-A gallant enterprise of Major Talmadge, in the ing done, Rodney proceeded to the West Indies.

The Spaniards, nevertheless, persevered with steadiness, in their original design of reducing Gibraltar. They seemed to be entirely absorbed in that object. The garrison, after some time. began again to suffer the inconveniences which flow from deficient and unwholesome food; but in April, 1781, complete relief was obtained through the intervention of a British fleet, commanded by

Admiral Darby.

The court of Spain, mortified by these repeated disappointments, determined to make greater exertions. Their works were carried on with more vignur than ever. Having, on an experiment of twenty months, found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works. but the rock itself must have been overwhelmed. All distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night. almost incessantly, for three weeks: in every twenty-four hours of which, 100,000lbs, of ganpowder were consumed, and between four and 5000 shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened; but was not intermitted, one whole day, for upwards of a twelvemonth. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme; but the loss of men was less than might have been expected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment. the whole number of killed and wounded was about The damage done to the works was trifling. The houses in town, about 500 in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants, as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rocks; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children, clasped in each others' arms, were so completely turn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies, of the greatest sensibility, and most delicate constitution, deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose, in the casements, amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the first onset, General Elliot retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire, but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched. and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingennity employed upon them were extraordinary, The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and Domingo, mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 both kingdoms were filled with sangnine expectations of speedy sneeds. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense, concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the was put oo board; but, as she ran on shore, the destroyed those works, on which so much time. American soldiery, canonot be unfolded; but, from victors became prisoners. Another ship of the skill, and labour had been expended.

of Brigadier General Ross, marched out about two o'clock in the morning, November 27th, and, at the same instant, made a general attack, on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillerymen spread their fire with such rapidity, that, in a little time, every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up, one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable.

This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and, with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege. subsequent exertions, and reiterated defeats, shall be related in the order of time in which they took

While the Spaniards were urging the siege of Gibraliar, a scheme, previously concerted with the French, was in a train of execution. This consisted of two parts. The object of the first, con-certed between the French and Spaniards, was no less than the conquest of Jamaica. The object of the second, in which the French and the Americans were parties, was the reduction of New York. In conformity to this plan, the monarchs of France and Spain, early in the year 1780, assembled a force in the West Indies, superior to that of the British. Their combined fleets amounted to thirtysix sail of the line, and their land forces were in a correspondent proportion. By acting in concert, they hoped to make rapid conquests in the West Indies.

Fortunately for the British interest, this great hostile force carried within itself the cause of its own overthrow. The Spanish troops, from being too much crowded on board their transports, were seized with a mortal and contagious distemper. This spread through the French fleet, and land forces, as well as their own. With the hopes of arresting its progress, the Spaniards were landed in the French islands. By these disastrons events, the spirit of enterprise was damped. The combined fleets, having neither effected, nor attempted any thing of consequence, desisted from the prosecution of the objects of the campaign. The failure of the first part of the plan occasioned the failure of the second. Count de Guichen, the commander of the French fleet, who was to have followed M. de Ternay, and to have co-operated with Washington, instead of coming to the American continent, sailed with a large convoy, collected from the French islands, directly to France.

The abortive plans of the French and Speniards, operated directly against the interest of the United States; but this was, in a short time, counterbalanced, by the increased embarrassments occasioned 10 Great Britain, by the armed neutrality of the northern powers, and by a rupture with Holland.

The naval superiority of Great Britain had long been the subject of regret and of envy, As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of European sovereigns, to avail themselves of the present favourable moment, to effect an humiliation of her maratime grandeur. That the flag of all nations must strike to British ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. The activity and number of British privateers had rendered them objects of terror, not only to the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the many vessels belonging to other powers, that were employed in trading with them. Various litigations had taken place, between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which were about to be carried to their enemies. In the habit of commanding on the sea,

A body of 2000 chosen men, under the command they considered power and right to be synonymous the conduct of the latter had long been consider-Her trading vessels had long been harassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce, inconsistent with neu-The present crisis favoured the re-establishment of the laws of nations, in place of the usurpations of Great Britain,

A declaration was published in February, 1780, of London, Versailles and Madrid. In this it was observed, "that her imperial majesty had given such convincing proofs of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general, that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct would have entitled her sub- immediate favourite passion. jects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had, however, proved the contrary. Her subjects had been molested in their navigation, by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers." Her majesty therefore declared, "that she found it necessary to remove these vexations, which had been offered to the commerce of Russia; but, before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable, to expose to the world, and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had this salute, and the dismission and immediate readopted for her conduct; which were as follow:

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the nations at war; that all effects, belonging to the belligerent powers, should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged; and with a proviso, that they do not carry to the enemy con-traband articles." These were limited by an explanation, so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition." Her imperial majesty declared that, "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General; and the empress of Russia invited them to make a common cause with her, so far as such a union might serve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communication and invitations were, also, made to the courts of Copenhagen; Stockholm, and Lisbon. A civil answer was received from the court of Great Britain, and a very cordial one from the court of France. On this occasion, it was said by his Most Christian Majesty, "that what powers, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy." The kings of Sweden and and measures, proposed by the empress of Russia. The States General did the same. The queen of Portugal refused to concur. The powers engaged violate the principles, which had been laid down, in the declaration of the empress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the arm ed neutrality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce, from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles es sentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war. The usurped authority of Great Britain, on the highway of nature, received a check. Her embarrassments, from this source, were aggravated by the consideration, that they came from a power, in whose friendship she had confided.

About the same time, the enemies of Great Britain were increased, by the addition of the bound to each other, by the obligations of treaties, approbation of the Pensionary Van Berkel, and of

terms. As other nations, from a dread of provo-ed rather hostile than friendly. Few Europeans king their vengeance, had submitted to their claim had a greater propect of advantage from Ameriof dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves can independence, than the Hollanders. The coninvested with authority, to control the commerce quest of the United States would have regained to of independent nations, when it interfered with Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the their views. The empress of Russia took the lead, establishment of their independence promised, to in establishing a system of maratime laws, which other nations, an equal chance of participating tended to subvert the claims of Great Britain, therein. As commerce is the soul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it, would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties, framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. The past generation found it to their advantage to seek the by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts friendship and protection of Great Britain. But they, who were now on the stage of life, had similar inducements to seek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done, without thwarting the views of the court of London, their recollection of former favours was not sufficient, to curb their

> From the year 1777, Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, has made sundry representations to their high mightinesses, of the clandestine commerce, carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that Mr. Van Graaf, the governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had, at one time, returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore demanded a formal disavowal of call of Governor Van Graaf. This insolent demand was answered with a pusillanimous, tempo-

rising reply. On the 12th of September, 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General, from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic majesty. On the 22d of July, 1779, Sir Joseph Yorke demanded of the States General the succours stipulated in the treaty of 1678; but this was not complied with. Friendly declarations and un-friendly actions followed each other in alternate succession. At length, a declaration was published by the king of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "that the subjects of the United Provinces were, henceforth, to be considered upon the same footing with other martial powers, not privileged by treaty." Throughout the whole of this period, the Dutch, by means of neutral ports continued to supply the Americans; and the English to insult and intercept their navigation: but open hostilities were avoided by both. The former aimed principally at the gains of a lucrative commerce; the latter to remove all obstacles, which stood in the way of their favourite scheme of conquering her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent the Americans. The event, which occasioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of the Denmark, also, formally acceded to the principles American finances, that gentleman had been deputed by Congress, to solicit a loan from their service, in the United Netherlands; and, also, to negociate a treaty between them and the United in this association resolved to support each other. States. On his way thither, September 3, 1780, against any of the belligerant nations, who should be was taken by the Vestal frigate, commanded by Captain Kepple. He had thrown his papers overboard; but many of them were recovered, without having received much damage. His papers being delivered to the ministry, were carefully examined. Among them, was found one, purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce. between the states of Holland and the United States of America. This had been originally drawn up, in consequence of some conversation between William Lee, whom Congress had appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienua and Berlin, and Julin de Neusville, merchant of Amsterdam, as a plan of treaty, destined to be concluded hereafter: but it had never been proposed, either by Congress States General. Though these two powers were or the states of Holland; though it had received the

original was given to Mr. Laurens, as a paper that might be useful to him, in his projected negotiations. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Laurens' possession by accident and which was so nearly sunk in the ocean, proved the occasion of a national war. The court of Great Britain was highly offended at it. The paper itself, and some others relating to the same subject, were delivered to the prince of Orange, who, on the 10th of November, laid them before the states of Hol-

land and West Freisland.

Sir Joseph Yorke presented a memorial to the States General, in which he asserted, "that the papers of Mr. Laurens, who styled himself presideat of the pretended Congress, had furnished the discovery of a plot, unexampled in the annals of the republie; that it appeared by these papers, that the gentlemen of Amsterdam had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the month of August, 1778; and that instructions and full powers had been given by them, for the conclusion of a treaty of amity, with rebels, who were the subjects of a sovereign, to whom the republic was united by the closest engagements." He therefore, in the name of his master, demanded a formal disavowal of this irregular conduct, a prompt satisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violaters of the laws of nations.

The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to prosecute the pensionary, according to the laws of the country; but this was not deemed satisfactory. Sir Joseph Yorke was, on the 20th of December, ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and, soon afterwards, a manifesto against the Dutch was published in London. This was followed by an order in council, " that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the States General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of this measure, its boldness must be adinired. Great Britain, already at war with the United States of America, and the monarchies of France and Spain, deliberately resolved on a war with Holland, at a time when she might have avoided open hostilities. Her spirit was still farther evinced, by the consideration, that she was deserted by her friends, and without a single ally. Great must have been her resources, to support so extensive a war, against so many hostile sovereigns; but this very ability, by proving that her overgrown power was dangerous to the peace of Europe, furnished an apology for their combination against her.

A war with Holland being resolved upon, the storm of British vengeance first burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustalia. This, though intrinsically of little value, had long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand freeport of the West Indies, and, as such, was a general market and magazine to all nations. In consequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvest of commerce, during the seasous of warfare among its neighbours. It was, in a particular manner, a convenient channel of supply to the

The Island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but, as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those meaos of security, which the island afforded.

Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, surrounded this island, and on the 3d February, 1781, demanded a surrender thereof, and of its dependencies, within an hour. utterly incapable of making any defence against creign, in whose service they had previously suftended the invested the island, he must of ne-fered. The French merehants and traders were contrary, if they were now to come out, you should

ency of British commanders."

prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one treme indigence. ast magazine. The storehouses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above 3,000,000 sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized, and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors, for some time, kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch, and American vessels into their hands. Above 150 merchant vessels, most of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five small armed island of St. Martin and Saba were in like maoner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, thirty large ships, laden with West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatia for Holland, under the convoy of a ship of sixty gnns. Admiral Rodney despatched the Monarch and Panther. with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of this fleet The whole of it was overtaken and captured.

The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island. and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British mer chants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of West India produce as well as of European goods. They stated their hard case to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, contending that their connexion with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted, according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered, "that the island was Dutch; every thing in it was Dutch, and under the protection of the Dutch flag; and as Dutch it should be treated."

The severity, with which the victors proceeded, drew on them pointed censures, not only from the

immediate sufferers, but from all Europe. It must be supposed, that they were filled with resentment, for the supplies which the Americans received through this channel; but there is also reason to

suspect that the love of gain was cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

The horrors of a universal havoe of property were realised. The merchants and traders were ordered to give up their books of correspondence, their letters, and also inventories of all their effeets, inclusive of an exact account of all money and plate in their possession. The Jews were dethem; and to depart the island, without knowing the place of their destination. From a natural their wants, in the place of their future residence, they secreted in their wearing apparel, gold, silver, and other articles of great value and small bulk. The policy of these unfortunate Hebrews did not avail them. The avariee of the conquerors effectually counteracted their ingenuity. They were stripped, searched, and despoiled of their money and jewels. In this state of wretchedness, many of the inhabitants were transported as outlaws, and Mr. de Graaf returned for answer, "that, being second time, by the conquering troops of the sov- and respect you; but if you fire, you are a dead

the city of Amsterdam. As this was not an official eessity surrender it; only recommending the town next ordered off the island; and, lastly, the native paper, and had never been read in Congress, the and its inhabitants, to the known and usual clem- Dutch were obliged to submit to the same sentence. Many opnlent persons, in consequence of The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was these proceedings, were instantly reduced to ex-

> In the mean time, public sales were advertised, and persons of all nations invited to become purchasers. The island of St. Eustatia became a scene of constant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immense quantities, exposed for sale, reduced the price of many articles, far below their original cost. Many of the commodities sold on this occasion, became, in the hands of their new purchasers, as effectual supplies to the enemies of Great Britain, as they could have been in ease the island had not been captured. The spirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Eustatia to sacrifice the interests of vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring Great Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the same. The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national justice. must be gratified, when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes, which, as hereafter shall be explained, greatly contributed to the capture of a large British army, in Yorktown, Virginia: an event which gave peace to contending rations. While Admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered, in the sales of confiscated property, at St. Enstatia, and especially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American eoast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The revolt of the Pensylvania line; of part of the Jersey troops: distresses of the American army: Arnold's invasion of Virginia.

Though general Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect, [1781] in detaching the soldiery of America, from the unproductive service of Congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such clothing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service; but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance, in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers. enlisted in that state, were, for the most part, natives of Ireland: but though not bound to America, by the incidental tie of birth, they were infesignated as objects of particular resentment. They rior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment were ordered to give up the keys of their stores; to the cause of independence. They had, on all to leave their wealth and merchandise behind previous occasions, done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity, in the terms of their endstment, furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great wish to be furnished with the means of supplying part of them were culisted for three years, or during the war. The three years were expired; and the men insisted, that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited, by the non-commissioned officers and privates in the night of the 1st of January, 1781, and soon became so universal, in the line of that state, as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal landed on St. Christopher's. The assembly of forthe purpose, turned out under arms without their that island, with great humanity, provided for officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. them such articles as their situation required. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans. Several were wounded; and a captain was killed Some of these, though they had been banished in attempting it. General Wayne presented his from the United States, on account of their having pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their taken part with Great Britain, were banished a bayonets to his breast, and said: "we love

rity as ever; but we will no longer be amused. We are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of 1300 moved off in a body, from Morristown, and proceeded, in good order, with their arms and six field pieces, to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body. and appointed a sergeant major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants; who had been long used to exactions of the same kind levied for similar purposes, by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions incon-

sistent with that profession. Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolters were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might, at any time, after the 6th of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government; to pardon all their past offences; to have the pay due them from Congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received, if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South river, and it was promised, that a detachment of British troops should be in readiness for their protection, as soon as desired. In the meantime, the troops passed over from New York to Staten Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised, to find that the faithful, though revolting soldiers, disdained his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clinton were seized, and delivered to General Wayne. President Reed and General Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania to accommodate matters with the revolters. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies; and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of one hundred guineas to the mutineers, as a reward for their fidelity, in delivering up the spies: but they refused to accept it, saying, "that what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired, nor would receive any reward, but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled."

By these healing measures, on the 17th January, the revolt was completely quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers being founded in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of service was expired obtained their discharges; and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this occasion, the commander-inchief stated in a circular letter, to the four eastern states, the well-founded complaints of his army; and the impossibility of keeping them together, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferiogs. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of these despatches; and to urge the states to an immediate exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and, with great caroest-

same time, made similar advances.

The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. About one hundred and sixty of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct with equal spirit, nor with equal prodence. They committed sundry acts of ourrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Major General Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and servility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepest wound to the service, he determined to proceed against them with decision. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight; and, by the dawning of the next day, had his men in four different positions, to prevent the revolters from making their escape. Every avenue being secured. Colowith orders immediately to parade without arms; and to march to a particular spot of ground. Some hesitation appearing among them, Colonel Sproat was directed to advance; and only five minutes were given to the mutineers, to comply with the orders which had been sent them. This had its effect; and they, to a man, marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the revolt; upon which General Howe desired them to select three of the greatest offenders. A field court-martial was presently held upon these three; and they were unanimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the spot; and the executioners were selected from among the most active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoous, made public concessions to their officers, and promised, by future good conduct, to atone for past offences. These mutinies alarmed the states; but did not

produce permanent relief to the army. Their wants, with respect to provisions, were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from tobbing, only, in its being done by authority, for the public service, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate, of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At first, some reliance was placed on these certificates, as vouchers to support a future demand on the United States; but they soon became so common as to be of little value Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority, for forcing their property from them. That an army should be kept together, under such circumstances, so far exceeds credibility, as to make it necessary to produce some evidence of the fact. The American General Clinton, in a letter to Washington, dated at Albany, April 16th, 1781, wrote as follows: there is not now independent of Fort Schuvler, three days' provision in the whole department, for the troops, in case of an alarm, nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies, I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quarter master's department is totally useless. The public armory has been shut up for nearly three weeks, and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued." Soon after this, Washington was obliged to apply 9000 dollars, sent by the state of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, to the use of the fixed upon it, by the scale of depreciation. quarter master's department, to enable him to transport provisions from the adjacent states. Be-

see us fight under your orders, with as much alac- army. Massachusetts gave twenty-four silver dol- to so great an extent, that there was reason to lars to each man of her line; and also furnished apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such frethem with some clothing. Other states, about the quent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Fort Schuyler, West Point, and the posts up the North river, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie; and in the neighbourhood of the American army, there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter had well nigh dissolved the army, and laid the country, in every direction, open to British excursions.

These events were not unforseen by the rulers of America. From the progressive depreciation of their bills of credit, it had for some time past occurred, that the period could not be far distant, when they would cease to circulate. This crisis, ardently wished for by the enemies, and dreaded nel Barber of the Jersey line was sent to them, by the friends of American independence, took place in 1781; but without realising the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New resources were providentially opened; and the war was carried on with the same vigour as before. A great deal of gold and silver was, about this time, introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spanish West India islands. and by means of the French army in Rhode Island. Pathetic representations were made to the minis. ters of his Most Christian Majesty by Washington, Dr. Franklin, and particularly by Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, who was sent to the court of Versailles as a special minister on this occasion. The king of France gave the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed, for their use in the United Netherlands. A regular system of figure was also, about this time, adopted. All matters, relative to the treasury, the supplies of the army, and their accounts, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with judgment and economy. The issuing of paper money, by the authority of government, was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver together with these judicious domestic regulations, aided by the bank which had been erected, the preceding year, in Philadelphia. extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, clothe, and move their army.

About the same time, the old continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. By the scale of depreciation the war was carried on five years, for little more than a million of pounds sterling; and two hundred millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. other countries, such measures would probably have produced popular insurrections; but, in the United States, they were submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was violated; but, in the opinion of most men, public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit, at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would, in many cases, have increased them, by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had, in a great measure gone out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others, who had obtained it, at a rate of value not exceeding what was

Nothing could afford a stronger proof, that the resistance of America to Great Britan was grounded fore he consented to adopt this expedient, he had in the hearts of the people, than these events. To consumed every ounce of provision, which had receive paper bills of credit, issued without any been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West funds, and to give property in exchange for them, ness and equal success, described the wants of the Point; and had strained impress by military force as equal to gold or silver, demonstrated the zeal

and enthusiasm with which the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction of the same, after a currency of five years, without any adequate provision made for their future redemption, was more than would have been borne by any people, who conceived that their rulers had separate interests or views from themselves. The demise of one king, and the coronation of a lawful successor, have often excited greater commotions, in royal governments, than took place in the United States, on the sudden extinction of their whole current money. The people saw the necessity which compelled their rulers to act in the manner they had done; and, being well convinced that the good of the country was their object, quietly submitted to measures, which, under other circumstances, would scarcely have been expiated by the lives and fortunes of their authors.

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities, which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operations, which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war, in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them, for keeping a large army idle at New York, which, they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions, at one and the same time, on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of British head quarters, at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state, from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour Lord Cornwallis's designs in the southern states, Major General Leslie, with about 2000 men, had been detached from New York to the Chesapeake, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charleston, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of General Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New York. This was commanded by General Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels, as enabled him to commit extensive ravages, on the unprotected coasts of that well watered country. The invaders landed about fifteen miles below Richmond, and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sailcloth, &c. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth, January 20th, and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoe made by General Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced General Washington to detach the Marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infantry, to that state; and also to urge the French in Rhode Island to co-operate with him, in at-The tempting to capture Arnold and his party. French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame, had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to

party. the death of de Ternay, in the preceding Decemthe Eveille, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates. with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates only; yet the friends of his fame have reason in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten regret, that he did not die three weeks sooner. vessels, and captured the Romulus, of forty-four guns. Arbuthnot, with a British fleet, sailed from Gardiner's bay, in pursuit of D'Estouches. The former overtook and engaged the latter off the capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French; but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets, thus pearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory, so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The fleet of his Most Christian Majesty returned to Rhode Island, without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from the imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. day before the French fleet returned to Newport, March 25th, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake from New York, with Major General Philips, and about 2000 men. This distinguished officer, who, having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Philips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embareation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited Yorktown; but the main body proceeded to Williamsburg. On the 22d of April, they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river ten or twelve miles, and destroyed much property. On the 24th, they landed at City point, and soon afterwards marched for Petersburg. About one mile from the town, they were opposed by a small force commanded by Baron Steuben; but this. after making a gallant resistance, was compelled to retreat.

At Petersburg, on the 27th, they destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. Within three days, one party marched to Chesterfield court-house, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of flour. At the same time, another party under the command of General Arnold marched to Osborne's. About four miles above that place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. General Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet; but he declared he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon this refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and fired upon him with decisive effect from the banks of the river. Two ships, and ten small vessels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Flour ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels were burnt or sunk. The quantity of tobacco. taken or destroyed in this flect, exceeded 2000 hogsheads; and the whole was effected without the loss of a single man, on the side of the British. The royal forces then marched up the fork, till they arrived at Manchester on the 30th. There they destroyed 1200 hogsheads of tobacco. turning thence they made great havoc at War-They destroyed the ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flour, with a number of warehouses, and of tan-houses, all filled with their respective commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagation. On the 9th of May, they returned to Petersburg; having, in the course of the preceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immense amount. With this expedition, Major General Philips terminated a life, which in all its previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on differ-

With this view, their fleet, with 1500 ad- the approbation of Prince Ferdinand, under whom ditional men on board, sailed from Rhode Island, he had served in Germany. As an officer he was March 8th, for Virginia. D'Estouches, who since universally admired. Though much of the devastations, committed by the troops under his comber, had commanded the French fleet, previous to mand, may be vindicated on the principles of those the sailing of his whole naval force, despatched who hold, that the rights and laws of war are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame have reason to

CHAPTER XXV.

Campaign of 1781. Operations in the two Carolinas and

THE successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms, since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object, by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter, which followed General Gates's defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing and supporting their southern army; but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their porthern army would not admit of being farther weakened; nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles; but if men could have been procured, and time allowed for marching them to South Carolina, money, for defraying the unavoidable expenses of their transportation, could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or the first months of 1771. Though Congress was unable to forward either money or men, for the relief of the southern states, they did what was equivalent. They sent them a general whose head was a council and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement. The nomination of an officer, for this important trust, was left to General Washington. He mentioned General Greene, adding for reason, "that he was an officer, in whose abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire confidence.

[NATHANIEL GREENE, a Major General in the American army, during the revolutionary war, was born near the town of Warwick, in Rhode Island. in the year 1741. He received but a scanty, chance education, when a boy, but possessed sufficient sagacity to see and feel his deficiency. His father was an honest blacksmith, extensively engaged in making heavy work, but possessed little if any knowledge beyond that of reading the bible or almanae, or being enabled to write well enough to keep a day-book, in which to charge his neighbour with his work. But Nathaniel was not contented with this, he sought books, became his own instructer, and made rapid progress in several branches of knowledge. Those portions of ancient history, which treat of wars and the exploits of heroes, were the most attractive to the young Quaker; and while he wore his plain beaver, his mind was filled with the nodding plumes, and burnished armour of ancient days. From the workshop, in which he was engaged with his father, he was elected to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, to represent the ancient town of Warwick, the place of his birth. He was in that body, when a proposition was made to raise a considerable military force, for the exigencies of the times. He had shown his taste for military life, in an independent company, raised previously, in expectation of the necessity of using force to protect themselves in the exercise of their rights. With a sagacity and foresight, seldom found in a popular assembly, the legislature of Rhode Island took him from the ranks, and gave him the command of the whole, with the rank of brigadier general. He accepted the command, and marched forthwith to the head quarters of the American army, at Cambridge. The keen eve of Washington soon marked Greene for a soldier. He saw the great military chieftain, in the youthful officer, whose maiden sword had not then been fleshed. their allies by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's ent occasions of a preceding war, he had gained In August, 1776, after having been but a little more

than a year in the service, he was commissioned who were fees to his country, but among those with it, in recovering the country. a major general, and this without any murmur who owed him a debt of gratitude. He, how- object called for the united efforts of both. from any one. He was with the army at Trenton ever, lived down envy and malice, and rose triand Princeton, and had a share in that enterprise, umphant over all who assailed him. There was so fortunate for the cause of the revolution. He was at the battle of Germantown, and for his good honesty, a perseverance and hardshood worthy the conduct was honourably mentioned by the commander-in-chief. So fully had Greene disciplined honours-he had no adventitious support. He of being supported by them. The impatience of the resources of his mind that Washington urged broke from the thraldom of the religious prejuhim to do the duties of quartermaster general to the army, believing that he would find ways and means, that no other man could. These duties were performed by him while he still held his rank in the line. Every thing had gone wrong for the patriots in the south. The British considered the war as ended, south of the Potomac, when General Greene was sent by General Washington to the Southern district. He found the army he was to command in a most wretched condition; a mere skeleton of military force, wasted down to that state by sword, famine, and desertion. Many of his companies were worse than Falstaff's tatterdemalions, for they were not only covered with rags. but were literally naked in a winter month. The brave Morgan was with him; and the very next month after Greene arrived in the district, fought the battle of the Cowpens, one of the most distinguished affairs in the annals of the revolutionary war. The proud and brave Tarleton was beaten by a force smaller than his own, and two-thirds of that force, raw militia. In March, 1781. Greene made an attack on the enemy at Guilford Court House, and after a smart action, was forced to retreat; but the British, though victorious, were so crippled that they were obliged to make a retrograde motion, having gained no advantage by their nominal success. Greene next attempted the reduction of Camden, and had a battle with lord Rawdon; but through the bad conduct of one of the regiments under his command. General Greene was compelled to retreat, but lost no honour by the fight. Rawdon, like Cornwallis, was obliged to retreat soon after the engagement. For some time after this the American army was victorious, and several forts garrisoned by the British, surrendered; but the enemy's force, being augmented by reinforcements, the tide was changed, and they again obtained the control of South Carolina. Greene, however, was not dismayed nor subdued; he said in the pride of his soul, and, in the conseiousness of his powers, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." The battle of Eutaw Springs, followed; Greene's army was victorious, and the consequences were favourable to the American cause. It was a hard-fought battle; five found the troops had made a practice of going hundred of the American army were slain, and home without permission, staying several days or more than double that number of the British. To the difficulties that at this time encompassed General Greene, was added that of treason in his camp. Misfortune had broken down some men kind he caught. One such being soon taken, was from whom better things were expected; but energy, and a kind providence, delivered him from all up to be spectators of the punishment. This had the snares that surrounded him. Rebellion was the desired effect, and put a stop to the dangerous hushed by well-timed severity, and confidence restored in the camp. Our limits will not allow us to dwell longer on the hardships, the exertions. and the successes of our southern army, during were militia. The regulars had been for a long this eventful period; the details would require volumes, and happily these have already been written, by men of genius and research. The surrender of Corowallis, December 17, 1782, put an end to the hardships of the American army, and laid the foundation for an honourable peace for the country. General Greene now revisited his paper currency was depreciated so far, as to be native state, and was received with every mark of attention. Notwithstanding all he had suffered at plies as the country afforded. Hard money had the south, he was still pleased with it, and removed his family to Georgia, in 1785; but he did not the Americans. The only resource left for suplive long to enjoy the life of a southern planter. plying the army, was by the arbitrary mode of im-He died suddenly, on the 15th of June, 1786, press. To seize on the property of the inhabitleaving behind him a wife and five children. Congress voted him a monument, but it has nev- affections, was a difficult business, and of delicate er been erected. Greene had to encounter enemies, sharp and severe enemies, who were de- nished the army with provisions, without impairing termined to destroy him; not only among those the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate formed the first line, and were advanced a few hun-

about him in all his transactions, an undeviating best ages of the world. He claimed no lineal the people would be lost; and with it all prospect dices of the sect in which he was born and educated; but he retained all their firmness of purpose and integrity of character. His life is a proof, and although time and chance happeneth to all, still a great man, may, under our free system of government, he the builder of his own fame.-Eo.1

The army, after its defeat and dispersion, to the 16th of August, 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year, they advanced in Charlottetown. At this place General Gates transferred the command to General Greene. The manly resignation of the one was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. attention, were reciprocally exchanged. Greene, upon all occasions, was the vindicator of Gates's reputation. In his letters and conversation, he uniformly maintained, that his predecessor had failed in no part of his military duty; and that he had deserved success, though he could not com-

Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a successful enterprise of Lieutenant Colonel Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within thirteen miles of Camden, to Clermont, the seat of Lieutenant Colonel Rigley, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house, encompassed by an abbatis, and defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieutenant Colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, so as to resemble a field piece. The lucky moment was seized, and a peremptory demand of an immediate surrender was made; when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade, in case of their refusal. The whole surrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side. This fortunate incident, through the superstition to which most men are more or less subject, was viewed by the army as a presage of success under their new commander.

When General Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce strict discipline, he gave out, that he would make an example of the first deserter of the accordingly shot, at the head of the army, drawn practice.

The whole southern army at this time consisted of about 2000 men; more than half of whom time without pay, and very deficient in clothing. All sources of supply from Charleston were in possession of the British; and no imported article could be obtained, from a distance less than two hundred miles. The procuring of provisions for this small force was a matter of difficulty. wholly unequal to the purchase of even such supnot a physical existence in any hands accessible to ants, and, at the same time, to preserve their kind execution; but of the utmost moment, as it fur-

was the situation of the country, that it was almost equally dangerous for the American army to go forward or stand still. In the first case, every thing was hazarded; in the last, the confidence of the suffering exiles and others led them to urge the adoption of rash measures. The mode of opposition they preferred was the least likely to effect their ultimate wishes. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with swamps and covered with woods; the inconsiderable force of the American army, the number of the disaffected, and the want of magazines, weighed with General Greene to prefer a partisan war. By close application to his new profession, he had acquired a scientific knowledge of the principles and maxims for conducting wars in Europe; but considered them as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumstances, he used them; but oftener deviated from them, and follow-Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and ed his own practical judgment, founded on a comprehensive view of his real situation.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, General Greene took the field, against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent General Morgan, with a respectable detachment, to the western extremity of South Carolina; and, about the same time marched with the main body to Hicks's-ereek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw

After the general submission of the militia, in the year 1780, a revolution took place, highly favourable to the interest of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the oppnsite party. The British had a post in Ninety-Six, for thirteen months, during which time the conntry was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were daily made for redress; yet, in that whole period, there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the soldiery or the tories. The people soon found, that there was no security for their lives, liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, regardless of their civil rights. The peaceable eitizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression, than resistance. They therefore most ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances, General Greene detached General Morgan, to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety-Six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Caro-To leave General Morgan in his rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, Lieutenant Colonel Tarle. ton was ordered to proceed, with about 1100 men, and "push him to the utmost." He had two field pieces, and a superiority of infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and of eavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this in equality of force, two thirds of the troops under General Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, with the expectation of driving him out of South Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with 190 from North Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. These

on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood, in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank, or rear. On the side of the British, the light legion infantry and fusileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form in line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Culonel Pickens directed the men under his command to retain their fire, till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness, was not sufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back; but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced, and engaged the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis, Colonel Washington made a successful charge on Tarleton, who was cutting down the militia. Lientenant Colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Tarleton's pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans; and the greatest confusion took place among his infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, lieutenant colonel Howard called to them, to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarters. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st. and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party, which had been left some distance in the rear, to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of that detachment, on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, destroyed a great The officer of that detachment, on part of the baggage, and retreated to lord Cornwallis. Three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred prisopers taken. Eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, thirty-five baggage-wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct, on this memorable day, was honoured by Congress with a gold medal. They also presented medals of silver to Lieutenant Colonels Washington and Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to Baron Glassbeck. Licutenant Colonel Tarleton, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost his laurels, though he was supported by the 7th regiment, one battalion of the 71st, and two companies of light infantry: and his repulse did more essential injury to the British interest than was equivalent to all the preceding advantages he had gained. It was the first link in a chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South Carolina, on the royal in-That impetuosity of Tarleton, which had acquired him great reputation, when on former occasions he had surprised an incantious enemy, or attacked a panie-struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, and led them on to action, before they were properly formed, and be-fore the reserve had taken its ground. He was also guilty of a great oversight, in not bringing up a column of cavalry, to support and improve the advantages he had gained, when the Americans

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his

These were under the command of ford Rawdon. principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations, against North Carolina, Major Craig, with a detachment of about murmuring, their most valuable haggage destroythree hundred men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced, with the fairest prospects to the British government. The arrival of General Leslie in Charleston, with his late command in Virginia, gave Earl Cornwallis a decided superiority. and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South Carolina, in his rear, was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope, and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would prove but the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the southern states. Whilst ford Cornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprised and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped, by vigorous exertions, soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners, captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army, in consequence of this determination, induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hicks'screek, lest the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment, which was encumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation, General Greene left the main army, under the command of General Huger, and rode I50 miles through the country, to join the detachment under General Morgan; that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately of the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard; and, having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter; but Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house; to which place he had also ordered General Huger, to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat, the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes, over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Their march led through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season, also with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted, without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage; and the example was followed by the of-

dred yards before the second, with orders to form security of South Carolina. Besides the force at cessary in action, or to the existence of the troops on the right of the second, when forced to retire. Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops, was destroyed. No wagons were reserved, except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the sick. The royal army, encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld, without ed, and their spiritnens liquors staved, when they were entering on hard service, and under circum-

stances which precluded every prospect of supply. The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba, on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of Providence in their favour. It is certain that, if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, General Morgan, with his whole detachment and 500 prisoners, would have scareely had any chance of escape. When the fresh had subsided, so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning. Feints had been made of passing at several different fords; but the real attempt was made on the Ist of February at a ford near McCowan's, the north banks of which were defended by small guard of militia commanded by General Davidson. The British marched through the river upwards of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the land, dispersed the Americans. General Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, was killed at the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party, which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over, without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee, and the British to pursue. former, by expeditions movements, crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February; and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains, made the crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence, that their cause was favoured by heaven. That they, in two successive instances should effect their passage. while their pursuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impressed the religious people of that settlement with such sentiments of devotion, as added fresh vigour to their exertions, in behalf of American independence.

The British, having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army made a junetion at Guilford court-house on the seventh of February. Though this had taken place, their combined oumbers were so interior to the British, that General Greene could not with any propriety risk an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion. that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an eogagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between General Greene and Virginia, to cut his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable; supposing conquests, porthwardly, was not inattentive to the ficers under his command. Every thing not ne-that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient

ded his lordship. The British urged their crying out. "God save the king," and mapursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14th compelled to the British colonies who were of this character, commanded by general Huger and colonel Wiltransported his army, artillery and baggage, Americans as being cowards, who not only over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid wanted spirit to defend their constitutional onel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the van of the pursuing British just arrived as strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domthe rear of the Americans had crossed. The ination on themselves and countrymen. Many hardships and difficulties, which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification, that all their toils and exercises. They conceived slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm he re-without inquiring into the probability of what it next to impossible that general Greene could crossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough, had been injudiciously suggested, the militia escape, without receiving a decisive blow. On his retreat he cut down several of the roy-They therefore cheerfully submitted to diffi- alists, as they were advancing to join the Britculties, of which they who reside in cultivated ish army, mistaking them for the rebel militia so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a countries can form no adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were public sentiment was no longer in his favour.

North Carolina, earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and government being discouraged by these adretreat. General Stevens, their commander, proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival verse accidents, and being also generally defilished a proclamation, inviting all loyal sub-jects to repair to it with their arms and ten days provision, and assuring them of his read-large extent of a thinly settled country, that it iness to concur with them in effectual measures was difficult to bring them to unite in any common for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and plan. They had no superintending Congress for the re-establishment of good order and con-stitutional government. Soon after the king's While each little district pursued separate standard was erected at Hillsborough, some measures, all were obliged to submit to the hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British American governments: Numbers of them, camp. They seemed to be very desirous of who were on their way to join lord Cornwalpeace, but averse to any co-operation for pro- lis, struck with terror at the unexpected recuring it. They acknowledged the continenturn of the American army, and with the seon return, and on the whole declined to take kind, which disposed them to be more attened dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and tion, but to keep alive the courage of his par-Deep river. He therefore detached lieutenant colonel Tarleton with 450 men, to give rass the foragers and detachments of the Britin that district. Greene being informed that Greene was unequal even to defensive operaat every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an ac-

number of flats, could not make good their nel Pyle, when on their way to join the longer delay took place on either side. either army.

Though general Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate acty—to depress that of the loyalists, and to har-

passage in the deep water below, or in case of British, fell in with this light American party, American army consisted of about 4400 men, their attempting it, he expected to overtake and mistook them for the royal detachment of which more than one half were militia. The British of about 2400, chiefly troops grown cross. In this expectation he was deceived. Common them, abouring under this mistake, to great of the property of the propert retire upwards of 40 miles. By the most inde- more rarely found mercy than European sol- liams. After a brisk cannonade in front the British fatigable exertions general Greene had that day diers. They were considered by the whig advanced in three columns. The Hessians on the was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of 140 yards, and was occasioned by the misconduct of a colonel, precipitately quitted the field: As one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs. whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army manner of their being led on, and the quality The continental army being driven out of was entirely stopped. The absence of the Amer- of the officers by whom they are commanded.

retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted 40 rifleman at equal distances, there, he erected the king's standard, and publicient in that ardent zeal which characterised twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops, were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia hrigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was tals were chased out of the province, but ex- unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to therefore ordered. This was made in good pressed their apprehensions that they would wait events. Their policy was of that timid order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halany decided part in a cause which yet appear- tive to personal safety, than to the success of ted there and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost 4 pieces of artillery and two ammunition wagons. victory, cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. countenance to the friends of royal government ish, till reinforcements should arrive. While The guards lost colonel Stuart and three captains besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers Cornwallis' camp, but took a new position to make their submission, was apprehensive every night, and kept it a profound secret Generals O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant countries. that unless some spirited measure was imme- where the next was to be. By such frequent colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 diately taken, the whole country would be lost movements, lord Cornwallis could not gain into the Americans. He therefore concluded, telligence of his situation in time to profit by it. Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson of the done by the light troops, and these on the next tion, for three weeks, during which time he Maryland line, a most valuable officer, of the day were followed by the main hody accom- was often obliged to ask bread from the com- latter were generals Huger and Stevens. The panied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Im- mon soldiers, having none of his own. By early retreat of the North-Carolinians saved Mediately after the return of the Americans to the end of that period, two brigades of militia them from much loss. The American army North-Carolina, some of their light troops, from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, sustained a great diminution, by the numerous commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant together with four hundred regulars raised for fugitives who instead of rejoining the camp colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarle- eighteen months, joined his army, and gave went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis sufton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists. Three hundred
and fifty of these tories, commanded by coloVol. 2.—3.

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the good consequences of a victory. General state, Sumter was powerfully supported by plain, covered on the south and east sides by field, but nothwithstanding the British interest in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. commissions, and had many friends. In the proclamation setting forth his complete victory, like manner great assistance from the active and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and exertions of colonels Peter Horry, and Hugh take an active part in restoring order and good Horry, lieutenant colonel John Baxter, colonel government, and offering a pardon and protection James Postell, major John Postell, and major to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would John James. surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, with the numerous lovalists in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purposes of co-operating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. distance, the narrowness of Cape-Fear river, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army, made it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these reasons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded, of his own and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighboring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every

comfort in their power.

Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramsay's mill on Deep river, but for good reasons desisted from following him any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, cuted with spirit and success. and then marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this movement. the bold resolution of returning to South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This animated the friends of Congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have conceived themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people of the state, which had regular communications light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina the whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partizans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the Britsh convoys of provisions, infesharrassed their detachments with such frequent lation. alarms, that they were obliged to be always on

Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the colonels Niel, Lacy, Hill, Winc, Bratton, the Wateree and a creek, the western and Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia northern by six redoubts. It was defended by Soon after this action, lord Cornwallis issued a north-eastern extremity, Marion received in American army, consisting only of about an

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of the militia officers and performed many gallant enterprizes. These singly were of too little consequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people and embarrassed the British. One in which major John Postell commanded may serve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James de Peyster of the royal army, with 25 grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of 21 militia men, in such positions as commanded its doors, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house, and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, general Greene determined to re-commence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in eral Greene to another action, but found it to preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly ur-ged this measure, was about this time authori-The Americans continued the pursuit of zed to raise a state brigade, to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was re-commenced in South-Carolina, and prose-

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he sent orders to general Pickens, to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six, and Augusta, and also detached lieutenant colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to general Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep river to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts considered that movement of his lordship in the with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprize to the Americans. While general Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by general Marion and lieutenant colonel Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, conted their out-posts, heat up their quarters, and sisting of 114 men, surrendered by capitu-

Camden, before which the main American their guard. In the western extremity of the army was encamped, is a village situated on a to surrender at discretion.

lord Rawdon with about 900 men. equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of priseners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action general Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of colonel Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel genbe impracticable. Failing in this design he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charleston, and the position of the American arms, in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts. They therefore resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of Congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army. While Greene lay in the neighborhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. This had such effect afterwards that there was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the post at Orangeburg, consisting of 70 British militia and 12 regulars, surrendered to general Sumter. On the next day Forte Motte capitulated. This was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congarce. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house,

which was in the centre of the British works.

compelled the garrison, consisting of 165 men,

In two days more the British evacuated their were the ostensible motives of action; but in se- in those perilous extremities when feeble minds post at Nelson's ferry, and destroyed a great part of their stores. On the day following, fort Granby, garrisoned by 352 men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to lieutenant colonel Lee. Very advantageous terms were given was marching to their relief.

Their baggage was secured, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. The American military were much disgusted at the terms allowed the garrison, and discovered a disposition to break the capitulation and kill the prisoners; but Greene restrained them, by declaring in the most preremptory manner, that he would instantly put to death any one who should offer violence to those, who, by surren-

dering, were under his protection.

had broken ground, their adversaries evacua-South-Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel, and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses besieged, but the disparity was not great.

Were speedly reduced to ashes.

The siege was prosecuted with indefa

In the rapid manner just related, the British lost six posts, and ahandoned all the north-eastern extremities of South-Carolina. They still retained possession of Augusta and Ninety-Six, in addition to their posts near the sea coast.

gusta, and in four days completed it.

The British post at Silver-Bluff, with a field piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion commanded by tery was erected 30 feet high, within 30 yards captain Rudolph. Lee on his arrival at Au- of the ditch; from all of which the besiegers gusta joined Pickens, who with a body of mili-tia had for some time past taken post in the vi-turned, and a mine and two trenches were so cinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against fort Cornwallis at Augusta, in ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence which colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort. From their relief. These had arrived in Charleston these eminences the American riflemen shot from Ireland after the siege began, and were into the inside of the works with success: marched for Ninety-Six, on the seventh day after. The garrison buried themselves in a great meathey landed. In these circumstances, gensure under ground, and obstinately refused to eral Greene had no alternative but to raise the capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing that every man who attempted to fire on the besiegers, was immediately shot down. At the assailants displayed great resolution, they length when farther resistance would have been madness, the fort with about 300 men sur- the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss ty men killed and wounded. After the sur-render, lieut. colonel Grierson of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. A re-major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously the junction of the Wateree and Congarce. ty men killed and wounded. After the surfor the perpetrator of the perfidious deed.
Lieutenant colonel Brown, would probably have shared the same fate, had not his conquer
American army. When they were nearly and Congaree, and collected his whole force ors furnished him with an escort to the royal gar- masters of the whole country, they were com- on the south side of the latter, intending to act rison in Savannah. Individuals whose passions were inflamed by injuries, and exasperated with personal animosity, were eager to Greene was advised to retire with his remainted with personal animosity, were eager to Greene was advised to retire with his remainted with personal animosity, were eager to Greene was advised to retire with his remainted with personal animosity. gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Ing force to Virginia. To suggestions of this Murders had produced murders, Plundering, assassinations, and house burnings, had become Carolina, or die in the attempt." This distinforce was drawn up in two lines: The first common. Zeal for the king or the Congress guished officer, whose genius was most vigorous was composed of militia, and the second of

veral of both sides, the love of plunder, private abandoned themselves to despair, adopted the pique, and asavageness of disposition, led to ac- only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an tions which were disgraceful to human nature. engagement till the British force should be di-Such was the state of parties in the vicinity of vided. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches Savannah river, and such the exasperation of was near Ninety-Six at the time of the assault. them, from an apprehension that lord Rawdon whigs against tories, and of tories, against pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river: whigs; and so much had they suffered from but without overtaking them. Desisting from and inflicted on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts of humanity, afforded force from Ninety-Six, and fixed a detachment but a feeble security for the observance of captulations on either side. The American offithat the British force was divided, faced about cers exerted themselves to procure to their to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less prisoners that safety which many of the inhabitants, influenced by a remembrance of the movement of his lately retreating foe, ahandonsufferings of themselves, and of their friends, led the Congaree in two days after he had reachwere unwilling to allow them.

While operations were earrying on against General Marion with a party of militia, mar- the small posts, Greene proceeded with his ched about this time to Georgetown, and be- main army and laid siege to Ninety-Six, in gan regular approaches against the British post which lieutenant colonel Cruger, with upwards in his encampment, with any prospect of in that place. On the first night after his men of 500 men, was advantageously posted. On had broken ground, their adversaries evacuathe left of the besiegers was a work erected in ted their works, and retreated to Charleston; the form of a star. On the right was a strong shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of blockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town was also picquetted in with strong picquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a hank, near the height of a common parapet. being refused, he sent a few of them ashore The besiegers were more numerous than the

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigahle industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address. On the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the hesiegers from their works. The next night, Immediately after the surrender of fort Granby, two strong block batteries were erected at curve was now attempted to induce the Brit-lieutenant colonel Lee began his march for Au-the distance of 350 yards. Another battery 20 ish to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, two strong block batteries were erected at feet high, was erected within 220 yards, and soon after a fourth one was erected within 100 yards of the main fort, and lastly, a rifle batfar extended, as to be within six feet of the was conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near at hand, with about 2000 men for rendered, on honorable terms of capitulation. in the assault and previous conflicts was about to the westward of Edisto conceived themselves The Americans during the siege had about fer- 150 men. Lieutenant colonel Cruger deserward of 100 guineas was offered, but in vain, defended that redoubt, for the reduction of This induced general Greene to cencert far-

this fruitless pursuit, he drew off a part of his surprized than alarmed at this unexpected ed it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time, to withdraw their troops from Ninety-Six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, lieutenant colonel Cruger having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same mangeneral Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower set-tlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest declined daily.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and able to hold all that fertile country which is in a

down all before them. Lieutenant colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he inquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house. and in a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the different corps and their commanders.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the year, general Greene moved down into the with their whole force to the quarter house on conquest of Virginia, the recovery of Southto secure themselves in the vicinity of the cap- of preserving past conquests, determined to ital. The crops, which had been planted in leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of plies, fell into the hands of the Americans and the passage of the many rivers, with which the administered to them a seasonable relief. The country is intersected, two boats were mountbattle of Eutaw may be considered as closing ed on carriages and taken along with his army. the national war in South-Carolina. A few

continental troops. As the Americans advanted the fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a-head of their main army. These being briskly attacked soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till glory. His unpaid and half naked army had rendezvous, in a private correspondence with the action became general, and till they were by the continental troops. In the hot-plunder of Carolina could procure. Under with the troops which had marched from Wiltest of the action colonel O. Williams, and all these disadvantages, he compelled superior mington, lord Cornwallis was at the head of a lieutenant colonel Campbell, with the Mary- numbers to retire from the extremity of the very powerful army. This junction was scarceland and Virginia continentals, charged with state, and confine themselves in the capital and ly completed, when lord Cornwallis received trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this oc-casion. They rushed on in good order through ged; but his enemies found him as formidable preceding month. About the same time he rea heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning with such unshaken resolution, that they bore after a victory.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Campaign of 1781.—Operations in Virginia:—Cornwallis captured:—New London destroyed.

Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guilford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various theatre of operations for the remainder of the plans of operation were presented to his view. campaign. The formidable force, thus collect-It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington tions of the friends of independence. The deto leave these pieces and retire, but they left a and Camden was barren and of difficult pas- fensive operations, in opposition to it, were strong picquet on the field of battle, and only sage—that an embarkation for Charleston would be both tedious and disgraceful—that a the evening of the next day, lieutenant colonel junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and tached from the main American army on an Stuart, who commanded the British on this the prosecution of solid operations in that expedition, the object of which was a co-operaoccasion, left seventy of his wounded men and quarter, would be the most effectual plan for tion with the French fleet in capturing general effecting and securing the submission of the Arnold. On the failure of this, the Marquis Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the more southern states. Other arguments, of marched back as far as the head of Elk. There British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of apparently equal force, urged his return to he received an order to return to Virginia to 1100 men, that of the Americans above 500, in South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for oppose the British forces, which had become which number were sixty officers. Congress Virginia, he had received information that honored general Greene for his good conduct in general Greene had begun his march for Cam-reinforcement, under general Philips. He this action, with a British standard and a golden den, and he had reason from past experience to medal. They also voted their thanks to the fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabi- arrived there the day before the British reachtants by a second revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left under lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, of the state, saved from imminent danger. So vicinity of Monk's-Corner. In the close of the he hoped that lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that general Greene would side of the British, that the Marquis had before lower country, and about the same time the follow the royalarmy to Virginia, or in the most British abandoned their out-posts, and retired favourable event he flattered himself, that by the Charleston-neck. The defence of the country | Carolina would be at any time practicable. His | could provide against its utmost rage, he began was given up, and the conquerors, who had lordship having too much pride to turn back, lately carried their arms to the extremities of and preferring the extensive scale of operations only of about the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than which Virginia presented, to the narrow one 60 dragoons. the spring of the year under British auspices, April, he therefore proceeded on his march, and with the expectation of affording them sup- from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour The king's troops proceeded several days excursions were afterwards made by the Brit-ish, and sundry small enterprizes were execu-gence. The Americans made an attempt at ted, but nothing of more general consequence Swift-Creek and afterwards at Fishing-creek to in all directions. Two distant expeditions than the loss of property, and of individual stop their progress, but without any effect. The lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in British took the shortest road to Halifax, and Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the South-Carolina. At its commencement the on their arrival there defeated several parties governor and assembly of the state. The British were in force over all the state; at its of the Americans and took some stores with very close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture twenty miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders, who little loss on their side. The Roanoke, the tenant colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so for as to disperse the affords but few instances of commanders, who less they are the committed, succeeded so for as to disperse the affords but few instances of commanders, who less they are the committed, succeeded so for as to disperse the affords but few instances of commanders, who less they are the committed, succeeded so for as to disperse the affords but few instances of commanders, who less the committed assembly, capture seven of its members, and

ceived information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under It has already been mentioned that lord Phillips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal ed in one body, called for the vigorous exerprincipally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been dereinforcement, under general Philips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and ed Manchester, on the opposite side of James great was the superiority of numbers on the him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled them to traverse the country other to Point of Fork to destroy stores. Lieu-

near Charlotteville. The other expedition, ish had crossed James river, pushed forwards which was committed to lieutenant colonel Sim- with about 800 light troops to harrass their rear. coe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed the most whole British army drawn up ready to oppose Americans had previously removed the most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the him. He instantly conceived that the best course of these marches and countermarches. immense quantities of property were destroyed, and sundry unimportant skirmishes took The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive and made so judicious little loss. a choice of posts, and showed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed, was triumph. He effected a junction at Raccoonford with general Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been of Britain. After earl Cornwallis had crossed removed from Richmond to Albemarle old James river, he marched for Portsmouth. He court-house. The possession of these was an ebject with both armies. The marquis by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores; but by a road in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marmight be attacked to advantage. quis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed. To the surprize of lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis, finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis' army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore retreated to Williams-The day after the main body of the British army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

Williamsburgh, he received intelligence from New-York setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from earl Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterprize, and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive force, till the danger of New-York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis, thinking it expedient to comply with this requisition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburg, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James river. The marquis de la Fayette,

mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation would be, to assume a bold countenance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to retreat. He therefore pressed on for some time, and urged an attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwallis, perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold manœuvre, Wayne got off with but

In the course of these various movements, the British were joined by few of the inhabitants and scarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the most part either joined the Americans, or, what was much more common, kept out of the way of the British. To purchase safety by submission, was the policy of very few, and these were for the most part natives had previously taken the necessary steps for complying with the requisition of sir Henry Clinton, to send a part of his command to New-York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Williamsburgh to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old-Point-Comfort or Hampton road should be secured as a station for line of battle ships. The commander in chief, at the same time, allowed his lordship to detain any object of the campaign to fix on a strong perfor the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, York-Town and Gloucester Points were considered royal commanders. Portsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of sir Henry Clinton's permission to retain the whole force under his command, and About the time lord Cornwallis reached as to render them tenable by his present army, amounting to 7000 men against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West-Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would in a short time re-commence with increased vigour.

While they were indulging these hopes. count de Grasse, with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line from the West-Indies, entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies which had been lately stationed in the more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of

to destroy a great quantity of stores at and a countryman, that the main body of the Brit- by the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburg. An attack on this force was intended. but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by lord Cornwallis from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, or make every diver sion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of history to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundless field of contingencies; otherwise it might be added that earl Cornwallis, by this change of opinion, lost a favorable opportunity of extricating himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration soon became irresistible. On the other hand if an attack had been made, and that had proved unsuccessful, he would have been charged with rashness in not waiting for the promised co-operation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of public affairs would have justified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions, part or the whole of the forces under his to stand his ground were positive, or that command, for completing this service. On exeffectual relief was probable, his lordship
amination, Hampton road was not approved of
thought proper to risk every thing on the
as a station for the navy. It being a principal issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the manent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves, with 20 sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis as most likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portsmouth was there-appeared off the capes of Virginia, M.de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. The British were willing to renew the action; but de Grasse for good reasons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet impressed with the necessity of establishing a out of the capes was to cover a French fleet strong place of arms in the Chesapeake, applied of eight line of battle ships, which was expechimself with industry to fortify his new posts so as to render them tenable by his present army, preconcerted plan, count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the same time de Grasse sailed from the West-Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet, might intercept him on his approach to the capes of Virginia, de Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves and de Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his most christian majesty a decided superiority. Admiral Greaves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake. All this time, conformably to time, blocked up York river with three large the well digested plan of the campaign, the cross James river. The marquis de la Fayette, ships and some frigates, and moored the principal for acting offensively, advanced on the British, thousand two hundred French troops, brought York-town. To understand in their proper General Wayne, relying on the information of in this fleet from the West-Indies, commanded connexion the great events shortly to be

combination of fleets and armies which put a

period to the war.

The fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete rout of the southern American army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of in- course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there brought that force from a considerable distance. dependence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a as has been related on the thirtieth of the same pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally the king of France. To Chesapeake, the French fleet in Rhode-Island against the common enemy, and at the same give greater efficacy to their solicitations, Congress appointed lieutenant-celonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual ner, far beyond the reach of military calcula- and tempests, in any mind less calin than that succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of tion. They all tended to one object and at one of general Washington. He bore this hard money, and the co-operation of a French fleet. in atttempting some important enterprize against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer, had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negociator were called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardor of had been so well digested, and was so faiththe warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address, procured a favorable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented .-At this crisis, his most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more borrowed for their use in the United promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes was projected.

The American war was now so far involvthat a superior French fleet, seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force, which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force, which the British could concentre on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March 1781, from Brest, with 25 sail A small part of this force was destined for the East-Indies, but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British fleet weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had manded by M. de Grasse, but a junction fore New-York. Ovens were erected opposite whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered between his force and eight ships of the line to Staten-Island, for the use of the French and American armies to pass him

described, it is necessary to go back and trace Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless was introductory to the commencement of the the remote causes which brought on this great effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West-Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his bu-siness in the West-Indies, sailed in the begin-from their winter quarters. To have fixed ning of August with a prodigious convoy, on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer, After seeing this out of danger, he directed his at the head of a respectable force: to have month. Five days before his arrival in the sailed for the same place. These fleets, not-time to have engagements in behalf of the states withstanding their original distance from the seene of action and from each other, coincid-terest, and in a manner derogatory to his pered in their operations in an extraordinary man- sonal honour, was enough to have excited storms and the same time, and that object was neither trial with his usual magnanimity, and contentknown nor suspected by the British, till the ed himself with repeating his requisitions to proper season for counter-action was elapsed. the states, and at the same time urged them by extended to the marches of the French and entered into on their account, with the com-American land forces. The plan of operations mander of the French troops. fully executed by the different commanders, times had brought them near the brink of ruin, that general Washington and count de Rocham- was now the accidental cause of real service. Grasse had reached the American coast. This commenced, in the latter end of July, or early ton with despatches for count de Rochambeau. himself near the capes of Virginia. His situa and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de Rochambeau and the chevalier the states in filling up their battalions and em-Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At bodying their militia, and especially recent in-Netherlands. A naval co-operation was this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month change of the plan of the campaign. ed in the consequences of naval operations, of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North-river. Letters were addressed by general Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas, 6200 militia, in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, general plan; but it is evident from the event, that no Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peeks-kill, to the dueive to the establishment of their schemes, vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln than what resulted from their operations in Virfell down the North-river with a detachment ginia. of the line, several thousand land forces, and a in boats, and took possession of the ground large convoy amounting to more than 200 ships. where fort Independence formerly stood. An ous contemplation, a letter from general Washattack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to then in the West-Indies, had been previously York-Island. General Washington hoped to After the plan was changed, the royal combe able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest the latter end of July. Flat bottomed boats suffibeen taken at St. Eustatius. The British ad-cient to transport 5000 men, were built near mirals Hood and Drake, were detached to in- Albany, and brought down Hudson's river to his attention from the defence of New-York. tercept the outward bound French fleet com- the neighbourhood of the American army be-

siege. It was not a little mortifying to general Washington, to find himself on the second of August to be only a few bundreds stronger in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations violated in direct opposition to their own in-This coincidence of favourable circumstances, every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements

That tardiness of the states, which at other beau had passed the British head quarters in Had they sent forward their recruits for the New-York, and were considerably advanced regular army, and their quotas of militia as was in their way to York-town, before count de expected, the siege of New-York would have was effected in the following manner. Monsr. in August. While the season was wasting de Barras, appointed to the command of the away in expectation of these reinforcements, French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boslord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed An interview soon after took place at Wethers- tion there, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 field, between general Washington, Knox. Germans from Europe to New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of telligence from count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred about the middle of August, to make a total

> The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North-river, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia, through the intermediate country to York-town. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original success could have been greater, or more con-

While the attack of New-York was in seriington, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. mander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off Under the influence of this opinion he bent his and one of 50 guns, which were previously at troops. Every movement was made which without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then earl Cornwallis received a letter from sir Hen-|doubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8

ington had advanced as far as Chester, before and retired to one more inward. he received the news of the arrival of the fleet, commanded by monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-Town. It seldem, if ever happened before, so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behave I with so much regularity. In their march to York-Town they had passed through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September. They with generals Chastelleux, du Portail, and Knox proceeded to visit count de Grasse on board his ship the Ville de Paris, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The countafterwards wrote to Washington, that in ease a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette, with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure.

had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the com-mand of general Nelson, amounting in the the royal interest, than those which resulted aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and in moved to the mouth of York-river, and took Clinton with the promised relief, reached Yorkfrom Williamsburg to York-Town, Washington resisting to the last extremity. From this ungave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanhoast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battles with that weapon."

their arms all night. On the next day colonel of the one was committed to the French, of of the most amiable manners, in approaching marched to the assault with unloaded arms;

for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia, for the Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, Laurens personally took the commanding theatre of their combined operations. As truth and the determination of the general and flag officer prisoner. His humanity and that of his may be made to answer the purposes of decep- officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in tion, so no feint of attacking New-York, could a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th they spared the British, though they were have been more successful than the real inten- of October-that this fleet consisted of 23 sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy In the latter end of August, the American and army would be made for his relief. On army began their march to Virginia, from the night after the receipt of this intelligence, neighbourhood of New-York. General Wash- earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position,

The works erected for the security of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries. that an army led through a foreign country, at On the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of freize and an abbatis. redoubts were advanced before the left. combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry, passed over the river to Gloucester. General de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communications between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining discipline, that in this long march, scarce an every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army.

On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers .-The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbor; the Charon of 44 guns, and a transport ship, were burned. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to earl Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Earl Cornwallis was at This letter and the persuasions of the marquis this juncture advised to evacuate York-town, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal five days after, moved down to the investiture of army been defeated or captured in the interior York-Town. The French fleet at the same time country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry a position which was calculated to prevent lord Town, the precipitancy of the noble earl would Cornwallis, either from retreating, or receiving have been perhaps more the subject of censure, succour by water. Previously to the march than his resolution of standing his ground and certain ground of conjectures, I proceed to relate real events.

The besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the ced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was The combined army halted in the evening, therefore proposed to carry them by storm .about two miles from York-Town, and lay on To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and the other to the Americans. The assailants to the son of his own prisoner. the outer works of the British, was mortally having passed the abbatis and palisades, surrendered by a capitulation, the principal wounded and taken prisoner. About this time they attacked on all sides, and carried the re-articles of which were as follows: The troops

associates, so overcame their resentments, that charged when they went to the assault, to remember New-London (the recent massacres at which place shall be hereafter related) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. Being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the British were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprize, in his report to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned to the honour of his detachment, "that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers .-The British could not with propriety risk repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, consisting of 400 men, commanded by lieutenant colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprize, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could searcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the hoats, employed on this business, and frustrated the wholescheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division was

exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to recross the river to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the Britsh army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while lieutenant colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London, of which earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner

The posts of York and Gloucester were

naval force to France. The officers to retain ring the war bid fairer for oversetting the into be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in became the occasion of rendering that a revo-Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and to be portion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to America. proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime post Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the in possession of the British. The honour of face of all the country for four hundred miles marching out with colours flying, which had on the sea coast, and for two hundred miles to been refused to gen. Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town precisely in the same way his own had been conducted, about 18 months before.

permission for the British and German troops to miles. Every place through which they pasreturn to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to their animosity to the Americans led them often consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up, to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless ob thousands had been involved in distress. tained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them, as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops, of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 at least one man expired under the tide of pleaof the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of his lordship's surrender.* The people of the combined army about 300 were killed or throughout the United States displayed a social wounded. On the part of the British about triumph and exultation, which no private pros-500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surren- ordered "that those who were under arrest dered prisoners of war exceeded 7000 men, should be pardoned and set at liberty." His rank of major generals, on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant colonel Gouvion mer to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

Congress honoured general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy-hook and New-York. Such was the fate of that general New-York. Such was the fate of that general from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had cribed to a violent emotion of political joy

closing scene of the continental war in North

The troops under the command of lord the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, frem the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in York-Town, Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain made a route of more than eleven hundred sed in these various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go withersoever they pleased, their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they had the means of removing, and to the wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means

The reduction of such an army occasioned unusual transports of joy, in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated testimony asserts that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions, and that sure which flowed in upon him, when informed The people perity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, but so great was the number of sick and orders closed as follows, "divine service shall wounded, that there were only 3800 capable be performed to-morrow in the different brig-of bearing arms. The French and American ades and divisions. The commander in chief engineers and artillery, merited and received recommends, that all the troops that are not the highest applause. Brigadiers general du upon duty do assist at it with a serious deport-Portail and Knox were both promoted to the ment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprizing and particular interposition of providence in our favour claims.' and captain Rochefontaine of the corps of en- Congress, on receiving the official account of the United States, in favour of the Americans. gineers, respectively received brevets, the for- the great events which had taken place at Yorktown, resolved to go in procession to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained. They also issued a proclamation for "religiously observing through the United States, the 13th of Deeember as a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The singularly interesting event of captivating a second royal army, produced strong emotions which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the most rapturous jey usually displays itself.
While the combined armies were advancing

to the siege of Yorktown, an excursion was made from New-York, which was attended with no small less to the Americans. General

to be prisoners of war to Cengress, and the been so confidently expected. No event du- | Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia; was appointed to conduct an expedition, the their side arms and private property of every dependence of at least a part of the confedera- object of which was the town of New-London kind; but all property, obviously belonging to cy, than his complete victory at Camden; but in his native country. The troops employed the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject by the consequences of that action, his lordship therein were landed in two detachments on each became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in by lieutenant colonel Eyer and the other by supplied with the same rations, as are allowed danger of terminating in a rebellion. The general Arnold. The latter met with little opto soldiers in the service of Congress. A pro- loss of his army may be considered as the position. Fort Trumbull and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold on Groton hill. This was furiously attacked by lieutenant colonel Eyer: the garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledvard answered, I did, but you do now," and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British 48 were killed and 145 wounded : Among the latter was major Montgomery, and among the former was colonel Eyer. About 15 vessels, loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes.

> The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandize, was immense. General Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them, produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

> The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of It began with weakness in South-Carolina, mutiny in New-Jersey, and devastations in Virginia; nevertheless in its close, the British were confined to their strong holds in or near New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in course of the year had acquired much plunder by which individuals were enriched, out their nation was in no respect benefitted. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores or distressing individuals, and enriching the officers and privates of their army and navy. The important services rendered by France to the Americans, cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly inoffensive behaviour of the French troops in the United-States, contrasted with the havec of property made by the British in their marches

and excursions, was silently turning the cur-land locked him up for 37 days, though the at- but not one proposition, beyond repeating a reand working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the establishment of that which had taken place in the government. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months residence among them. The soldiers were rather a guard than a nuisance: quence thereof resumed, after an intermission The father was requested to write to the son The citizens met with no interruption when of two mouths and a half. prosecuting their lawful business, either by night or day, and were treated with every mark of attention and respect.

a circuitous march of 1100 miles from Charleston to Yorktown, was marked with rapine and following message: "Their lordships say, if only conclude, that confinement and perdesolation; the march of the French troops from Rhode-Island to the same place, a distance nearly equal in a right line, was productive of no inconvenience to the intermediate position filled him with indignation, and prohe would not sacrifice his honour to save my inhabitants. They were welcome guests wherever they came, for they took nothing hy fraud or force, but punctually paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a contest where the good will of the people had so powerful an influence on its final issue, such opposite modes of conduct could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and justice of the French, met with its reward in no possible consequences." the general good will of the people, but the violence and rapine of the British contributed, among other things, to work the final overthrow of all their schemes in America.

On the last day of this year, Dec. 31, 1781, Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the tower of London. He had high treason," after being examined in the presence of lord Stormont, lord George Germaine, lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chamberlain, made about twenty feet square, with a warder confinement, and hints were thrown out of the for his constant companion, and a fixed bay-onet under his window, without any friend to which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences was done. even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved a useful substitute. After general James Grant, who had long been achim. Mr. Laurens declined the offer and in-stantly returned to his apartment. Governor tration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Gore caught at this transgression of orders, Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, Laurens' sufferings in the tower became gene-Vol. 2.-3*

coming from him, was refused. General evils cause me to shrink," Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave

While the progress of the British army, in on parole, and having offered his whole fortune if I should write to him in the terms you reas security for his good conduct, sent him the quest, it would have no effect: He would you will point out any thing for the benefit of voked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I retaries of state for the use of pen and ink, to might presently get out of the tower, but I am draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in Lonnot. You have pledged your word and for-don who was in his debt, for money to answer tune for my integrity. I will never dishonor his immediate exigences, and to request that his you nor myself. I can forsee what will youngest son might be permitted to visit him, come to pass. Happen to me what may, I fear for the purpose of concerting a plan for his

The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed though they had made no provision for the him as follows, "I converse with you this support of their prisoner, returned no answer. the friend of Great Britain. I have certain finement under many infirmities, and without propositions to make, for obtaining your liberty, the means of applying his own resources on which I advise you should take time to con- the spot, for his immediate support. been committed there, as already related, on sider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what the 6th of October 1780, "On suspicion of they were, and added, "That an honest man year in the tower, he was called upon to pay required no time to give an answer, in a 30 7s 10d sterling to the two warders for atcase where his honour was concerned. If," tending on him. To which he replied, "I was case where his honour was concerned. If," said he, "the secretaries of state will enlarge Mr. Justice Addington, and others. The com- me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my mitment was accompanied with a warrant to engagement to do nothing directly or indirect- lordships have never supplied me with any the lieutenant of the tower to receive and con- ly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return thing-It is now upwards of three months warders; not to suffer him to be out of their sir, you must stay in London among your Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which sight one moment, day nor night; to allow him friends: The ministers will often have occasion they have been pleased to refuse by the most no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to to send for and consult you: You can write permit any person to speak to him; to deprive two or three lines to the ministers, and barely him of the use of the pen and ink; to suffer say you are sorry for what is past: A pardon lordships will permit me to draw for money no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go will be granted: Every man has been wrong, where it is due to me, I will continue to pay from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five at some time or other of his life, and should years old, and severely afflicted with the gout not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Lauand other infirmities. In this situation he was rens replied, " I will never subscribe to my conducted to apartments in the tower, and was own infamy, and to the dishonour of my chil-shut up in two small rooms which together dren." He was then told of long and painful consented that Mr. Laurens should have the converse with, and without any prospect or quences but such as would flow from dis-

rent of popular esteem in favour of the former, tending warder exculpated him from all blame. quest to be enlarged on parole. I had well At the end of that time the governor relented weighed what consequences might follow beso far, as to permit his prisoner to walk on the tore I entered in the present dispute. I took parade before the door, but this honor, as the path of justice and honour, and no personal

> About this time lieutenant colonel John Lauorders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted rens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived to walk out, and this exercise was in conse-in France, as the special minister of Congress. to withdraw himself from the court of France. About this time, Feb. 26, an old friend and assurances were given that it would opemercantile correspondent, having solicited the rate in his favour. To these requests he replied. secretaries of state for Mr Laurens' enlargement "my son is of age, and has a will of his own; suasion had softened me. I know him to be a

> farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their lordships; but they, morning, not particularly as your friend, but as Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in con-

sent to the tower by the secretaries of state without money (for aught they knew)-their grating of all denials a total silence, and now a demand is made for 9l 7s 10d. If their my own expenses, but I will not pay the wardens whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

About this time Henry Laurens, jun. wrote an humble request to lord Hillsborough for debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved a useful substitute. After a month's confinement, he waste out on limited ground but a proper with a month's confinement, he waste out on limited ground but a proper with a month's confinement, he waste out on limited ground but a proper with a month's confinement, he waste out on limited ground but a proper with a month's confinement, he waste out on limited ground but a proper with a month's confinement, he waste out of the month's confinement, and the month's confinement, and the month's confinement, he waste out of the month's confinement, and the month's confinement, walk out on limited ground, but a warder with with him near twenty years before, on an ex- him for a short time; but these interviews This indulgence was occasionally taken for about three weeks, when lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the tower, unluck-dressed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have word, lest it might occasion a second confineily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with brought paper and pencil to take down any ment, similar to that which lord George Gor-

sent to any act, which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such, on charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at foundation of all power."

These suffering prisoners were generally pressed to enter into the British service, but hundreds submitted to death, rather than and free people, the purest source and original procure a melioration of their circumstances by enlisting with the enemies of their countain of all power." length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench. When the ducted toward the American prisoners with a at Trenton and Princeton, the American replied in open court, "Not my Sovereign," his operations on the lakes in 1776, he shipped exchange, but some of them fell down dead and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald off those of them who were officers for New- in the streets, while attempting to walk to and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench the next Easter term, and for comfortable. The other prisoners, amounting not departing thence without leave of the court. to 800, were sent home by a flag, after exact-Thus ended a long and painful farce. Mr. ing an oath from them, not to serve during the latter conferring with Mr. Boudinot, the comwas not only discharged from all obligations orders, previously to their being sent off. to attend, but was requested by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. officers were offered in exchange for him, but 500 privates and 50 officers prisoners in held himself to be a prisoner of war, replied, that "He durst not accept himself as a gift, and that as Congress had once offered licuand that as Congress had once offered licutenant general Burgoyne for him, he had no commission previously to his accepting one ance of prisoners, at most, did not exceed earl Cornwallis for the same purpose.'

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the treatment of prisoners, and of the distresses of the

American war particularly calamitous. It was detained, in order that the said treatment which ing a sum of money to relieve the distresses originally a civil war in the estimation of both general Lee received, should be exactly in-parties, and a rebellion to its termination, in flicted on their persons." The Campbell thus The sum subscribed for that purpose amounted the opinion of one of them. Unfortunately designated as the subject of retaliation, was a for mankind, doubts have been entertained of the obligatory force of the law of nations in such cases. The refinement of modern ages setts privateers near Boston, to which, from play of the benevolence of others of the setts privateers near Boston, to which, from play of the benevolence of others of the setts privateers near Boston, to which, from play of the benevolence of others of the setts privateers near Boston, to which, from has stripped war of half its horrors, but the the want of information, he was proceeding nation in Europe. The American sailors, when systems of some illiberal men have tended to soon after the British had evacuated it. The captured by the British, suffered more than re-produce the barbarism of Gothic times, by above act of Congress was forwarded to Maswithholding the benefits of that refinement sachusetts, with a request that they would defrom those who are effecting revolutions. An tain lieutenant colonel Campbell and keep him ships. They were there crowded together in enlightened philanthropist embraces the whole in safe custody till the further order of Con- such numbers, and their accommodations were human race, and enquires not whether an object of distress is or is not an unit of an acknowledged nation. It is sufficient that he is a child of the same common parent, and capathe calamities of the American war; but while

the 17th of June, 1774. These were thrown The severity of the weather, and the rigor Long-Island. indiscriminately into the jail at Boston, without of their treatment, occasioned the death of

principles of retaliation should occasion five of the agonies of hunger." the said Hessian field officers, together with Many circumstances concurred to make the lieutenant colonel Archibald Campbell, to be merchants in London, for the purpose of raisble of happiness or misery. The prevalence ance of a single servant on his person was de-dence, as the case will admit, that in the last of such a temper would have greatly lessened nied him, and every visit from a friend refused. six years of the war, upwards of eleven thou-

from contracted policy unfortunate captives Howe in 1776, amounted to many hundreds, these prison ships, which was stationed in were considered as not entitled to the treat- The officers were admitted to parole, and had East river near New-York. On many of ment of prisoners, they were often doomed some waste houses assigned to them as quartices, they imperfectly conferred. For some due to criminals.

The first American prisoners were taken on houses, and such like large open buildings.

rally known, and excited compassion in his fa- swered by asserting that the prisoners had among them, was both offensive and dangervour, and odium against the authors of his con- been treated with care and kindness, though ous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in finement. It had been also found by the ineffi-cacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore which general Washington replied, "You afresolved to release him, but difficulties arose fect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from in quantity, and of an unwholesome qualabout the mode. Mr. Laurens would not con- the same source with your own; I cannot con- ity. These suffering prisoners were generally words of the recognizance, "Our Sovereign degree of humanity, that reflected the greatest prisoners fared somewhat better. Those who Lord the King," were read to Mr. Laurens, he honour on his character. Before he commenced survived were ordered to be sent out for

The American board of war, Dec. 1, 1777, time of his appearance at court drew near, he almost naked were comfortably clothed by his evidences produced by him, reported among other things, "That there were 900 privates Laurens, startled at the idea of being released this was refused. It was said by the British Philadelphia. That since the beginning of without any equivalent, as he had uniformly that Lee was a deserter from their service, and October, all these prisoners, both officers and doubt of their now giving lieutenant general from the Americans, he could not be consid- four ounces of meat per day, and often so ered as a deserter. He was nevertheless confined, watched, and guarded. Congress thereupon resolved, that general Washington be a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him directed to inform general Howe, that should three, four or five days, without a morsel the proffered exchange of general Lee for six of meat, and then to tempt him to enlist to field officers not be accepted, and the treatment save his life: That there were numerous of him as above mentioned be continued, the instances of prisoners of war perishing in all

About this time there was a meeting of The prisoners captured by Sir William sand persons died on board the Jersey, one of

The operations of treason laws added to the any consideration of their rank. General many hundreds of these unfortunate men. Washington wrote to general Gage, Aug., 11, 1775, on this subject, to which the latter and in consequence of fluxes which prevailed they supposed to be their duty, were involved

in the penal consequences of capital crimes. it. While they acted in conformity to these sentiments, the laws enacted for the security of the new government, condemned them to death. Hard is the lot of a people involved happened that they were plundered by both, their limits were contracted in the course in civil war; for in such circumstances the and lost the esteem of all. A few saved their of the year, the male inhabitants who joined lives of individuals may not only be legally credit and their property; but of these, there them, thought proper to retire with the royal forfeited, but justly taken from those, who have acted solely from a sense of duty. It is be wished that some more rational mode the other. The American whigs were exasting the wing Americans from this state, governor than war might be adopted for deciding perated against those of their fellow citizens Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia, to national contentions; but of all wars, those which are called civil are most to be dreaded. Which was far more bitter, than that which such of the inhabitants as adhered to their They are attended with the bitterest resentments, and produce the greatest quantity of saries. Feeling that the whole strength of the more especially in consequence of the one

where both sides endeavored to strengthen themselves by oaths and by laws, denouncing the penalties of treason on those who aided or abetted the opposite party, the sufferings of individuals were renewed, as often as fortune merely for supporting the government under ed a small party of Americans at a block varied her standard. Each side claimed the which they were born, and to which they co-operation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punish when it was withheld. Where either party had a decided superiority, the offenders. Those of them who acted from New-York, April 2d. and there kept in close common people were comparatively undis- principle felt no consciousness of guilt, and custody fifteen days, and then told "that he was

In the first institution of the American go- line of conduct. vernments, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed. Committees exercised le- cital of the calamities which the whigs inflicted cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nogislative, executive, and judicial powers. It on the tories, and the tories on the whigs. It thing but such measures daily carrying into these were improperly used, and that private they for the most part consoled themselves without taking vengeance for the numerous resentments were often covered under the specious veil of patriotism. The sufferers in passing over to the royalists, carried with them moral right and wrong never vary, political to your view, and thus begin, and have made use fering in a good cause. Though the rules of of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view, and thus begin, and have made use fering in a good cause. Though the rules of of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view, and thurst determine to hang a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and when opportunity presented, were tempted to retaliate. From the nature of the case, the original offenders were less frequently the objects of retaliation, than those who were entirely innocent. One instance of particularly towards the close of the war. Co- to make his escape. severity begat another, and they continued to lonel Campbell, who reduced Savannah, both sides were often so great, that many in the humbler walks of life, could not tell what effected, the wives and children of those in-course was best to pursue. habitants who adhered to the Americans were the loyalists, and particularly as having been

The Americans, in conformity to the usual po- up their minds on the nature of the contest, ladelphia. Upwards of one thousand persons licy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all invariably followed the dictates of their con- were thrown upon the charity of their fellowwho resided among them, but several of these sciences, for in every instance they enjoyed citizens in the more northern states. This sepreferred the late royal government, and were self-approbation. Though they could not be vere treatment was the occasion of retaliating disposed, when opportunity offered, to support deprived of this reward, they were not always on the families of those who had taken part states was scarcely sufficient to protect them which occasioned it, several hundreds of help-In the American war, the distresses of the against the British, they could not brook the less women and children were reduced to country were aggravated, from the circum-desertion of their countrymen to invading stance that every man was obliged some way foreigners. They seldem would give them or other, to be in the public service. In Eu-credit for acting from principle, but generally rope, where military operations are carried on supposed them to be influenced either by by armies hired and paid for the purpose, the cowardice or interest, and were therefore incommon people partake but little of the cala-nities of war: but in America, where the They were filled with indignation at the idea men. The depredations they committed in whole people were enrolled as a militia, and of fighting for the property of such as had their several excursions would fill a volume, turbed; but the intermediate space between the contending armics, was subject to the government which inflicted such severe pulsars of both.

In the consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness of gain, and custody intermiting space in the was confidence upon a principle left no consciousness.

Humanity would shudder at a particular re-

It was happy for those, who having made exiled from their homes to Virginia and Phisuch of the inhabitants as adhered to their interest. In consequence of this order, and great distress.

The refugees who had fled to New-York, were formed into an association under Sir Henry Clinton, for the purposes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the house, in Monmouth county, New-Jersey, was, lowing label was affixed to his breast: "We the refugees having long with grief beheld the is not to be doubted, that in many instances is particularly remarkable that on both sides, execution; we therefore determine not to suffer

General Washington resolved on retaliation increase in a proportion that doubled the evils of common war. From one unadvised step, individuals were often involved in the with humanity. Those who were taken at Sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers loss of all their property. Some from present appearances, apprehending that the British much from his successors in South Carolina. the necessity of retaliating. The former being would finally conquer, repaired to their The American prisoners, with a few exceptandard. Their return after the partial storm tions, had but little to complain of 'till after purpose. In the mean time the British instituthing that the purpose in Edward Captain Asgill was designated for that the standard. Their return after the partial storm the British institutions in the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial of captain Lipsell and the standard of the trial o blown over, was always difficult and often of them, though entitled to the benefits of pencutt, who was supposed to be the principal impossible. From this single error in judg-the capitulation of Charleston, were separated agent in executing captain Huddy. It appear, ment, such were often obliged to seek safety from their families and sent into exile; others, by continuing to support the interest of those in violation of the same solemn agreement, to whom, in an hour of temptation, they had were crowded into prison ships, and dedevoted themselves. The embarrassments on prived of the use of their property. When a general exchange of prisoners was ted as a proper subject for retaliation, having

who had been one of that description. The court having considered the whole matter, gave their opinion, "That as what Lippencutt dauntless bravery was the least of his virtureme to the other. It is computed that the directors of associated loyalists, and as he did not doubt their having full authority to give tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute South Carolina. The inhabitants of Charles-

ington, accompanying the trial of Lippencutt, declared "that notwithstanding the acquittal age, in an unimportant skirmish with a formulation of Lippencutt, he reprobated the measure, and raging party, in the very last moments of that time the citizens had suffered an accurate gave assurances of prosecuting a farther en- the war. quiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time broke up the board of associated loyalists, a letter from the count de Vergennes intercepanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, Mrs. Asgill, to the count. Copies of these several letters were forwarded to Congress, of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well founded prospect of a speedy line, was enabled to detach general Wayne eace. Asgill, who had received every indulgence, and who had been treated with all pos-General Clarke, who commanded in Savan-invading army. Excepting those who ento go into New-York.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Campaign of 1782. Foreign events and negociations. Peace, 1782.

AFTER the capture of lord Cornwallis, general Washington, with the greatest part of his Savannah, May 21, 1782, with the apparent most catholic majesty. About the same time force, returned to the vicinity of New-York. intention of attacking the Americans. Genethees the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo, eral Washington, with the greatest part of his He was in no condition to attempt the reductral Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got in his which in the preceding year had been taken tion of that post, and the royal army had good rear, attacked him at 12 o'clock at night, and by the British, were taken from them by the reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communication of Creek Indians, headed by a number of ded to the splendor of his former fame by between town and country, some indecisive their chiefs and a British officer, made a furneducing St. Kitts, the former at the close of skirmishes, and predatory excursions, were the principal evidences of an existing state of war. This in a great measure was also the case in South-Carolina. From December 1781, gene-covered. In the meantime colonel White, ral Greene had possession of all the state except with a party of the eavalry, came up, and ed in the West-Indies, on a firm foundation. Charleston and the vicinity. The British pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged Their islands were full of excellent troops, sometimes sallied out of their lines for the acquisition of property and provisions, but never for the purposes of conquest. In opposing one of these near Combahee, lieutenant colonel John Laurens, an accomplished officer, of uncommon merit, was mortally wounded.

Nature had adorned him with a large proportion of the purposes of these pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged in the islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncompletely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state. In about three months after the capture of lord Cornwallis was known globe. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncompletely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state. In about three months after the capture of lord Cornwallis was known globe. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncompletely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state. In about three months after the capture of lord Cornwallis was known in Great Britain, the parliament resolved to the capture of the capture of lord Cornwallis was known globe. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. tion of her choicest gifts, and these were abandon all offensive operations in America, attended with a prodigious multitude of fri-

did was not the effect of malice or ill will, tues, and an excess of it his greatest foible, state lost by the war, one thousand of its citibut proceeded from a conviction that it was His various talents fitted him to shine in zens, besides four thousand slaves. In about his duty to obey the orders of the board of courts or camps, or popular assemblies. He five months after the British left Georgia, they such orders, he was not guilty of the murder schemes of the most extensive utility to his ton, who had remained therein while it was laid to his charge, and therefore they acquitted country, or rather to mankind, for his enlarged possessed by the British, felt themselves hapblim."

Sir Guy Carleton, who a little before this time had been appointed commander in chief of the British army, in a letter to general Wash-idol of the army, and an ornament of human estates. Thus in less than three years from

British had a more extensive range in remote in station, whether he remained firm which prevented a repetition of similar ex- Georgia, than in any other of the United to one party or changed with the times, who cesses. The war also drawing near a close, States, but of this they were soon abridged. did not partake of the general distress. the motives for retaliation, as tending to prevent other murders, in a great measure ceased. Savannah in 1779, that state had eminently in the mean time general Washington received suffered the described of war. Political ty of private life; but the American revolutions of war. hatred raged to such a degree that the blood tion involved the interest of every family, ding for captain Asgill, which was also accom- of its citizens was daily shed by the hands of and deeply affected the fortunes and happieach other, contending under the names of ness of almost every individual in the United whigs and tories. A few of the friends of States. South-Carolina lost a great number the revolution kept together in the western of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its Nov. 7th, 1782, and soon after they resolved, settlements, and exercised the powers of inde-slaves. Property was sported with by both "that the commander in chief be directed to pendent government. The whole extent best captain Asgill at liberty." The lovers of humanity rejoiced that the necessity of retaliation was superceded, by the known humanity the surrender of lord Cornwallis, general nations. The country abounded with widows sible politeness, was released and permitted nah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders riched themselves by plunder, and a few sucto his officers in the out posts, to burn as cessful speculators, no private advantage was far as they could, all the provisions in the gained by individuals on either side, but an country, and then to retire within the lines experimental conviction of the folly and at the capital. The country being evacuated madness of war. by the British, the governor came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer, and re-afforded few great events, the reverse was

sea coast. Colonel Brown, at the head of a considerouted his whole party. A large number French. The gallant marquis de Bouille adhighly cultivated by an elegant, useful and In consequence thereof, every idea of conpractical education. His patriotism was of quest being given up, arrangements were the most ardent kind. The moment he was made for withdrawing the royal forces from his Britannic majesty a great part of his of age, he broke off from the amusements of Georgia and South Carolina. Peace was re-

instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, London, and on his arrival in America, in-stored to Georgia, after it had been upwards mulation of evils. There was scarcely an At the commencement of the year 1782, the inhabitant, however obscure in character or

Though in the year 1782 the United States established government in the vicinity of the the ease with the other powers involved in the consequences of the American war.

Minorca, after a tedious siege, surrendered rable force, marched out of the garrison of to the Duke de Crillon in the service of his

general engagement took place: This began down upon their centre, and penetrating the West-Indies. through it. The land forces, destined for Other decisive the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to disposed another of the belligerent powers French fleet. Their ships were therefore so sively relieved, still continued to be besieged. crowded, that the slaughter on board was prodigious. The battle was fought on both ish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. sides with equal spirit, but with a very un- The Duke de Crillon, who had been recently equal issue. The French for near a century, successful in the siege of Minorca, was apteemed the most magnificent ship in France; between. of the most extensive consequence.

5500 men, were distributed on board the to a pacification. Gibraltar, though succes-The reduction of Minorea inspired the Span-

craft.

In the meantime, the British ministry pre-ty-four sail made the best of their way to a peculiar kind were prepared against him, pared a strong squadron, for the protection of Cape Francois. This was all that remained but knew nothing of their construction. He pared a strong squadron, for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by admiral Rodney, and amounted, after a junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and the arrival of three ships from Great Britain, to 36 sail of the line.

It was the design of count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at Martinique amounting to 34 sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola and join the Spanish admiral Don Solano, who with sixteen ships of the line Great Britain, a general joy was dillused over the bay of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of Great Britain, a general joy was dillused over the bay of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of Solano, who with sixteen ships of the line Great Britain, a general joy was dillused over the bay of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of the nation. Before there had been much for his arrival, and to make, in concert with lim, an attack on Jamaica.

The communication of Traine and Spain in the Constitution of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of the bay of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with despondency. Their losses in the Chesalim, an attack on Jamaica.

The communication of Traine and Spain in the Communication of Gibralter amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with peake and in the West-Indies, together with numbers employed by land and sea against the line. The British admiral wished to prevent this the increasing number of their enemies, had the fortress were estimated at one hundred junction, or at least to force an engagement depressed the spirits of the great body of the before it was effected. Admiral Rodney came up with the count de Grasse, soon after he 12th of April, placed them on high ground, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to had set out to join the Spanish fleet at His-paniola. Partial engagements took place on It was fortunate for the Americans, that this and the same instant. The surrounding hills the three first days, after they came near to success of the British was posterior to their were covered with people assembled to beeach other. In these, two of the French loss in Virginia. It so elevated the spirits hold the spectacle. The cannonade and bomships were so badly damaged, that they were of Britain, and so depressed the hopes of bardment was tremendous. The showers of obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general engagement took place: This began surrender of Lord Cornwallis, that event the ships of the besiegers, and from the vaat seven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between York-town closed the national war in Northtwelve and one o'clock, when admiral Rodney America, so the defeat of de Grasse, in a same moment. The whole Peninsula seembroke the French line of battle, by bearing great measure, put a period to hostilities in ed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire, which were incessantly poured upon it. The Other decisive events soon followed, which Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours, the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority on either side.

had not in any naval engagement been so completely worsted. Their fleet was little it was resolved to employ the whole strength was so well calculated for withstanding the less than ruined. Upwards of 400 men of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his were killed on board one of the ships, and operations. No means were neglected, nor seemed for some time to bid defiance to the the whole number of their killed and wound- expense spared, that promised to forward powers of the heaviest ordinance. In the afed amounted to several thousands, while the the views of the besiegers. From the failure termoon the effects of hot shot became visiloss of the British did not much exceed 1100 of all plans, hitherto adopted for effecting the ble. At first there was only an appearance men. The French lost in this action, and the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to of smoke, but in the course of the night, after subsequent pursuit, eight ships of the line. On board the captured ships, was the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon formed by the Chevalier D'Arcon, was deemand travelling carriages, intended for the exed the most worthy of trial. This was to ginning to kindle. The endeavours of the and travelling carriages, intended for the expedition against Jamaica. One of them was construct such floating batteries as could neithe Ville de Paris, so called from the city of ther be sunk nor fired. With this view their bring off the men from the burning vessels, Paris having built her at its own expense, and made a present of her to the king. She their sides of wood and cork long soaked had cost four millions of livres, and was esim water, with a large layer of wet sand vanced and fired upon them with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confushe carried 110 guns and had on board 1300 To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a sion before they had finished their business. men. This was truly an unfortunate day to count de Grasse. Though his behaviour throughout the whole action was firm and intrepid, and his resistance continued till he and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper deck, he was at last cover of rope netting, which was made slo-obliged to strike. It was no small addition ping, and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, opposite element. The generous humanity of forming a junction, which would have set were made out of the hulls of large vessels, of the victors equalled their valour, and was him above all danger. Had this taken place, the whole British naval power in the West 128 to 10 guns each, and were seconded by Indies, on principles of ordinary calculation, would have been insufficient to have prevented him from carrying into effect, schemes ships of force, and some hundreds of small lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was along side the floating

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of batteries, one of them blew up, and some The ships of the defeated fleet fled in a General Elliott, the intrepid defender of batteries, one of them blew up, and some variety of directions. Twenty-three or twen-Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and

inevitable destruction.

The exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immmediate action, and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It in some degree obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, lord Howe, with 35 ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar, was the third decisive event in the course of a twelvemonth which favoured the re-establishment of a general peace.

The capture of the British army in Virginia-the defeat of count de Grasse, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found, on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increased her nasterling, and wasted the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects. To add to her mortification she had brought all this on herself, by pursuing an object the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have

been attained, were very problematical. While Great Britain, France and Spain were successively brought to think favourably the consolation of a public acknowledgment of their independence by a second power of Europe. This was effected in a great measure by the address of John Adams. On the capture of Henry Laurens, he had been comempowered to negociate a loan of money among the Hollanders. Soon after his arrival he presented to their high mightinesses a memorial, in which he informed them that the then make in their behalf." United States of America, had thought fit to send him a commission with full power and instructions, to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and that they had appointed him to be their minister pleni- their offered relinquishment of the free navipotentiary to reside near them. Similar information, was at the same time communicated to hour be accepted, instructed their minister the stadtholder, the prince of Orange.

memorial, it was resolved "that the said Mr. tions, in consequence of any which he had rations, but hoped that they might gain their Adams was agreeable to their high might- previously made." The ministers of his most point by prosecuting hostilities at sea. Every inesses, and that he should be acknowledged in quality of minister plenipotentiary." Before this was obtained, much pains had been gaining a favourite point, which from the insuccess of which they had so repeatedly taken much ingenuity had been exerted, to creasing numbers of the western settlements pledged themselves, and on the continuance of convince the rulers and people of the states of the United States, seems to be removed at which they held their places. General Congeneral, that they had an interest in connecting themselves with the United States. These fers, made and rejected in the hour of distress, another motion expressed in different words, representations, together with some recent will not readily be renewed in the day of but to the same effect with that which had successes in their contests on the sea with prosperity.

pierced through its bottom. By similar per- Great Britain, and their evident commercial ilous exertions, near 400 men were saved from interest, encouraged them to venture on being Americans, but by many in England, that the the second power of Europe, to acknowledge capture of lord Cornwallis would instantly

American Independence.

Mr. Adams having gained this point, proceeded on the negociation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was in a few months concluded, to the reciprocal satisfaction of both parties. The same success which attended Mr. Adams in country.

Mr. Jay had for nearly three years past exerted equal abilities, and equal industry with Mr. Adams, in endeavoring to negociate a treaty between the United States and his most catholic majesty, but his exertions were not

crowned with equal success.

To gain the friendship of the Spaniards, Congress passed sundry resolutions, favouring the wishes of his most catholic majesty to reannex the two Floridas to his dominions. Mr. Jay was instructed to contend for the right house of commons that a resolution should be of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and if an express acknowledgment of it could not be obtained, he was restrained from acceding to any stipulation, by which it should be relinquished. But in February 1781, when lord Cornwallis was making rapid progress in overrunning the southern states, and when the mutiny of the tional debt one hundred millions of pounds Pennsylvania line and other unfavorable circumstances depressed the spirits of the Americans, Congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his instructions, so far as they insist on the free na- disapproving its farther prosecution, could yet vigation of that part of the river Mississippi, which lies below the thirty-first degree of north bers. The advocates for peace becoming latitude, and on a free port or ports below the daily more numerous, it was moved by gensame; provided such cession should be unal- eral Conway, "That an humble address be terably insisted on by Spain, and provided the presented to his majesty, that he will be of peace, the United States of America had free navigation of the said river above the pleased to give directions to his ministers not said degree of north latitude should be ac- to pursue any longer the impracticable object knowledged and guaranteed by his catholic of reducing his majesty's revolted colonies by majesty, in common with his own subjects.

ters of his most catholic majesty, but not ac- petition of the former arguments on the submissioned Jan. 1, 1781, to be the minister cepted. Mr. Jay in his own name informed ject, and engaged the attention of the house plenipotentiary of Congress, to the states them, "That if the acceptance of this offer till two o'clock in the morning. On a division, general of the United Provinces, and was also should, together with the proposed alfiance, the motion for the address was lost by a single be postponed to a general peace, the United vote. In the course of these debates, while States would cease to consider themselves bound by any propositions or offers he might

Spain having delayed to accept these terms, which originated more in necessity than in then that there should be no internal contipolicy, till the crisis of American independence was past, Congress, apprehensive that gation of the Mississippi should at that late last of all, none but against the French in "To forbear making any overtures to the About a year after the presentation of this court of Spain, or entering into any stipula-

It was expected, not only by the sanguine dispose the nation to peace; but whatever might have been the wish or the interest of the people, the American war was too much the favourite of ministry to be relinquished, with-

out a struggle for its continuance.

Just after intelligence arrived of the capitulation of York-Town, the king of Greatthese negociations, continued to follow him in Britain, in his speech to parliament, declared obtaining a loan of money, which was a most "That he should not answer the trust com-seasonable supply to his almost exhausted mitted to the sovereign of a free people, if he consented to sacrifice either to his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, apon the maintainance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must for ever depend." The determined language of this speech, pointing to the continuance of the American war, was echoed back by a majority of both lords and

In a few days after, it was moved in the adopted declaring it to be their opinion "That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of Great Britain." Though the debate on this subject was continued till two o'clock in the morning, and though the opposition received additional strength, yet the question was not earried. The same ground of argument was soon gone over again, and the American war underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a full discussion; but no resolution obtain the assent of a majority of the memajesty, in common with his own subjects.
These propositions were made to the ministration of America." This brought forth a rethe minority were gaining ground, the ministry were giving up one point after another. They at first consented that the war should not be carried on to the same extent as formerlynental war-next that there should be no other war than what was necessary for the defence of the posts already in their possession-and America.

The ministry as well as the nation began to be sensible of the impolicy of continental opebeen lost by a single vote. This caused a

the morning. It was then moved to adjourn of Great Britain for an accommodation with practicable; they now received equal conthe debate till the 13th of March. There the Americans. He therefore dispatched a viction, that the recognition of their indepenappeared for the adjournment 215, and against letter to general Washington, informing him dence, was an indispensible preliminary to

king formed upon the resolution, were then which were prevalent in Great Britain, and to be acquired. The pride of Great Britain carried without a division, and the address at the same time solicited a passport for his sec- for a long time resisted, but that usurping

the attainment of it. Soon after the marquis some time obscured the agreeable prospects which had lately begun to dawn on the na-

The original motion, and an address to the the dispositions so favourable to America, ance of which, neither profit nor honour was was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

To this his majesty answered, "that in for it, with its concomitant circumstances, pursuance of their advice, he would take such were considered as introductory to a scheme measures as should appear to him most con- for opening negociations with Congress or the dacive to the restoration of harmony between states, without the concurrence of their allies. Great Britain and the revolted colonies." This caused no small alarm and gave rise to The thanks of the house were voted for this sundry resolutions, by which several states answer. But the guarded language thereof, declared, that a proposition from the enemy beginning of it, not inconsistent with farther hostilities against to all or any of the United States for peace zens of America. America, together with other suspicious circumstances, induced general Conway to move another resolution, expressed in the most desolved, "that they would not enter into the cisive language, This was to the following discussion of any overtures for pacification. effect: "That the house would consider as but in confidence and in concert with his enemies to his majesty and the country, all most christian majesty, and as a proof of this, those who should advise or by any means at- they recommended to the several states to tempt the further prosecution, of offensive pass laws, that no subject of his Britannic lar measure in Great Britain, as the means of war, on the continent of North-America, for majesty coming directly or indirectly from putting an end to a ruinous war. the purpose of reducing the colonies to obe-dience by force." This motion, after a feeble opposition, was carried without a division, and war." This decisive conduct extinguished put a period to all that chicanery by which all hopes that Great Britain might have enministers meant to distinguish between a prosecution of offensive war in North-America, and a total dereliction of it. This resolution rope, the Empress of Russia and the Empeand the preceding address, to which it had ror of Germany, were the mediators in acreference, may be considered as the closing complishing the great work of peace. Such scene of the American war. As it was made was the state of the contending parties, that a parliamentary war, by an address from the intercession of powerful mediaters was parliament for its prosecution in February no longer necessary. The disposition of 1775, it now was no longer so, by an ad-Great Britain, to recognize the independence dress from the most numerous house of the of the United States, had removed the princisame parliament in 1782, for its discontinuance. A change of ministry was the consequence of this total change of that political to trace the successive steps by which the system which, for seven years, had directed nation was brought to this measure, so irrethe affairs of Great Britain. A new adminis- concilable to their former declarations. Va- ty nations of Indians, and particularly of the tration was formed under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, and was composed of characters who opposed the American mind of Great Britain, but the sum of the right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, It has been said that the new minister stipulated with the court before he entered
into office, that there should be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgment longer continuance of hostilities was for- fieed, nothing more than a simple recommenof their independence should not be a bar to bidden by every principle of wise policy.

of Rockingham, on whom Great Britain relied France and America, and the steady adhewith a well placed confidence, for extrication rence of both parties to enter into no negofrom surrounding embarrassments, departed ciations without the concurrence of each ary discussion. It was said by the opposition this life, and his much lamented death for other, reduced Great Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negociating under the idea of recognition. On the decease of the noble marquis, zing American independence. This great many posts they held in the United States, carl Shelhurne was appointed his successor, change of the public mind in Great Britain, an immense extent of north and western ter-To remove constitutional impediments to ne-gociate with the late British colonies, an act place between November 1781, and March in the fisheries, nothing was stipulated in of parliament was passed, granting to the 1782. In that interval Mr. Laurens was recrown powers for negociating or concluding leased from his confinement in the tower. a general or particular peace or truce with Before and after his release, he had frequent ters of Congress procured for their countrythe whole, or with any part of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that purpose.

Solution of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that purpose.

Solution of the colonies, and after this release, he had request the structions of demonstrating to persons in men better terms than they had reason to expower, that from his personal knowledge of the structions of Congress, and of their ministers, every hope of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that the setting the structions of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that the setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that the setting the setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that the setting the setting the setting that the setting that the setting the setting

long debate which lasted till two o'clock in deavours for carrying into effect the wishes conquest of the American states was imof the late proceedings of parliament, and of the determination of a war, from the continupassion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feelings of the influence of interest. great body of the people were no longer to be controlled, by the honour of ministers. or romantic ideas of national dignity. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the sentiments of the inhabitants of Great Britain, not less remarkable than what in the beginning of it, took place among the citi-

> Independence which was neither thought of nor wished for by the latter in the year 1774, and 1775, became in the year 1776 their favourite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war, had been with few exceptions the object of abhorrence to the British nation, became in the year 1782, a popu-

The commissioners for negociating peace on the part of the United States, were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles of peace, between Great Britain and the United States were agreed upon by these gentlemen, which were to be inserted in a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place. By these the independence of the states was acknowledged in its fullest extent. Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi, in which was the residence of upwards of twenwhole must be resolved into this simple pro- and other places where both nations had heredation for restitution being stipulated in their The avowed object of the alliance between favour. Five days after these provisional ance and America, and the steady adhearticles were signed, the British parliament met. They underwent a severe parliamentthat independence being recognized, every thing ceded by Great Britain required an equivalent; but that while they gave up tho return.

It must be acknowledged, that the minis-Sir Guy Carleton, who was lately appointed to the command of the royal army in dependence, was illusory. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the without independence. That once granted, most of the other articles followed of course. It is true, the boundaries agreed upon were Americans who had attached themselves to some of their first families. more extensive than the states, when colonies, had claimed; yet the surplus ceded could their native country, many of them were have been of little or no use to Great Britain, obliged to take up their abodes in the inhosand might if retained have given an occasion pitable wilds of Nova Scotia, or on the barren vernors thereof had long been in the habit of to a future war.

a hard one, but unavoidable, from the complex constitution of the United States. The American ministers engaged as far as they were authorized, and Congress did all that they constitutionally could; but this was no more less artful, were not half reimbursed for their pendence. The city was also divided into than simply to recommend their case to the several states, for the purpose of making them subsequent to the peace, among the Ameri- merous families, the Livingstons and Derestitution. To have insisted on more, under cans, fell to the share of the merchants, and lanceys. These having been long accustomsuch circumstances, would have been equiva- others, who owed money in England. From ed to oppose each other at elections, could lent to saying that there should be no peace, the operations of the war, remittances were rarely be brought to unite in any political It is true, much more was expected from the impossible. In the mean time payments were measures. In this controversy, one almost recommendations of Congress, than resulted made in America by a depreciating paper, un universally took part with America, the other from them; but this was not the consequence der the sanction of a law which made it a with Great Britain. of deception, but of misunderstanding the legal tender. The unhappy persons who in principles of the confederation. In conformity this manner suffered payment, could not apply to the letter and spirit of the treaty, Congress it to the extinguishment of their foreign debts. fled from oppression in their native country, urged in strong terms the propriety of mak- If they retained in their hands the paper which and could not brook the idea that it should foling restitution to the loyalists, but to procure it was beyond their power. In the animation If they invested it in public securities, from favor of liberty, were strengthened by their produced by the war, when the Americans conceived their liberties to be in danger, and better: If they purchased land, such was the and people of that denomination, for reasons that their only safety consisted in obeying their federal head, they yielded a more unreserved obedience to the recommendations of Congress, than is usually paid to the decrees of the most arbitrary sovereigns. But the case was widely different, when at the close of the war, a measure was recommended in direct opposition to injured by being kept for many years out of their prejudices.

It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the asperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with as one of the greatest cvils incident to royal government, than to their British ene-humanity. mies. It is certain that the former had been most active in predatory excursions, and most forward in seenes of blood and murder. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to do mischief which never would have occurred to European soldiers. Many powerful passions of human nature operated against making restitution to men, who were thus considered as the authors of so great a share of the public

distress.

There were doubtless among the loyalists many worthy characters-friends to peace, and lovers of justice: To such, restitution was undoubtedly due, and to many such it was made; but it is one of the many calamities incident to war, that the innocent, from the impossibility of discrimination, are often involved in the same distress with the guilty. The return of the loyalists to their former places of resiplaces committees were formed, which in an perty of the returning loyalists.

the royal cause. Being compelled to depart shores of the Bahama Islands. Parliamentary indulging their favourites with extravagant The case of the loyalists was undoubtedly relief was extended to them, but this was obtained with difficulty, and distributed with a tinction of landlord and tenant. There was partial hand. Some who invented plausible therefore in New-York an aristocratic party! tales of loyalty and distress, received much respectable for numbers, wealth and inmore than they ever possessed; but others, fluence, which had much to fear from indeactual losses. The bulk of the sufferings, parties by the influence of two ancient and nuwas paid to them, it daily decreased in value: low them. Their national prepossessions in the deficiency of funds, their situation was no religious opinions. They were presbyterians, superabundance of territory ceded by the hereafter to be explained, were mostly whigs. peace, that it fell greatly in value. Under all The Scotch, on the other hand, though they these embarrassments, the American debtor had formerly sacrificed much to liberty in their was by treaty bound to make payments in own country, were generally disposed to supspecie of all his bona fide debts, due in Great-port the claims of Great-Britain. Their na-Britain. The British mcrchant was materially tion for some years past had experienced a his capital, and the American was often ruined by being ultimately held to pay in specie what the cause of John Wilkes and the cause of he received in paper. Enough was suffered on both sides to make the inhabitants, as well in Great Britain as in America, deprecate war

CHAPTER XXIX.

The state of parties; the advantages and disadvantages of the Revolution; its influence on the minds and morals of the citizens.

Previous to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the British colonies were universally loyal. That three millions of such of that nation. subjects should break through all former attachments, and unanimously adopt new ones, could not reasonably be expected. The revolution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every period of the war. Country, religion, local policy, as well as private views, operated in disposing the inhabitants to take different the loyalists to their former places of residence, was as much disrelished by the whigh edition of America, as the proposal for reimnearly of one sentiment. The influence of bursing their confiscated property. In sundry placemen in Boston, together with the connexions which they had formed by marriages, arbitrary manner opposed their peaceable had attached sundry influential characters in their sects deny the lawfulness of war. No residence. The sober and dispassionate citi- that capital to the British interest, but these people have prospered more in America than zens exerted themselves in checking these ir- were but as the dust in the balance, when the Germans. None have surpassed, and but regular measures; but such was the violence compared with the numerous independent few have equalled them, in industry and other of party spirit, and so relaxed were the sinews of the country. The same republican virtues.

of government, that in opposition to legal and other causes produced a large number in The great body of tories in the southern of government, that in opposition to legal and other causes produced a large number in authority, and the private interference of the New-York who were attached to royal go-judicous and moderate, many indecent outrages were committed on the persons and pro- quarters of the British army in America, and sous, who had fled from the old settlements, to many intermarriages and other connexions, avoid the restraints of civil government. Their

Nor were these all the sufferings of those had been made between British officers and

The practice of entailing estates had prevailed in New-York to'a much greater extent than in any of the other provinces. The gogrants of land. This had introduced the dis-

The Irish in America, with a few exceptions, were attached to independence. They had large proportion of royal favor. A very absurd association was made by many, between America. The former had rendered himself so universally odious to the Scotch, that many of them were prejudiced against a cause, which was so ridiculously, but generally associated, with that of a man who had grossly insulted their whole nation. The illiberal reflections east by some Americans on the whole body of the Scotch, as favourers of arbitrary power, restrained high spirited individuals of that nation from joining a people who suspected their love of liberty. Such of them as adhered to the cause of independence, were steady in their attachment. The army and the Congress ranked among their best officers, and most valuable members, some individuals

Such of the Germans, in America, as possessed the means of information, were generally determined whigs, but many of them were too little informed, to be able to choose their side on proper ground. They, especially such of them as resided in the interior country, were from their not understanding the English language, far behind most of the other inhabitants, in a knowledge of the merits of the dispute. Their disaffection was rather passive than active: A considerable part of it arose from principles of religion, for some of

numbers were increased by a set of men of their people occasioned to the exertions of had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. called regulators. The expense and difficulty the active friends of independence.

of obtaining the decision of courts, against

The age and temperament of individuals sundry persons, about the year 1770, to take character. Old men were seldom warm whigs. forms as well as substance, must be regarded. modate themselves to new systems. Few of From not attending to the former, some of these the very rich were active in forwarding the of the human mind speedily followed. This offences both against law and justice. By their violent proceedings regular government was prostrated. This drew on them the vengeance more determined whigs than the opulent slave- of royal governors. The regulators having holders in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. society. In the bustle that was occasioned by suffered from their hands, were slow to oppose an established government, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. Apprehending that the measures of Congress fearing that they would terminate in the same disagreeable consequences, they and their adherents were generally opposed to the revolu-

Religion also divided the inhabitants of Amer-The presbyterians and independents. were almost universally attached to the measures of Congress. Their religious societies are governed on the republican plan.

From independence they had much to hope,

but from Great Britain if finally successful, they had reason to fear the establishment of a church hierarchy. Most of the episcopal ministers of the northern provinces, were pensioners on the bounty of the British government. disposed to support a connexion with Great Britain. The episcopal clergy in these southern provinces being under no such bias, were often among the warmest whigs. Some of them foreseeing the downfall of religious establishments from the success of the Americans, were less active, but in general where their church was able to support itself, their clergy and laity, zealously espoused the cause of independence. Great pains were taken to persuade them, that those who had been called dissenters, were aiming to abolish the episcopal establishment, to make way for their own ed excellent shelter for desperate debtors. exaltation, but the good sense of the people, restrained them from giving any credit to the unfounded suggestion. Religious controversy was happily kept out of view: The well informed of all denominations were convinced, that the contest was for their civil rights, and therefore did not suffer any other consideraations to interfere, or disturb their union.

The quakers with a few exceptions were averse to independence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous, and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patronised by any body of men, who foresee that a diminution of their own importance, is likely for that event, would have been lost to the Local prejudices abated. By frequent collidiminution of their own importance, is likely to result from the change. Quakers from reli- world. When the war began, the Americans gious principles were averse to war, and there- were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, me- was laid for the establishment of a nation, out fore could not be friendly to a revolution, which chanics and fisherman; but the necessities of of discordant materials. Intermarriages becould only be effected by the sword. Several the country gave a spring to the active powindividuals separated from them on account of ers of the inhabitants, and set them on think-much more common than before the war, and

horse-thieves and other criminals, had induced had often an influence in fixing their political the execution of the laws into their own hands, They could not relish the great changes which North and South Carolina. In punishing crimes, forms and habits, they could not readily accomregulators, though perhaps aiming at nothing revolution. This was remarkably the case in displayed itself in a variety of ways. but what they thought right, committed many the eastern and middle states; but the reverse took place in the southern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America, The active and spirited part of the community, the war, few instances could be produced of would raise them to eminence in a free government, longed for the establishment of indepenpossession or expectation of royal favour, or the connexion between the parent state and the

colonies might be preserved.

enterprising were mostly whigs, but the phlegwanted decision were, in general favourers of Great Britain, or at least only the lukewarm inactive friends of independence. The whigs received a great reinforcement from the operation of continental money. In the year 1775, 1776, so large a sum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increased the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends to the revowar was patronised in England, by the many contractors and agents for transporting and supplying the British army. In both cases The spirit of the times revolted against dragging to jails for debt, men who were active and founded on their previous acquirements. zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, those who owed more than they were worth, by going within the British lines, and giving themselves the merit of suffering itors to defiance, but sometimes obtained promotion or other special marks of royal favour.

All the departments of government were established and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776, the country heing suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these genin some of the remote settlements, both of were daily taking place. Attached to ancient erally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pur-

It was found that the talents for great stations did not differ in kind, but only in degree, from those which were necessary for the propwho felt themselves possessed of talents, that any person who made a figure, or who rendered essential services, but from among those prehending that the measures of Congress ment, longed for the establishment of indepen-were like their own regulating schemes, and dent constitutious: But those who were in their respective professions. Those who from indolence or dissipation, had been of little serof promotion from Great Britain wished that vice to the community in time of peace, were found equally unserviceable in war. A few young men were exceptions to this general The young, the ardent, the ambitious and the rule. Some of these, who had indulged in youthful follies, broke of from their vicious matic, the timid, the interested and those who courses, and on the pressing call of their country hecame useful servants of the public; but the great bulk of those who were the active instruments of carrying on the revolution, were self-made, industrious men. These, who by their own exertions had established or laid a and in the first months of 1777, while the bills foundation for establishing personal indepen-of congress were in good credit, the effects of dence, were most generally trusted, and most them were the same, as if a foreign power had successfully employed in establishing that of The greatest part of their clergy and many of their laity in these provinces were therefore millions of silver dollars. The circulation of sical education was found of less service than good natural parts, guided by common sense and sound judgment.

Several names could be mentioned, of individuals who without the knowledge of any lution: on the same principles the American other language than their mother tongue, wrote not only accurately, but elegantly, on public business. It seemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men whose the inconveniences of interrupted commerce minds were warmed with the love of liberty, were lessened by the employment which war and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far surpassing all expectations which could be reasonably

The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and business had brought the inhabitants of their seaports acquainted with each other, but the on the score of loyalty, not only put their cred-bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow citizens. otion or other special marks of royal favour. A continental army, and Congress, composed The American revolution, on the one hand, of men from all the states, by freely mixbrought forth great vices; but on the other ing together were assimilated into one mass. hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, sion asperities were worn off, and a foundation their principles, and following the impulse of ing, speaking and acting, in a line far beyond their inclinations, joined their countrymen in that to which they had been accustomed. The Unreasonable jealousies had existed between arms. The services America received from difference between nations is not so much ow- the inhabitants of the eastern and southern two of their society, generals Greene and Mif- ing to nature, as to education and circumstan- states; but on becoming better acquainted flin, made some amends for the embarrass- ces. While the Americans were guided by with each other, these in a great measure subment, which the disaffection of the great body the leading strings of the mother country, they sided. A wiser policy prevailed. Men of lib-

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had broken in upon the peace of various sects, before the American war. This was kept up the mother country, would be made to triumph the United States. over all other denominations. These apprehensions were done away by the revolution. The different sects, having nothing to fear from each other. Dismissed all religious controversy.

A proposal for introducing bishops into America before the war, had kindled a flame among the dissenters; but the revolution was no sooner accomplished, than a scheme for that purpose was perfected, with the consent and approbation of all those sects who had previously opposed it. Pulpits which had formerly been shut to worthy men, because their heads had not been consecrated by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, or of a presbytery, have since the establishment of independence, been reciprocally opened to each other, whensoever the public convenience required it. The world will soon see the result of an experiment in politics, and be able to determine whether the happiness of society is increased by religious establishments, or diminished by the want of them.

Though schools and colleges were generally shut up during the war, yet many of the arts and sciences were promoted by it. The geography of the United States before the revolution was but little known; but the marches of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to many geographical inquiries and discoveries, which otherwise would not have been made. A passionate fondness for studies of this kind, and the growing importance of the country, excited one of its sons, the Rev. Mr. Morse, to travel through every state of the union, and amass a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding any thing heretofore communicated to the public. The necessities of the states led to the study of tactics, fortification, gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffused a knowledge of them among a peaceable people, who would otherwise have had no inducement to study them.

The abilities of ingenious men were directed to make farther improvements in the art of destroying an enemy. Among these, David Bushnell of Connecticut invented a machine for submarine navigation, which was found to answer the purpose of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleasure. To this was attached a magazine of powder, and the whole was contrived in such a manner, as to make it practicable to blow up vessels by machinery under them. Mr. Bushnell also contrived sundry other curious machines for the annovance of British shipping; but from accident they only succeeded in part. He destroyed one vessel in charge of commodore Symonds, and a sec-ond one near the shore of Long Island.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hospitals and other aids, the medical men of America, had few opportunities of perfecting themselves in this art, the thorough knowledge of which moted by the war. From the want of hospi-

eral minds led the way in discouraging local can only be acquired by practice and observa- John Adams, and Samuel Adams, of Bos-Dr. Rush first discovered the method of curing the lock-jaw by bark and wine, added to other Jonathan Hyman, of Connecticut; Governor

the new constitution, gave birth to much reasoning on the subject of government, and particularly to a series of letters signed Publius, The early attention which

When Great Britain first began her encreachments on the colonies, there were few natives of America who had distinguished themselves as speakers or writers, but the controversy between the two countries multiplied were able to influence and direct the great botheir number.

place in 1765, employed the pens and tongues of many of the colonists, and by repeated exercise improved their ability to serve their country. The duties imposed in 1767, called modern date; but they had been of a standforth the pen of John Dickinson, who in a series of letters signed a Pennsylvania Farmer, may be said to have sown the seeds of the revolution. For being universally read by the which was incorporated about 28 years becolonists, they universally enlightened them on fore the revolution, had in that time educathe dangerous consequences, likely to result ted upwards of 300 persons, who, with a few from their being taxed by the parliament of exceptions, were active and useful friends of Great Britain.

pen and the press had merit equal to that of the liberties of America, the present generathe sword. As the war was the people's war, tion may trace the wise policy of their fathers, and was carried on without funds, the exer- in erecting schools and colleges. They may tions of the army would have been insufficient also learn that it is their duty to found more, to effect the revolution, unless the great body and support all such institutions. of the people had been prepared for it, and also kept in a constant disposition to oppose lights of this new world, the United States Great Britain. To rouse and unite the inhab- would probably have fallen in their unequal itants and to persuade them to patience for contest with Great Britain. Union, which was several years, under present sufferings, with essential to the success of their resistance, the hope of obtaining remote advantages for could scarcely have taken place, in the meatheir posterity, was a work of difficulty: This sures adopted by an ignorant multitude. Much it depended the success of military operations.

were successful labourers in this arduous the rights of America.

distinctions, and the great body of the people, as soon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most promoted by such practices and sentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry as a could have acquired in years of peace. It was in the hospitals of the United States, that by partial establishments, and by a dread that invigorating remedies, which has since been the church of England, through the power of adopted with success in Europe, as well as in James Ous, of Boston; Thomas Paine, Dr. Rush, Charles Thompson, and James Wilson, The science of government, has been more of Philadelphia; William Tennant, of South generally diffused among the Americans by Carolina; Josiah Quincy, and Dr. Warren, of means of the revolution. The policy of Great Boston. These and many others laboured in Britain in throwing them out of her protection, enlightening their countrymen, on the subinduced a necessity of establishing independent constitutions. This led to reading and reasoning on the subject. The many errors that were at first committed by unexperienced may be added, the great body of clergy, espestatesmen, have been a practical comment on cially in New-England. The printers of newsthe folly of unbalanced constitutions, and in-papers, had also much merit in the same way. judicious laws. The discussions concerning Particularly Edes and Gill of Boston; Holt, of New-York; Bradford, of Philadelphia; and

The early attention which had been paid but really the work of Alexander Hamilton, to literature in New-England, was also emiin which much political knowledge and wis- nently conducive to the success of the Amedom were displayed, and which will long ricans in resisting Great Britain. The univer-remain a monument of the strength and acute-sity of Cambridge was founded as early as ness of the human understanding in investiga- 1636, and Yale college 1700. It has been computed, that in the year the Beston port act was passed, there were in the four eastern colonies, upwards of two thousand graduates of their colleges dispersed through their several towns, who by their knowledge and abilities, dy of the people to a proper line of conduct, The stamp act, which was to have taken for opposing the encroachments of Great Briing sufficiently long to have trained for public service a considerable number of the youth of the country. The college of New-Jersey, reat Britain. independence. From the influence which knowledge had in securing and preserving

Without the advantages derived from these was effected in a great measure by the tongues less could wisdom in council, unity in system. and pens of the well-informed citizens, and on it depended the success of military operations.

To enumerate the names of all those who uninformed people. It is a well known fact, that persons unfriendly to the revolution, were business, is impossible. The following list always most numerous in those parts of the contains, in nearly alphabetical order, the names United States, which had either never been ilof the most distinguished writers in favour of the rights of America. luminated, or but faintly warmed by the rays of science. The uninformed and the misinformed, constituted a great proportion of those

* Born in Boston.

countrymen and fellow citizens.

great effects on the minds of the people. A alloy. celebrated historian has remarked, that the song of Lillibullero forwarded the revolution of that similar productions produced similar efessential service to his country, by turning the artillery of wit and ridicule on the enemy. Philip Freneau laboured successfully in the

Royal proclamations and other productions superadding the fame of an elegant poet, to vised. that of an accomplished officer. Barlow intinguished actors in the revolution, by the bold scenes that were to be transacted on the thea- out violating private rights; and in its progress, ed. Dwight struck out, in the same line, and promises, and plighted public faith. at an early period of life finished an elegant failure of national justice, which was in some work, entitled the Conquest of Canaan, on a degree unavoidable, increased the difficulties by their countryman Webster. Pursuing an the punctual performance of contracts. unbeaten track, he has made discoveries in the genius and construction of the English language. which had escaped the researches of preceding philologists. These, and a group of other literary characters, have been brought into view by the revolution. It is remarkable, that ledge, which tames the fierceness, and softens of these, Connecticut has produced an unusual the rudeness of human passion and manners. proportion. In that truly republican state, every thing conspires to adorn human nature of the most high, were destroyed, and these, with its highest honours.

the present time, schools, colleges, societies, and institutions for promoting literature, arts, manufactures, agriculture, and for extending human happiness, have been increased far beyond any thing that ever took place before the declaration of independence. Every state in down their profession, and engage in other the union, has done more or less in this way, pursuits. Public preaching, of which many following institutions have been very lately fails of rendering essential service to society, founded in that state, and most of them in the by civilizing the multitude and forming them time of the war or since the peace. An university in the city of Philadelphia; a college of physicians in the same place; Dickinson college on none have hitherto suffered more in conse-

their liberties, to a government of their own at Carlisle; Franklin college at Laneaster; quence of it. From the dimunition of their As literature had in the first instance favour- phia; academies at Yorktown, at Germantown, been subjected, civil government has lost many ed the revolution, so in its turn, the revolution at Pittsburgh and Washington; and an acadepromoted literature. The study of eloquence my in Philadelphia for young ladies; societies and of the belles lettres, was more successfully for promoting political enquiries; for the medi- men. prosecuted in America, after the disputes be- cal relief of the poor, under the title of the tween Great Britain and her colonies began to be serious than it ever had been before. The various orations, addresses, letters, dissertations and negroes unlawfully held in bondage; for proother literary performances which the war pagating the gospel among the Indians, under made necessary, called forth abilities where the direction of the united brethren; for the they were, and excited the rising generation encouragement of manufactures and the useful loudly called upon to exert their utmost abilito study arts, which brought with them their arts; for alleviating the miseries of prisons. own reward. Many incidents afforded mate- Such have been some of the beneficial effects. rials for the favourites of the muses, to display which have resulted from that expansion of their talents. Even burlesquing royal procla- the human mind, which has been produced by mations, by parodies and doggerel poetry, had the revolution, but these have not been without

To overset an established government unhinges many of those principles, which bind 1688 in England. It may be truly affirmed, individuals to each other. A long time, and much prudence, will be necessary to reproduce fects in America. Francis Hopkinson rendered a spirit of union and that reverence for government, without which society is a rope of sand. The right of the people to resist their rulers, when invading their liberties, forms the corner stone of the American republics. This principle, though just in itself, is not favourable to which issued from royal printing presses, were, the tranquility of present establishments. The by the help of a warm imagination, arrayed in maxims and measures, which in the years such dresses as rendered them truly ridiculous. 1774 and 1775 were successfully inculcated Trumbull, with a vein of original Hudibrastic and adopted by American patriots, for oversethumour, diverted his countrymen so much ting the established government, will answer a with the follies of their enemies, that for a time similar purpose when recurrence is had to twined the literary with the military laurel, by the freest governments that were ever de-

War never fails to injure the morals of the creased the fame of his country and of the dis-people engaged in it. The American war, in particular, had an unhappy influence of this design of an epic poem ably executed, on the kind. Being begun without funds or regular idea that Columbus foresaw in vision, the great establishments, it could not be carried on withtre of that new world which he had discover- it involved a necessity for breaking solemn plan which has rarely been attempted. The of performing private engagements, and weakprinciples of their mother tongue, were first ened that sensibility to the obligations of pubunfolded to the Americans since the revolution, lic and private honour, which is a security for

In eonsequence of the war, the institutions of religion have been deranged, the public worship of the deity suspended, and a great number of the inhabitants deprived of the ordinary means of obtaining that religieus know-Many of the temples dedicated to the service th its highest honours.

From the latter periods of the revolution till not yet rebuilt. The clergy were left to suffer, without proper support. The depreciation of the paper currency was particularly injurious to them. It reduced their salaries to a pittanee, so insufficient for their maintenance, that several of them were obliged to lay but Pennsylvania has done the most. The of the inhabitants were thus deprived, seldom

the protestant episcopal academy in Phildel- number, and the penury to which they have of the advantages it formerly derived from the public instructions of that useful order of

On the whole, the literary, political, and military talents of the citizens of the United States have been improved by the revolution. but their moral character is inferior to what it formerly was. So great is the change for the worse, that the friends of public order are ties, in extirpating the vicious principles and habits, which have taken deep root during the late convulsions.

CHAPTER XXX.

The discharge of the American army: The evacuation of New-York: The resignation of General Washington: Arrangements of Congress for disposing of their western territory, and paying their delta: The distress of the States after the peace: The inefficacy of the articles of the confederation: A grand convention for amending the government: The new constitution: General Washington appointed President: An address to the people of the United States.

WITLE the citizens of the United States were anticipating the blessings of peace, their army, which had successfully stemmed the tide of British victories, was unrewarded for its services. The States which had been rescued by their exertions from slavery, were in they forgot the calamities of war. Humphries them by factious demagogues, for disturbing To dismiss officers and soldiers, who had spent the prime of their days in serving their country, without an equivalent for their labours, or even a sufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard but unavoidable case. An attempt was made, March 10, 1783, by anonymous and seditious publications* to inflame the minds of the officers and soldiers. and induce them to unite in redressing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as General Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the general and field officers with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on an early day. He rightly judged that it would be much easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than to recal fatal and hasty steps, after they had once been taken. The period, previously to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate measures. General Washington sent for one officer after another. and enlarged in private, on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When the officers were convened, the commander-in-chief addressed them in a speech well calculated to calm their minds. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favour, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, "as they valued their honour, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man,

with blood." General Washington then re-

were in such an irritable state, that nothing but their most ardent patriotism, and his unrash resolutions, which, if adopted, would have sullied the glory of seven years service. No reply whatever was made to the General's speech. The happy moment was seized, while the minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, "that no circumstances of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to next meeting. General Washington immediately thing of the kind before seen in the United sully the reputation and glory they had acately ordered a large detachment of his army, States. They commenced by a dove's dequired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country; that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army." Too much praise cannot be given to General Washington, action. Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from Heaven a more signal deliverance, through the hands of the comman-

a resolution which had been for some time to be their pleasure, "that such part of their pending, that the officers of their army, who federal armies, as stood engaged to serve duous and honourable." The officers came up preferred a sum in gross to an annuity, should be entitled to receive to the amount of five day of November next, be absolutely dis-years full pay, in money, or securities at six charged from the said service." On the day was over, Washington left the room, and per cent. per annum, instead of their half pay for life, which had been previously promised

loughs were freely granted to individuals, and concluded with these words: "May ample companions of his glory, and by waving his after their dispersion they were not enjoined justice be done them here, and may the choi- hat, bid them a silent adieu. Some of them to return. By this arrangement a critical moment was got over. A great part of an un-after, attend those, who under the divine auspaid army, was disbanded and dispersed over pices have secured innumerable blessings for the barge which conveyed him from their American officers, who had been bred mecha- him, will be closed forever." nics, resumed their trades. In old countries fully paid, has often produced serious consespeedily formed in 1775, out of farmers, plant- and independence. ers and mechanics, with equal ease and expedition in the year 1783, they dropped their in about three weeks after the American army adventitious character, and resumed their for- was discharged. For a twelvementh precedmer occupations. About 80 of the Pennsyl- ing, there had been an unrestrained commuvania levies formed an exception to the pre-inication between that city, though a British vailing peaceable disposition of the army. garrison, and the adjacent country. The bit-These, in defiance of their officers, set out from terness of war passed away, and civilities

who was attempting to open the flood-gates of marched with fixed bayonets and drums, to followed in an elegant procession. It was recivil discord, and deluge their rising empire the statehouse, in which Congress and the su-marked that an unusual proportion of those preme executive council of Pennsylvania held who in 1776, had fled from New-York, were The minds of those who had heard him door, and sent in a written message to the pre- ral joy, which flowed in upon their fellow-citisident and council of the state, and threatened zens, on returning to their ancient habitations. to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if The ease and affluence which they enjoyed in bounded influence, prevented the proposal of they were not gratified as to their demand in the days of their prosperity, made the sevewithin 20 minutes.

> and fixed on Princeton as the place of their display of fireworks, which exceeded every to march for Philadelphia. Previously to their arrival, the disturbances were quieted without hloodshed. Several of the mutineers were tried and condemned, two to suffer death, and came necessary for General Washington to four to receive corporal punishment, but they were all afterwards pardoned.

Towards the close of the year, Congress for the patriotism and decision which marked issued a proclamation, in which the armies of his conduct, in the whole of this serious trans- the United States were applauded, "for having displayed in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and in which the thanks of their country Soon after these events, Congress completed faithful services." Congress then declared it that your latter days may be as prosperous and ring the war, should from and after the third successively, and he took an affectionate leave to them.

To avoid the inconvenience of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, fura great number of soldiers in a body, furand bidding them an affectionate farewell, he cross the North river, he turned towards the cest of Heaven's favours, both here and herethe states, without turnult or disorder. The others. With these wishes, and this benedic sight, till they could no longer distinguish in privates generally betook themselves to labour, tion, the commander-in-chief is about to re- it the person of their beloved commander-inand crowned the merit of being good soldiers, tire from service; the curtain of separation chief. by becoming good citizens. Several of the will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to

With great exertions of the superintendant the disbanding a single regiment, even though of finance, four months pay, in part of several years arrearages, were given to the army. quences; but in America, where arms had This sum, though trifling, was all the immedibeen taken up for self defence, they were ate recompence the states were able to make peaceably laid down as soon as they became to those brave men, who had conducted their unnecessary. As soldiers had been easily and country through an eight years war, to peace

The evacuation of New-York, took place

their sessions. They placed guards at every by death cut off from partaking in the generities of exile inconvenient to all, and fatal to The situation of Congress, though they many, particularly to such as were advanced were not the particular object of the soldiers' in life. Those who survived, both felt and resentment, was far from being agreeable. expressed the overflowings of joy, on finding After being about three hours under duresse their sufferings and services rewarded with they retired, but previously resolved that the authority of the United States had been gross- of their enemies, and the establishment of their ly insulted. Soon after they left Philadelphia, independence. In the evening there was a scending with an olive branch, and setting fire to a maron battery.

The hour now approached in which it betake leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner. The officers having previously assembled for the purpose, General Washington joined them, and calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them. a heart full of love and gratitude, I now were given them, for their long, eminent and take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish preceding their dismission, Nov. 2d. General passed through the corps of light infantry, to Washington issued his farewell orders, in the the place of embarkation. The officers followanswered this last signal of respect and affection with tears, and all of them hung upon

A proposal was made to perpetuate the friendship of the officers, by forming themselves into a society, to he named after the famous Roman patriot Cineinnatus. The extreme jealousy of the new republics suspected danger to their liberties, from the union of the leaders of their late army, and especially from a part of the institution, which held out to their posterity, the honour of being admit ted members of the same society. To obvi ate all grounds of fear, the general meeting of the society, recommended an alteration of their institution, which has been adopted by eight of the state societies. By this recommendation it was proposed to expunge overy thing that was hereditary, and to retain little else than their original name, and a social charita-Lancaster, and marched to Philadelphia to were freely interchanged between those, who ble institution for perpetuating their personal seek redress of their grievances, from the executive council of the state. The mutineers, in opposition to advice and entreaties, persisted in their march, till they arrived at Philadelphia. They were there joined by some other troops, who were reety interenanged between those, who be institution for perpetuating their personal friendships, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren. General Washington, on or Clinton, with their suites, made a public entry into the city of New-York, as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. The lieute-president of the individual states, gave his ways of the individual states, gave his the royal army was withdrawn. The lieute-president of the individual states, gave his ways of the individual states, gave his president of the individual states. who were quartered in the barracks. The nant governor, and members of the council, the parting advice to his countrymen; and, with whole, amounting to upwards of 300 men, officers of the American army, and the citizens, all the charms of eloquence, inculcated the nesuch principles and practices, as their new to His holy keeping.

situation required.

The army being disbanded, the commandof Congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a very particuer manner. The whole sum, which in the course of the war had passed through his nands, amounted only to 14,479l. 18s. 9d. sterling. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for personal services, and actual disbursements had been managed with such economy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate sum.

In every town and village, through which the general passed, he was met by public and private demonstrations of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at Annapolis, he informed Congress of his intention to ask leave to resign the commission he had the honour to hold in their service, and desired to know their pleasure in what manner it would be most proper to be done. They resolved it should be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpose arrived, a great number of distinguished personages attended the interesting scene. At a proper moment, general Washington addressed Thomas Millien, the presi-

dent, in the following words:

depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting tre of action, with the blessings of your felmyself before them to surrender into their lands the trust committed to me, and to claim will not terminate with your military com-

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, preme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Provimy countrymen, increases with every review not give."

of the momentous contest.

" While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my tice and patronage of Congress.

cessity of union, justice, subordination, and of those who have the superintendance of them, are evils in national convulsion, even when ne-

acted, I here offer my commission, and take my nying efforts of the patriot. leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the President returned the follow-

ing answer:

receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with

to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes: you have, by the and transmit them to posterity; you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enawhich happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those con-

son to this affecting moment.

of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care: That your days may be happy as they

CHAPTER XXX.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

who have continued in the service to the pre-berty and independence afford no exception to ensued. sent moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress. The distress of the inhabitants was continuated and patronage of Congress. "I consider it as an indispensable duty to the sordid may urge arguments in favour of where it was most felt, an insurrection of a close this last solemn act of my official life, by what they deem a prudent and profitable sub-serious character was the consequence. Near commending the interests of our dearest coun-missiveness to arbitrary sway; but the lover the close of the year 1786, the populace astry to the protection of Almighty God, and of freedom, while he will not deny that there sembled to the number of two thousand, in

cessitated by the most justifiable causes, will "Having now finished the work assigned still scorn to evade them by a base servility; me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and ill does it become those who have rener-in-chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat and bidding an affectionate farewell to this audered such evils inevitable, to attempt to east gust body, under whose orders I have long the odium of them on the noble and self-de-

The exhausting effect of their exertions was felt by the people of the United States for a considerable period after peace, as well "The United States, in Congress assembled, as independence, had been secured. The enthusiasm of a popular contest terminating in victory, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the revolution soon became known and felt. success, through a perilous and doubtful The claims of those who toiled, and fought, and suffered in the arduous struggle, were "Called upon by your country to defend strongly urged, and the government had neiits invaded rights, you accepted the sacred ther resources nor power to satisfy or to sicharge before it had formed alliances, and lence them. The federal head had no sepawhilst it was without friends or a government rate or exclusive fund. The members of Congress depended on the states which they respectively represented, even for their own maintenance, and money for national purposes could only be obtained by requisitions on the different members of the confederacy. On love and confidence of your fellow citizens, them it became necessary immediately to call enabled them to display their martial genius, for funds to discharge the arrears of pay due to the soldiers of the revolution, and the interest on the debt which the government had been compelled to contract. The legislatures been compelled to contract. bled, under a just Providence, to close the of the different states received these requisiwar in freedom, safety and independence; on tions with respect, listened to the monitory warnings of Congress with deference, and with silent and inactive acquiescence. Their "Mr. President,
"The great events on which my resignation in this new world—having taught a lesson ment. The wealth of the country had been useful to those who inflict, and to those who totally exhausted during the revolution. Taxes feel oppression, you retire from the great thea- could not be collected, because there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be, destroyed; and comthe indulgence of retiring from the service mand; it will continue to animate remotest merce, though preparing to burst from its of my country.

We feel, with you, our obligations to thraldom, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchange-able value. The states owed each a heavy fidential officers, who have attended your per- debt for local services rendered during the revolution, for which it was bound to provide, "We join you in commending the interests and each had its own domestic government to support. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each state was anxious to rewas superceded by a confidence in the recti-tude of our cause, the support of the su-the opportunity afforded them, of becoming revenue derived from foreign commerce; and a happy and respectable nation; and for you, that the custom-houses in each commercial city were considered as the most valuable sources of income which the states possessed. Each state, therefore, made its own regulations, its have been illustrious, and that He will finally tariff, and tonnage duties, and, as a natural dence, and the assistance I have received from give you that reward which this world can-consequence, the different states clashed with each other; one nation became more favoured than another under the same circumstances; and one state pursued a system injurious to the interests of another. Hence the confidence of foreign countries was destroyed; and they would not enter into treaties of commerce with the confederated government, while they were not likely to be carried into In every department of nature violent ef- effect. A general decay of trade, the rise of family should have been more fortunate; per- forts are succeeded by a corresponding ex- imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and mit me, sir, to recommend in particular those haustion; and the struggles of a nation for li- an uncommon decrease of the value of lands,

ing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the circumstance that so few states were rethe collection of debts should be suspended, presented, they wisely declined deciding on highest station, the electors, by a unanimous and that the legislature should authorize the any important measures in reference to the emission of paper money for general circula-tion. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those together. This convention is memorable, howparts of the state where disaffection did not ever, as having been the prelude to the one prevail, were immediately despatched against which followed. Before the commissioners them, one under the command of General adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which Lincoln, the other of General Shepard. The the necessity of a revision and reform of the disaffected were dispersed with less difficulty articles of the old federal compact was strong-than had been apprehended, and, abandoning ly urged, and which contained a recommentheir seditious purposes, accepted the proffer-dation to all the state legislatures for the ap-

ed indemnity of the government. mind gave tokens of being prepared for a This proposal was eventually carried into efchange in the constitution of the general godect, and, in conformity with it, a convention of vernment—an occurrence, the necessity of delegates from the several states met at Philawhich had long been foreseen by Washington, delphia in May, 1787. Of this body of emiand most of the distinguished patriots of that period. Evil had accumulated upon evil, till the mass became too oppressive to be endured, and the voice of the nation cried out for relief. The first decisive measures proceeded from another to abridge, the authority delegated to the merchants, who came forward almost si- the general government. This was the first who attested their joy by loud and repeated multaneously in all parts of the country, with germ of parties in the United States; not that acclamations, he returned to the senate chamrepresentations of the utter prostration of the materials were wanting, for the dissensions of ber, where he delivered the following apmercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the of spirit and feelings that only awaited an opadvantages of this most important source of portunity for their disclosure. The divisions national prosperity were flowing into the hands in the convention proved the foundation of of foreigners, and that the native merchants many a subsequent struggle. At length a conwere suffering for the want of a just protection and a uniform system of trade. The wise ported to Congress, was submitted for ratificaand reflecting were convinced that some deci-ded efforts were necessary to strengthen the states. This constitution differs, in many imgeneral government, or that a dissolution of portant particulars, from the articles of confethe union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, deration; and, by its regulations, connects the would be inevitable. The first step towards states more closely together, under a general a general reformation was rather accidental and supreme government, composed of three than premeditated. Certain citizens of Vir-departments, legislative, executive, and judiginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for cial; and invested with powers essential to promoting the navigation of the Potomac and its being respected, both by foreign nations Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, and devise some plan of operation. The provisions and characteristics and the states whose interest it was designed to secure. The provisions and characteristics and the states whose interest it was designed to secure. The provisions and characteristics and the states whose interest it was designed to secure. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, will receive the consideration to which they and while there, it was proposed among them- are so justly entitled in another department selves that more important objects should be of our work. connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners, with enmost anxious for the formation of this system, larged powers, instructed to form a plan for and the most zealous advocates for its adopmaintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, tion, it almost naturally followed that the adand also to fix upon some system of duties on exports and imports in which both states should hands. This party, which might, from their agree, and that in the end Congress should be opinions, have been denominated nationalists, petitioned to allow these privileges. This or, in more modern phraseology, centralists, project was approved by the legislature of acquired the name of federalists, while the Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appellation of anti-federalists was given to appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution recommending the design to other ed to freedom, imagined that rulers, possessing ed by a grateful remembrance of former instates, and inviting them to unite, by their com- such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, missioners, in an attempt to established such a and such independent tenure of office, would transcendent proof of the confidence of my system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. Five states only, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and New-York. From these states commissioners assembled at scribed, with powerful effect, the evils actually defed by my country, with some share of the Annapolis, but they had hardly entered into a ally endured from the inefficiency of the condiscussion of the topics which naturally forced federation, and demanded that a trial at least themselves into view, before they discovered should be made of the remedy proposed.

I have, in obedience to the public summons, the powers with which they were instructed. In eleven states, a majority, though in some repaired to the present station, it will be pecuto be so limited, as to tie up their hands from instances a small one, decided in favour of the liarly improper to omit, in this first official act,

the north-western part of the state, and, choos- tial utility. On this account, as well as from the election of the officers to compose the expointment of deputies, to meet at Philadelphia, The time at length came when the public with more ample powers and instructions.

effecting any purpose that could be of essen-constitution. Provision was then made for my fervent supplications to that Almighty Bo

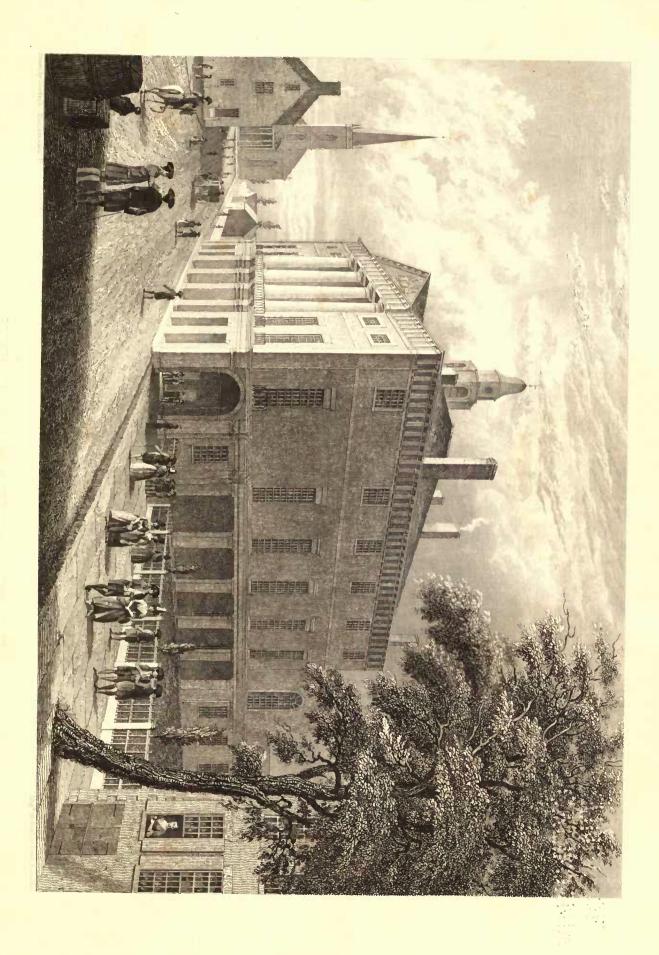
ecutive and legislative departments. In the vote, placed the illustrious Washington; and to the office of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country. On the 23d of April the president elect arrived at New-York, where he was received by the governor of the state, and conducted, with military honours, through an immense concourse of people, to the apartments provided for him. Here he received the salutations of foreign ministers, public bodies, political characters, and private citizens of distinction, who pressed around him to offer their congratulations, and to express their joy at seeing the man who had the confidence of all, at the head of the American republic. On the 30th of April the president was inaugurated. Having taken the oath of office in an open gallery adjoining the senate chamber, in the view of an immense concourse of people,

"Fellow citizens of the Senate,

and of the House of Representatives:

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand. I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscions of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just apprecistances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be partiality in which they originated.
"Such being the impressions under which

I have, in obedience to the public summons,





ing, who rules over the universe, who pre- genuine maxims of an honest and magnani- say, "The unauimous suffrage of the elective sides in the councils of nations, and whose mous policy, and the solid rewards of public body in your favour, is peculiarly expressive expresses your sentiments not less than my can people. own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large dential agency. And in the important revolu- hirth to them. Instead of undertaking partion just accomplished in the system of their tieular recommendations on this subject, in united government, the tranquil deliberations, which I could be guided by no lights deand voluntary consent of so many distinct rived from official opportunities, I shall again communities, from which the event has re-sulted, cannot be compared with the means give way to my entire confidence in your dis-eernment and pursuit of the public good. For House of Representatives glowed, promised by which most governments have been es- I assure myself, that whilst you carefully that between this branch of the legislature tablished, without some return of pious grati- avoid every alteration which might endanger also and the executive, the most harmonious tude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the sons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic and the executive, the most narmomous co-operation in the public service might be expected.

"The representatives of the people of the present crisis, have forced themselves too acteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the States," says this address, "present strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You the public harmony, will sufficiently influence their congratulations on the event by which will join with me, I trust, in thinking that your deliberations on the question, how far there are none under the influence of which the former can be more impregnably fortified, eminence of your merit. You have long held the proceedings of a new and free government or the latter be safely and advantageously can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President, 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which brief as possible. When I was first honoured est, because the truest honour, of being the I now meet you, will acquit me from entering with a call into the service of my country, first magistrate, by the unanimous choice of into that subject, further than to refer to the then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its the freest people on the face of the earth." great constitutional charter under which you liberties, the light in which I contemplated are assembled, and which, in defining your my duty required that I should renounce powers, designates the objects to which your every pecuniary compensation. From this attention is to be given. It will be more con-resolution I have in no instance departed. sistent with those circumstances, and far more And being still under the impressions which congenial with the feelings which actuate me, produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to to substitute, in place of a recommendation of myself, any share in the personal emoluments, particular measures, the tribute that is due to which may be indispensably included in a the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism permanent provision for the executive departwhich adorn the characters selected to devise ment; and must accordingly pray, that the and adopt them. In these honorable qualifi- pecuniary estimates for the station in which I cations, I behold the surest pledges, that, as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, be limited to such actual expenditures as the no separate views nor party animosities, will public good may be thought to require. misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye "Having thus imparted to you my sentiwhich ought to watch over this great assem- ments, as they have been awakened by the blage of communities and interests; so, on occasion which brings us together, I shall take another, that the foundations of our national my present leave; but not without resorting lished, the President proceeded to make ap policy will be laid in the pure and immutable once more to the benign Parent of the human eminence of free government be exemplified been pleased to favour the American people by all the attributes which can win the affect with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tions of its citizens, and command the respect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with

faction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between the larged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

* At the head of the department of state he placed Mr. Jefferson; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the war department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head of the var department, General Knox; in the office of attorney-general, Edmund Randolph; at the head

providential aids can supply every human prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of defect, that his benediction may consecrate to no less persuaded that the propitious smiles the citizens of America, and is the highest the liberties and happiness of the people of of Heaven can never be expected on a nation testimonial at once of your merit, and their the United States, a government instituted by that disregards the eternal rules of order and the steem. We are sensible, sir, that nothing themselves for these essential purposes, and right which Heaven itself has ordained: and hut the voice of your fellow citizens could may enable every instrument employed in its since the preservation of the sacred fire of have called you from a retreat, chosen with administration, to execute with success the liberty, and the destiny of the republican the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it periment intrusted to the hands of the America, that it observes the indext prediction, endeated by name, and consecrated to the repose of declining deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the America, that, in obedience to the call of our common

promoted.
"To the preceding observations I have

principles of private morality; and the pre-race, in humble supplication, that since he has unparalleled unanimity on a form of govern-

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to public life. In you all parties confide; in less than either. No people can be bound to your care, it will remain with your judgment you all interests unite; and we have no doubt acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, to decide, how far an exercise of the occa-which conducts the affairs of men, more than sional power delegated by the fifth article of been, will be equalled by your future exerthe people of the United States. Every step, the constitution, is rendered expedient at the tions; and that your prudence and sagacity, by which they have advanced to the charac- present juncture by the nature of objections as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers ter of an independent nation, seems to have which have been urged against the system, or to which we were exposed, to give stability been distinguished by some token of provi- by the degree of inquietude which has given to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that country, which your skill and valour, as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and to empire."

The affection for the person and character

"The representatives of the people of the eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem. You have often received tokens of their affection. You now possess the only proof that remained of

After noticing the several communications made in the speech, intense of deep felt respect and affection, the answer concludes thus:

"Such are the sentiments with which we have thought fit to address you. They flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous eitizen whose heart will disown

"All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of these blessings on the most beloved of her eitizeus."

The government being now completely organized, and a system of revenue estabpointments of suitable persons to fill the of fices which had been created.* After a la borious and important session, in which perfeet harmony subsisted between the executive and the legislature, congress adjourned

in the succeeding January.

At the next session of Congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, of the whole, amounting to nearly two thou- at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he the Secretary of the Treasury, made his cele- sand men, was given to General St. Clair, was received by the Governor and the citithe Secretary of the Treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted By desertion and detachments, this force was, zens, in a manner expressive of their warm during the revolutionary war. Taking an however, reduced to fourteen hundred, when, attachment to his country, and their cordial able and enlarged view of the advantages of on the 3d of November, 1791, they encamped approbation of the change of her institutions, public credit, he recommended that not only a few miles from the villages on the Miami. public credit, he recommended that not only the debts of the continental Congress, but these of the States arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the general government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. The report of the Secretary was largely discussed, and with great force of argument and eloquence. In conclusion, Congress passed an act for the assumption of the State debts, and for funding the national debt. By the provisions of this act, 21,500,000 dollars of the State debts were assumed in specific proportions; and it was particularly enacted, that no certificate should be received from a state creditor which could be "ascerother than compensations and expenditures ments. In this battle, the numbers engaged ceeded by M. Fauchet. for services or supplies towards the presecution of the late war, and the defence of the United States, or of some part thereof, during the same." funded upon principles which considerably lessened the weight of the public burdens, and gave much satisfaction to the public creditors. The produce of the sales of the lands this disaster, Congress, resolving to prosecute men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an aclying in the western territory, and the surplus product of the revenue, after satisfying the appropriations which were charged upon it, with the addition of two millions which the President was authorized to borrow at five per cent., constituted a sinking fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt. The effect of these measures was great and rapid. The permanent value thus given to the debt of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to and wounded, including officers, was one produced a result equal to the most favourable anticipations. The sudden increase of monied capital derived from it invigorated lions. A great improvement in the circum- both of whom fell in the first charge. The commerce, and consequently gave a new stimulus to agriculture.

It has already been stated, that when the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to Congress to be admitted into the of the government of the United States, a dis-dians still continuing hostilities, their whole Union. An act was also passed, declaring trict of ten miles square for this purpose was country was laid waste, and forts were erected that the district of Kentucky, then part of fixed on, comprehending lands on both sides in the heart of their settlements. The effect Virginia, should be admitted into the Union of the River Potomac, and the towns of Alex- of the battle of the 20th of August was in-

During the year 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had funds for carrying on the necessary public one of the United States from a general war raged between the Creek Indians and the buildings. state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the powers with whom the United States had the the Indians in Georgia. In 1795, a treaty banks of the Sciota and the Wabash. These most extensive relations. The French peo- was concluded at Grenville, which, long and being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmar, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious. France, they looked across the Atlantic for Emboldened by these successes, they consumpathy and assistance. The new governsurrection in Pennsylvania. In 1791, Consumption of the latter were victorious.

on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond ans, in 1791, General Wayne was appointed example. Six hundred and thirty were killed to command the American forces. Thus was the national debt and missing, and two hundred and sixty were post near the country of the enemy, he made wounded-a loss which proves at once the assiduous and long protracted endeavours to obstinacy of the defence, and the bravery of negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched the assailants. On receiving information of against them at the head of three thousand the war with increased vigour, made pro-tion took place in the vicinity of one of the vision for augmenting, by enlistment, the mili- British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami.

be visible. The establishment of a firm and them rapidly forward in the career of pros-

assembled in arms to restore monarchy to fertile region northwest of the Ohio.

on the 29th of September to the first Monday the frontier settlements, which suffered all the had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, distressing calamities of an Indian war. Ad- of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to ditional troops were raised, and the command supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived But before sunrise the next morning, just after that the nation and the government were acthe troops were dismissed from the parade, tuated by similar feelings, he undertook to they were attacked unexpectedly by the In- authorize the fitting and arming of vessels in dians. The new levies, who were in front, that port, enlisting men, and giving commisrushed back in confusion upon the regulars, sions to cruise and commit hostilities on na-The latter, however, with great intrepidity, tions with whom the United States were at advanced into the midst of the enemy, who peace; captured vessels were brought into retired from covert to covert, keeping always port, and the consuls of France assumed, unbeyond reach, and again returning as soon as der the authority of M. Genet, to hold courts the troops were recalled from pursuit. At of admiralty on them, to try, condemn, and length, after a contest of three or four hours, authorize their sale. The declaration of war St. Clair, whose ill-health disabled him from made by France against Great Britain and performing the active duties of commander, Holland reached the United States early in determined to withdraw from the field the the same month. The President, regarding remnant of his troops; fortunately, the victo-the situation of these states, issued his prorious Indians preferred the plunder of the claimation of neutrality on the 9th of May. In camp to pursuit, and the vanquished continued July, he requested the recall of M. Genet, tained to have been issued for any purpose their retreat unmolested to the frontier settle- who was soon afterwards recalled, and suc-

After the defeat of St. Clair by the Inditary force of the nation to five thousand men. A rapid and vigorous charge roused the In the course of this year was completed savages from their coverts, and they were the first census or enumeration of the inhabit- driven more than two miles at the point of the ants of the United States. They amounted bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report sive battle, the loss of the Americans in killed 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about nine-hundred and seven. Among the slain were teen, and the imports to about twenty mil- Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Fowles, stances of the people began at this period to American troops engaged in the battle did not amount to nine hundred; the number of Inregular government, and confidence in the dians was two thousand. After remaining on men whom they had chosen to administer it, the banks of the Miami three days, during gave an impulse to their exertions which bore which time the houses and cornfields above and below the fort were burnt, Gen. Wayne, on the 28th, returned with the army to Au Pursuant to the authority contained in the Glaize, having destroyed all the villages and several acts on the subject of a permanent seat corn within fifty miles of the river. The Inon the 1st day of June in the succeeding year, andria and Georgetown. A city was laid stantly and extensively felt. To the victory out, and the sales which took place produced gained by the Americans is ascribed the reswith the Indians northwest of the Ohio; and The war in Europe had embraced those its influence is believed to have extended to ple regarded the Americans as their brethren. faithfully observed, gave peace and security bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the su-when the kings of Europe, dreading the es-perabundant population of the eastern states tablishment of republicanism in her borders, to spread with astonishing rapidity over the

tinued to make more vigorous attacks upon ment, recalling the minister whom the king gress had enacted laws, laying duties upon

spirits distilled within the United States, and on condition that an alteration should be made strength of parties was fully tried, and it with guns and other weapons, attacked the lutions were passed expressing warm disap-lie will, they yielded to this call. house of an inspector of the revenue, and wounded some persons within it. They seized the marshal of the district of Pennsyl- cation. General Washington, believing that She feared lest the principles of liberty and obliged to fly from that part of the country to the seat of government. These and many claring it to be the law of the land. The pre- Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated other outrages induced President Washing- dominant party in the House of Representaton, on the 7th of August, to issue a procla- tives expressed surprise that this proclamamation, commanding the insurgents to disperse, and warning all persons against aiding, House was taken on the subject, as they deabetting, or comforting the perpetrators of nied the power of the President and Senate these treasonable acts, and requiring all offi- to complete a treaty without their sanction. zens of the United States the free navigation cers, and other citizens, according to their re- In March, a resolution passed, requesting the spective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and the instructions to the minister of the United New Orleans. suppress such dangerous proceedings. On States, who negotiated the treaty with the gents; forcibly describing the obstinate and the correspondence and other documents relaand declaring his fixed determination, in obe- render improper to be disclosed." This re- tribute to the sovereign of that country. dience to the duty assigned to him by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and to reduce the refractory jority of the House entertained the opinion nation. On the first day of the year 1794,

gotiating on the subject; but after the consti-That body advised the President to ratify it, spective corporations, meetings were held, the sident experienced not the slightest abatement.

tion should be issued before the sense of the recapitulation of the argument: "As, there-

A resolution moved in the House to make

upon stills. From the commencement of the in one of the articles. The democratic party, clearly appeared that the great majority were operation of these laws, combinations were however, exclaimed in intemperate language disposed to rally around the Executive. Informed in the four western counties of Penn- against most of the stipulations it contained; numerable petitions were presented to Consylvania to defeat them, and violence was and the partisans of France swelled the cry of gress, praying them to make the requisite repeatedly committed. In July of the present year, about one hundred persons, armed in various parts of the Union, at which reso-selves the consequences of resisting the pub-

vania, who had been previously fired on while an adjustment of differences would conduce the desire of independence should find their in the execution of his duty by a party of to the prosperity of the republic, and that the way into her contiguous American provinces. armed men, and compelled him to enter into treaty before him was the best that could, at At length, becoming involved in a war with stipulations to forbear the execution of his of- that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, in France, embarrassed at home, and intimifice. Both the inspector and the marshal were defiance of popular clamour, and issued his dated by the unauthorized preparations which, her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty, should an envoy extraordinary be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinckney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citiof the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at

During this year also a treaty was conthe 25th of September the President issued a king of Great Britain communicated by his cluded with the regency of Algiers, with second proclamation, admonishing the insurmessage of the 1st of March, together with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conperverse spirit with which the lenient propo- tive to the said treaty, excepting such of the formity with the practice of other nations, sitions of the government had been received; said papers as any existing negotiation may should, as the price of peace, pay an annual

to obedience. Fifteen thousand men, placed that a treaty was not valid until they had Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary under the command of Governor Lee, of Vir-ginia, were marched into the disaffected coun-constituted like that of the United States, the dolph. He had performed the duties of that ties. The strength of this army rendering popular branch of the Legislature, would be office with extraordinary ability, and to the resistance desperate, none was offered, and no attended with hazard, and subject him to entire satisfaction of the President. He was blood was shed. A few of the most active much censure and abuse; but considerations considered the leader of the republican party, leaders were seized and detained for legal of this nature make but weak impressions on enjoying their highest confidence and warmprosecution. The great body of the insur- a mind supremely solicitous to promote the est attachment. On the last day of January, gents, on submission, were pardoned, as were public interest. Upon the most mature de-also the leaders, after trial and conviction of liberation, the President conceived that to secretary of the treasury. He possessed distreason. The government acquired the re- grant this request of the House would estab- tinguished talents, and had exerted those taspect of the people by this exertion of its force lish a false and dangerous principle in the di-lents to establish order where all was confuand their affection by this display of its lenity, plomatic transactions of the nation, and he sion, and to raise from the lowest depression Great Britain and the United States had gave a denial to their request in an answer the credit of the country. His complete succh been incessantly complaining that the eminent for mildness, firmness, and perspicucess greatly exalted his reputation, and to each been incessantly complaining that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace. The former was actrically according to the stipulation of the argument: "As, therement equalled only by that entertained for ment equalled only by that entertained for cused of having carried away negroes at the fore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding Washington. He was peculiarly obnoxious close of the revolutionary war; and of re- that the assent of the House of Representa- to the republican party, and was accused by taining in her possession certain military posts tives is not necessary to the validity of a them of partiality to England, and of misconsituated in the western wilderness, and within treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain duct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his the limits of the United States. The latter exhibits in itself all the objects requiring le-official character was acknowledged, by his were accused of preventing the loyalists from gislative provision, and on these the papers enemies, to be without stain. He was sucregaining possession of their estates, and called for can throw no light; and as it is esceeded by Oliver Wolcott. At the close o. British subjects from recovering debts constructed before the commencement of hostiliment, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments ering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his tual complaints, and also for concluding a should be preserved; a just regard to the place. In August Mr. Randolph, having lost commercial treaty, Mr. Adams had been ap- constitution, and to the duty of my office, un- the confidence of the President, and having pointed, in 1785, minister to the court of St. der all the circumstances of this case, forbid in consequence retired from the administra-James; the British ministry then declined necessor in the department of state, and James tution of 1789 was ratified, ministers were the necessary appropriations to carry the Briinterchanged, and the discussion was prosetish treaty into effect, excited among the memof war. No republican being now at the head euted with no little zeal. In 1794, Mr. Jay bers the strongest emotions, and gave rise to being then minister from the United States, a speeches highly argumentative, eloquent, and treaty was concluded, which, in the spring of animated. The debate was protracted until the administration; but the confidence of the the next year, was laid before the Senate. the people took up the subject. In their re-people in the integrity and patriotism of the Pre-

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vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Mon- can patriot. roe, the President recalled him, and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, lature. In his speech, after taking a view of he left the United States, instructed to use the situation of the United States, regardless

dent of the United States approached, after 4th of March, 1797, he attended the inauguplain indications that the public voice would ration of his successor in office. Great sensibe in his favour, and when he probably would bility was manifested by the members of the have been chosen for the third time unani- Legislature and other distinguished characmously, Washington determined irrevocably ters when he entered the Senate chamber, to withdraw to the seclusion of private life, and much admiration expressed at the com-He published, in September, 1796, a fare-placence and delight he manifested at seeing well address to the people of the United another clothed with the authority with which States, which ought to be engraven upon the he had himself been invested. Having paid hearts of his countrymen. In the most ear- his affectionate compliments to Mr. Adams, nest and affectionate manner he called upon as president of the United States, he hade them to cherish an immoveable attachment to adieu to the seat of government, and hastened the national union, to watch for its preserva- to the delights of domestic life. He intended tion with jealous anxiety, to discountenance that his journey should have been private, but even the suggestion that it could in any event the attempt was vain; the same affectionate be abandoned, and indignantly to frown upon and respectful attentions were on this occathe first dawning of every attempt to alienate sion paid him which he had received during ever plausible character, with the real design virtues and graces, brilliant alike in the shade to direct, control, counteract, or overawe the of retirement and in the glare of public life.

The conduct adopted by France towards regular deliberation and action of the constithe American republic continued to be a tuted authorities, he wished also to guard source of vexation. M. Fauchet charged the against the spirit of innovation upon the prinadministration with sentiments of hostility to ciples of the constitution. Aware that the the allies of the United States, with partiality energy of the system might be enfeebled by THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS AND for their former foes, and urged the adoption alterations, he thought that no change should of a course more favourable to the cause of be made without an evident necessity; and liberty. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, that, in so extensive a country, as much vigour having incurred the displeasure of those in as is consistent with liberty was indispensapower, was recalled at their request, and his ble. On the other hand, he pointed out the place supplied by Mr. Monroe. Being an danger of a real despotism, by breaking down ardent republican, he was received in the the partitions between the several departmost respectful manner by the convention, ments of government, by destroying the rewho decreed that the flags of the two repub- ciprocal checks, and consolidating the differ- ralists, desiring that the system of measures lies, entwined together, should be suspended ent powers. Against the spirit of party, so adopted by Washington should be pursued, in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eter- peculiarly baneful in an elective government, and dreading the influence of French sentinal union and friendship. M. Adet was appointed soon after to succeed M. Fauchet. well as against inveterate antipathies or passefforts to elect John Adams. The republi-He brought with him the colours of France, sionate attachments in respect to foreign na- cans, believing their opponents less friendly which he was instructed by the convention to tions. While he thought that the jealousy of than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and present to the Congress of the United States, a free people ought to be constantly and im-They were received by the President with partially awake against the wiles of foreign extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to Con- influence, he wished that good faith and jusgress, and afterwards deposited in the national tice should be observed towards all nations, archives. But France required of the United and peace and harmony cultivated. In his States more than professions and hopes, and opinion, honesty, no less in public than in primore than by treaty she was entitled to claim. Vate affairs, was always the best policy. Pro-She wished to make them a party in the war vidence, he believed, had connected the pershe was waging with the despots of Europe. manent felicity of a nation with its virtue. Failing in this, and jealous of the more inti-Other subjects to which he alluded, were the mate relations contracted with her principal importance of credit, of economy, of a reducenemy, England, she adopted regulations tion of the public debt, and of literary institutionly injurious to American commerce, ditions; above all, he recommended religion and recting her cruisers to capture in certain cases the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundred of the United States was received with the dissensions, which would certainly arise, convessels, loaded with valuable cargoes, were highest veneration and gratitude. Several of cerning the forms of government to be institutent while prosecuting a lawful trade, and the state legislatures ordered it to be put upon tuted over the whole, and over the parts of the whole confiscated. Believing that the their journals, and every citizen considered it this extensive country. Relying, however, rights of the nation were not asserted and as the legacy of the most distinguished Ameri- on the purity of their intentions, the justice of

On the 7th of December, 1796, the Presionce subsisted between the sister republics.

As the period for a new election of a Presipendence, honour, and prosperity. On the which he deemed essential to national inde-Overgrown military establishments he repre- Vernon be gave the world the glorious exam- that it could not be durable. sented as particularly hostile to republican ple of a man voluntarily disrobing himself of "Negligence of its regulations, inattention liberty. While he recommended the most the highest authority, and returning to priimplicit obedience to the acts of the estab-vate life, with a character having upon it no its authority, not only in individuals, but in lished government, and reprobated all ob-stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profu-states, soon appeared with their melancholy structions to the execution of the laws, all sion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice; consequences; universal languor, jealousies, combinations and associations, under what while it was adorned with the presence of rivalries of states; decline of navigation and

CHAPTER XXXI.

JEFFERSON.

When the determination of Washington not again to accept of the presidentship left open the high office to the competition of the leaders of the great political parties, no exertion was spared throughout the Union to give success to their respective claims. The fedetoo much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson. The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be President, and Mr. Jefferson to be Vice-President.

The President was inaugurated on the 4th

day of March, and made the following speech: "When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign Legislature and a total independence of its claims; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first; the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than every effort compatible with national honour, of opposition and censure, he recommended half its present numbers, not only broke to to restore the amicable relations which had the attention of Congress to those measures pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, and frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

"The zeal and ardour of the people during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain, with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones, which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a conrier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen- by some, who any portion of the country from the rest, his presidency. In his retirement at Mount assisted in Congress at the formation of it,

private faith; loss of consideration and credit exercised by citizens selected at regular pe- the imitation of his successors, by both Houses with foreign nations; and at length, in dis- riods by their neighbours, to make and exe- of Congress, and by the voice of the legislacontents, animosities, combinations, partial cute laws for the general good. Can any tures and the people, throughout the nation.

some great national calamity.

America were not abandoned by their usual amiable or respectable, when it descends from I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or accidents or institutions established in remote venture to say, that, if a preference, upon integrity. Measures were pursued to concert antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the principle, of a free republican government, a plan, to form a more perfect union, establearts and judgments of an honest and enformed upon long and serious reflection, after lish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the that are represented: it is their power and an attachment to the constitution of the United general welfare, and secure the blessings of majesty that is reflected, and only for their States, and a conscientions determination to liberty. The public disquisition, discussions, good, in every legitimate government, under support it, until it shall be altered by the and deliberations, issued in the present happy

constitution of government.

"Employed in the service of my country abroad during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ence and letters, and a wish to patronize every principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed; and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage in common with my fellow citizens in the adoption or rejection of a constitution, which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my the nation for the national good. If that soli-approbation of it on all occasions, in public tary suffrage can be obtained by foreign na-the spirit of intrigue, profligacy, and corrupand in private. It was not then nor has been tions, by flattery or menaces, by fraud or vio- tion, and the pestilence of foreign influence, since any objection to it, in my mind, that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the may be foreign nations who govern us, and tion; if an inclination to improve agriculture. people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in Congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

"Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious administration of a citizen who, by a long powers of Europe, which has been adopted obligations to support the constitution. The course of great actions, regulated by pru- by the government, and so solemnly sancoperation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects upon the patriotism and love of liberty, to independpeace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the ence and peace, to increasing wealth and un- for the French nation, formed in a residence nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment exampled prosperity, has merited the grati- of seven years chiefly among them, and a sin-

to it, and veneration for it.

can so well deserve our esteem and love?

"There may be little solidity in an ancient nations are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences: but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind which the executive authority, as well as that country's peace.

and their produce; contempt of public and of all the branches of the Legislature, are conventions, and insurrection, threatening thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by "In this dangerous crisis, the people of rohes or diamonds? Can authority be more as something may be expected, the occasion, lightened people? For, it is the people only a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if whatever form it may appear. The exist-judgments and wishes of the people, exence of such a government as ours for any pressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a relength of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue through- individual states, and a constant caution and out the whole body of the people. mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or states in the Union, without preference or reexcusable, it is when it springs, not from gard to a northern or southern, eastern or power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from western position, their various political opi-

ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, if any thing partial or extraneous should in-universities, academies, and every institution fect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and for propagating knowledge, virtue, and reliindependent elections. If an election is to be gion, among all classes of the people, not only determined by a majority of a single vote, for their benign influence on the happiness of and that can be procured by a party through life, in all its stages and classes, and of society artifice or corruption, the government may be in all its forms, but, as the only means of prethe choice of a party, for its own ends, not of serving our constitution from its natural enelence, by terror, intrigue, or venality; the government may not be the choice of the governments; if a love of equal laws, of jus-American people, but of foreign nations. It tice and humanity, in the interior administranot we, the people, who govern ourselves: commerce, and manufactures, for necessity, and candid men will acknowledge, that in convenience, and defence; if a spirit of equisuch cases, choice would have little advantage ty and humanity towards the aboriginal na-

to boast of, over lot or chance.

tem of government, (and such are some of the more friendly to us, and our citizens to be abuses to which it may be exposed,) which more friendly to them; if an inflexible deterthe people of America have exhibited to the mination to maintain peace and inviolable admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtu-ous of all nations for eight years; under the trality and impartiality among the belligerent dence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, tioned by both Houses of Congress, and apconducting a people inspired with the same plauded by the legislatures of the states and virtues, and animated with the same ardent it, and veneration for it.

tude of his fellow citizens, commanded the cere desire to preserve the friendship, which "What other form of government, indeed, highest praises of foreign nations, and selate been so much for the honour and interest

cured immortal glory with posterity.

idea, that congregations of men into cities and choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious the internal sentiment of their own power and recollection of his services, the gratitude of energies must be preserved, an earnest enmankind; the happy fruits of them to him-deavour to investigate every just cause, and self and the world, which are daily increasing, remove every colourable pretence of comthere can be no spectacle presented by any and that splendid prospect of the future for plaint; if an intention to pursue, by amicable nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic, tunes of his country, which is opening from negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that or august, than an assembly like that, which year to year. His name may be still a ram-have been committed on the commerce of our has so often been seen in this and the other part, and the knowledge that be lives, a bul-fellow citizens, by whatever nation; and if chamber of Congress-of a government, in wark against all open or secret enemies of his success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts

"This example has been recommended to

"On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence; but, spectful attention to the constitutions of the And delicacy towards the state governments; if what object of consideration, more pleasing an equal and impartial regard to the rights, than this, can be presented to the human interests, honour, and happiness of all the conviction of national innocence, information, nions on essential points, or their personal at-and benevolence. tachments; if a love of virtuous men of all "In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we parties and denominations; if a love of scitions of America, and a disposition to melio-"Such is the amiable and interesting sys-rate their condition, by inclining them to be the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal esteem of both nations; if, while the conscious honour "In that retirement, which is his voluntary and integrity of the people of America, and before the Legislature, that they may conshall be my strenuous endeavour, that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.

"With this great example before me; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the

sistent with the ends of his providence."

commencement of the alliance, had subsisted hold with them any further communication. between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." On tinct. "Millions for defence, not a cent for while attending some improvements upon his inspecting his letter of credence, the directory tribute," resounded from every quarter of the estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which announced to him their determination "not to Union. The treaty of alliance with France wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive receive another minister plenipotentiary from was declared by Congress to be no longer in of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual the United States, until after the redress of force; and authority was given for capturing manner; but at night was seized with an ingrievances demanded of the American governarmed French vessels. Provision was made flammatory affection of the windpipe, attended ment, which the French republic had a right for raising immediately a small regular army, by fever, and a quick and laborious respirato expect from it." The American minister and, in case events should render it expedition. About twelve or fourteen ounces of to quit the territories of the French republic. ditional internal duties were laid. To com-Besides other hostile indications, American mand the armies of the United States, Presi-vessels were captured wherever found; and, dent Adams, with the unanimous advice of applied in vain. Believing from the com-

In consequence of this serious state of the vernment. relations with France, the President, by proclamation, summoned Congress to meet on nations appears to have been committed by fate. When he could no longer swallow, he the 15th of June; when, in a firm and digni- the Insurgente, which was in a short period undressed himself and got into bed, there to fied speech, he stated the great and unprovoked outrages of the French government. Having mentioned a disposition indicated in the executive directory to separate the people the power of this vessel, was captured and but I am not afraid to die." Respiration be-

sider what further measures the honour and tempts," he added, "ought to be repelled United States armed vessels were in cominterest of the government and its constitu-ents demand; if a resolution to do justice, as and all the world that we are not a degraded the French squadron, but were probably far as may depend upon me, at all times, and people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of saved from capture by the address of Lieuto all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the tenant Bainbridge, who, being asked by the and henevolence, with all the world; if an miserable instruments of foreign influence, and French Commodore what was the force of unshaken confidence in the honour, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never for an accommodation, and his purpose of atbeen deceived; if elevated ideas of the high tempting it. "Retaining still the desire which mand of Captain Truxton. In February, destinies of this country, and of my own du- has uniformly been manifested by the Ameri- 1799, he encountered the Insurgente, and, afties towards it, founded on a knowledge of can government to preserve peace and friend-ter a close action of about an hour and a half, the moral principles and intellectual improve- ship with all nations, and believing that nei-compelled her to strike. The rate of the ments of the people, deeply engraven on my ther the honour nor the interest of the United Constellation was thirty-two guns, that of the mind in early life, and not obscured but ex- States absolutely forbade the repetition of Insurgente forty. The former had three men alted by experience and age; and with hum- advances for securing these desirable objects wounded, one of whom shortly after died, ble reverence I feel it my duty to add-if a with France, he should," he said, "institute a and none killed; the latter had forty-one veneration for the religion of a people, who fresh attempt at negotiation, and should not wounded, and twenty-nine killed. profess and call themselves Christians, and a fail to promote and accelerate an accommo-tory, which was so brilliant and decisive, with fixed resolution to consider a decent respect dation on terms compatible with the rights, such a wonderful disparity of loss, gave great for christianity among the best recommenda- duties, interests, and honour of the nation." eclat to the victor and to the navy. Commotions for the public service, can enable me, in In the mean time, he earnestly recommended dore Truxton again put to sea in the Con-

Pinckney. justice, and the protector, in all ages of the dors also the directory refused to receive. The United States, thus victorious in arms world, of virtnous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and verbally instructed by Talleyrand, the mini-respect of their enemy; and the directory give it all possible success and duration, conster of foreign relations, to make proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents de-mediately appointed ministers, who, on their Mr. Pinckney had been appointed ministers, who, on their manded a large sum of money before any nearrival at Paris, found the executive authority gotiation could be opened. To this insulting in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly received, and in Septin his letter of credence, to be, "to maintain compliance was, nevertheless, repeatedly tember, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisthat good understanding which, from the urged, until at length the envoys refused to factory to both countries.

United States they excited general indigna-chief; but he did not live to witness the retion. The spirit of party appeared to be ex-storation of peace. On Friday, December 13, was afterward obliged, by a written mandate, ent, for augmenting it. A direct tax and ad-blood were taken from him. In the morning, under the pretext of their wanting a docu-the Senate, appointed George Washington. mencement of his complaint that it would be ment, with which the treaty of commerce had He consented, but with great reluctance, to mortal, a few hours before his departure, and been uniformly understood to dispense, they accept the office, declaring, however, that he after repeated efforts to be understood, he suc-

any degree, to comply with your wishes, it it to Congress to provide effectual measures shall be my strenuous endeavour, that this sa- of defence. To make a last effort to obtain reparation February, 1800, he fell in with the Venand security, three envoys extraordinary were geance, a French ship of fifty-four guns, with appointed, at the head of whom was General which he began an engagement that lasted, By their instructions, "Peace with great obstinacy and spirit on both sides, and reconciliation were to be pursued by all from eight o'cleck in the evening till one in means compatible with the honour and the the morning, when the Vengeance was com-United States, I entertain no doubt of its con- faith of the United States; but no national pletely silenced, and sheered off. The Continuance in all its energy; and my mind is engagements were to be impaired; no inno-stellation, having lost her mainmast, was too prepared, without hesitation, to lay myself vations to be permitted upon those internal much injured to pursue her. The Captain of under the most solemn obligations to support regulations for the preservation of peace, it, to the utmest of my power.

regulations for the preservation of peace, the Vengeance is said to have twice surrented to the utmest of my power. it, to the utmest of my power.

"And may that Being, who is supreme established; nor were the rights of the good amidst the darkness of night over all, the patron of order, the fountain of vernment to be surrendered." These amoustsale and the confusion of battle.

The services of Washington had not been When these events were known in the required in his capacity of commander in be permitted to die without being disquieted The first act of hostility between the two by unavailing attempts to rescue him from his of America from their government, "such at carried into Guadaloupe. Several other came more and more contracted and imperfect

until half-past eleven on Saturday night, when inspired both with uncommon ardour. he expired without a struggle. Thus, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father Colonel Burr. The two latter received a of his country. Intelligence of this event, small majority of the electoral votes; and as as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, they received also an equal number, the sedeep, and unaffected grief, suspending every lection of one of them to be president deother thought, and absorbing every different feeling. Congress, then at session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The senate of the United States, in an address to the president on this melancholy occasion, indulged their patriotic pride, while they did not transgress the bounds of truth, in speaking of their Washington. "Ancient and modern names," said they, "are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory: he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it,-where malice cannot blast it."

According to the unanimous resolution of Congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The myself before the magnitude of the underprocession was grand and solemn; the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout did not the presence of many, whom I here the union similar marks of affliction were exhibited; a whole people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic funeral find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression

of the nation's grief.

In the year 1800 the seat of government of the United States was removed to Washington, in the district of Columbia. After congratulating the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress at the permanent seat of their government, and Congress on the prospect of a residence not to be changed, the president said, "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever.'

At this period a presidential election again the constitution, the republican party had been one mind, let us restore to social intercourse, men from injuring one another, shall leave gradually increasing in numbers. The two that harmony and affection without which, parties being now nearly equal, the contest liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary pursuits of industry and improvement, and

retaining the full possession of his intellect, federalists supported Mr. Adams and General volved upon the house of representatives. After thtrty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution he became, of course, vice-president. On his inauguration, Mr. Jefferson made the following speech to both houses of Congress.

" Friends and fellow-citizens,

"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eve; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble taking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, see, remind me, that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world. " During the contest of opinion through

which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions, has sometimes worn, an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though for ever held in veneration! Here, and the will of the majority is in all cases to that it delights in the happiness of man here, throughout our country, may simple manners, prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be rea- and his greater happiness hereafter; with all sonable; that the minority possess their equal these blessings, what more is necessary to rights, which equal laws must protect, and to make us a happy and prosperous people? violate which would be oppression. Let us Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise occurred. From the time of the adoption of then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart, and and frugal government, which shall restrain

The things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic and wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans: we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself! I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

" Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attention to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the extermina-ting havor of one quarter of the globe; too high minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves

the circle of our felicities.

ercise of duties which comprehend every tentional; and your support against the erthing dear and valuable to you, it is proper rors of others, who may condemn what they sequently, those which ought to shape its ad-consolation to me for the past; and my future ministration. I will compress them within solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion the narrowest compass they will bear, stating of those who have bestowed it in advance, to the general principle, but not all its limita- conciliate that of others, by doing them all the tions. Equal and exact justice to all men, good in my power, and to be instrumental to of whatever state or persuasion, religious or the happiness and freedom of all. political: peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with good will, I advance with obedience to the in all their rights, as the most competent ad- become sensible how much better choices it ministrations for our domestic concerns, and is in your power to make. And may that the surest bulwarks against anti-republican infinite Power which rules the destinies of the tendencies: the preservation of the general universe, lead our councils to what is best, government in its whole constitutional vi- and give them a favourable issue for your gour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at peace and prosperity." home, and safety abroad: a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild United States was completed in 1801. They and safe corrective of abuses which are lop-amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years ped by the sword of revolution where peace-increased nearly one million four hundred able remedies are unprovided: absolute ac- thousand. In the same number of years the quiescence in the decisions of the majority, experts increased from nineteen to ninetythe vital principle of republics, from which four millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 there is no appeal but to force, the vital prin- to 12,945,000 dollars. This rapid advance in ciple and immediate parent of despotism: a the career of prosperity has no parallel in the well disciplined militia, our best reliance in history of nations, and is to be attributed prinpeace, and for the first moments of war, till cipally to the institutions of the country, which, regulars may relieve them: the supremacy securing equal privileges to all, gave to the of the civil over the military authority: eco-enterprise and industry of all free scope and nomy in the public expense, that labour may full encouragement. be lightly burdened: the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the pub- the union. It was formerly a portion of the lic faith: encouragement of agriculture, and north-western territory, for the government of commerce as its handmaid: the diffusion of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed of information, and arrangement of all abuses by the continental Congress. In thirty years at the bar of the public reason: freedom of from its first settlement, the number of its inreligion: freedom of the press; and freedom habitants exceeded half a million. The state of person, under the protection of the habcas of Tennessee, which was previously a part of corpus: and trial by juries impartially select. North Carolina, and which lies between that ed. These principles form the bright con- state and the river Mississippi, had been adstellation, which has gone before us, and gui-mitted in 1796. ded our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, ceded to the citizens of the United States by and the blood of our heroes, have been de-|Spain, and necessary to the people of the voted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer instruction, the touchstone by which to try of that city prohibited the exercise of it in the services of those we trust; and should future. This violation of a solemn engagewe wander from them in moments of error ment produced, throughout the states of Ohio and to regain the road which alone leads to commotion. In Congress a proposition was peace, liberty and safety.

you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this sta- April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveytion with the reputation, and the favour, which ing it to the United States for fifteen inillions bring him into it. Without pretensions to of dollars. Its acquisition was considered that high confidence you reposed in our first by the United States of the greatest importand greatest revolutionary character, whose ance, as it gave them the entire control of a pre-eminent services had entitled him to the river which is one of the noblest in the world. first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faith- portant acquisition of territory. The friendly

bread it has earned. This is the sum of good right, I shall often be thought wrong by those the United States; reserving only a suffigovernment; and this is necessary to close whose positions will not command a view of ciency to maintain its members in an agriculthe whole ground. I ask your indulgence tural way. The stipulations on the part of for my own errors, which will never be inyou should understand what I deem the es- would not, if seen in all its parts. The apsential principles of our government, and con-probation implied by your suffrage, is a great

none: the support of the state governments work, ready to retire from it whenever you

A second census of the inhabitants of the

In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into

The right of deposit at New Orleans, conor of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and Kentucky, indignant clamour and violent eace, liberty and safety.

"I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post province of Louisiana; but a more pacific course was adopted. Knowing that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to acquire it by purchase. In

At this period, also, there was another imministration of your affairs. I shall often go were unable to defend themselves against the Philadelphia lay within half gun-shot of the

shall not take from the mouth of labour the wrong through defect of judgment. When neighbouring tribes, transferred its country to tronage and protection, and to give to them certain annual aids, in money, implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. This ceded country extends along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to and up the Ohio; and is esteemed as among the

most fertile within the limits of the union. The United States had for some time enjoyed the undisputed repose of peace, with only one exception. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had made demands, founded neither in right nor in compact, and had denounced war on the failure of the American government to comply with them before a given day. The president, on this occasion, sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of the sincere desire of the American government to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. It was a seasonable and salutary measure; for the bey had already declared war; and the American commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded, while that of the Atlantic was in peril. The arrival of the squadron dispelled the danger. The Insurgente, which had been so honourably added to the American navy, and the Pickering, of fourteen guns, the former commanded by Captain Fletcher, the latter, by Captain Hillar, were lost in the equinoctial gale, in September, 1800. In 1801, the Enterprise, of fourteen guns, Captain Sterrett, fell in with a Tripolitan ship of war of equal force. The action continued three hours and a half, the corsair fighting with great obstinacy, and even desperation, until she struck, having lost fifty killed and wounded, while the Enterprise had not a man injured. In 1803, Commodore Preble assumed the command of the Mediterranean squadron, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, who had begun a covert war upon American com-merce, concentrated most of his force before Tripoli. On arriving off that port, Captain Bainbridge, in the frigate Philadelphia, of forty-four guns, was sent into the harbour, to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gunboats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. This misfortune, which threw a number of accomplished officers and a valiant crew into oppressive bondage, and which shed a gloom over the whole nation, as it seemed at once to increase the difficulties of a peace a hundred-fold, was soon relieved by one of the most daring and chivalrous exploits that is found in naval annals. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, then one of Commodore Preble's subalterns, proposed a plan for reeapturing or destroying the Philadelphia. The American squadron was at that time lying at Syracuse. Agreeably to the plan proposed, Lieutenant Decatur, in the ketch Intrepid, four guns and seventy-five men, proful history, I ask so much confidence only as tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, reduced by wars eceded, under the escort of the Syren, Capmay give firmness and effect to the legal ad- and other causes to a few individuals who tain Stewart, to the harbour of Tripoli. The

boats surrounded her with jealous vigilance. The Intrepid entered the harbour alone, about eight o'clock in the evening, and succeeded in getting near the Philadelphia, between ten and eleven o'clock, without having awakened suspicion of her hostile designs. This vessel had been captured from the Tripolitans, and, assuming on this occasion her to history. The eyes of Europe were drawn became acquainted with Hamet Caramauly, former national appearance, was permitted to to the spot where a young nation, scarcely warp alongside, under the alleged pretence that she had lost all her anchors. The moment the vessel came in contact, Decatur and his followers leaped on board, and soon overwhelmed a crew which was paralyzed with consternation. Twenty of the Tripolitans were killed. All the surrounding batteries being opened upon the Philadelphia, she was immediately set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when, a favouring breeze springing up, the Intrepid extricated herself from her prey, and sailed triumphantly out of the harbour amid the light of the conflagration. Not the slightest loss occurred on the side of the Americans to shade the splendour of the enterprise.

In July, 1804, Commodore Preble brought together all his forces before Tripoli, determined to try the effect of a hombardment. The enemy having sent some of his gunboats and galleys without the reef at the mouth of with picked crews, to bring them out. At the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the harbour, two divisions of American gunboats were formed for the purpose of attacking them, while the large vessels assailed the batteries and town. On the 3d. of August this plan was put in execution. The squadron approached within gun-shot of the town, and opened a tremendous fire of shot and shells, which was as promptly returned by the Tripolitan batteries and shipping. At the same time the two divisions of gunboats, the first under the command of Captain Somers, the second under Captain Stephen Decatur, who had been promoted as a reward for his late achievement, advanced against those of the enemy. The squadron was about two hours under the enemy's batteries, generally within pistol-shot, ranging by them in deliberate suecession, alternately silencing their fires, and he was led to believe "that those boats were more numerous than Eaton's band, the aslaunching its thunders into the very palace of detached from the enemy's flotilla to intercept sailants, after persisting four hours in the atthe bashaw; while a more animated battle was ranging in another quarter. Simultaneously with the bombardment the American gunboats had closed in desperate conflict with the heroes of his party observing the other American frigate Constitution arrived in the the enemy. Captain Decatur, bearing down upon one of superior force, soon carried her by boarding, when, taking his prize in tow, he grappled with another, and in like manner transferred the fight to the enemy's deek. In the fierce encounter which followed this second attack, Captain Decatur, having broken his sword, closed with the Turkish commander, and both falling in the struggle, gave him a mortal wound with a pistol-shot, just as and Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel had vernment. Sixty thousand dollars were given the Turk was raising his dirk to plunge it into formed, neither to be taken by the enemy, as ransom for the unfortunate American prihis breast. Lieutenant Trippe, of Captain nor suffer him to get possession of the powder soners, and an engagement was made to with-Decatur's squadron, had boarded a third large on board the Intrepid." Soon after these draw all support from Hamet. The nation, gunboat, with only one midshipman and nine events, Commodore Preble gave up the comproud of the exploits of Eaton, regretted men, when his boat fell off, and left him to mand in the Mediterranean to Commodore this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was wage the unequal fight of eleven against thirty- Barron, and returned to the United States, subsequently ratified by the president and six, which was the number of the enemy. Courage and resolution, however, converted to the original to the orig teen killed and seven wounded. Lieutenant in the recollection and affection of a grate-were to receive annuities in animals and im

bashaw's eastle, and several cruisers and gun-| Trippe received eleven sabre wounds, and had ful country, and whose conduct ought to be Several bombardments and attacks succeeded tions. each other at intervals throughout the month. Day after day death and devastation were poured into Tripoli with unsparing persevelour and devotedness which will give lustre emerged into notice, was signally chastising the despotic and lawless infidel, to whom some of her most powerful governments were

then paying tribute. noyance, determined to send a fireship into the enemy's harbour. The Intrepid was fitted out for this service, being filled with powwas appointed to conduct her in, having for

three of his party wounded, but none killed. regarded as an example to future genera-

While the squadron remained before Tripoli other deeds of heroism were performed. William Eaton, who had been a captain in rance, each attack exhibiting instances of va- the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis. He there whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he coneerted an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and repaired to the United States to obtain permission and the means to under-On the 4th of September, Commodore Pre- take it. Permission was granted, the coble, in order to try new experiments of an-operation of the squadron recommended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded. To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his doder, shells, and other combustible materials. minions, was the project which had been con-Captain Somers, who had often been the emu-certed. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met. lous rival of Decatur in the career of glory, Hamet at Alexandria, and was appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, his associates in the hazardous enterprise at the head of a respectable body of mounted Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, all volun- Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set teers. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus, out for Tripoli. His route lay across a dewere to convoy the Intrepid as far as the sert one thousand miles in extent. On his mouth of the harbour. Captain Somers and march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suf-Lieutenant Wadsworth made choice of two fering, the description of which would re-of the fleetest boats in the squadron, manned semble the exaggerations of romance. Ou eight o'clock in the evening she stood into the the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripoharbour with a moderate breeze. Several litan city on the Mediterranean, and found in shot were fired at her from the batteries. She the harbour a part of the American squadron had nearly gained her place of destination destined to assist him. He learnt also that when she exploded, without having made the usurper, having received notice of his apany of the signals previously concerted to proach, had raised a considerable army, and show that the crew was safe. Night hung was then within a day's march of the city. over the dreadful catastrophe, and left the No time was therefore to be lost. The next whole squadron a prey to the most painful morning he summoned the governor to suranxiety. The convoy hovered about the harbour until sunrise, when no remains could be or yours." The city was assaulted, and after discovered either of the Intrepid or her boats. a contest of two hours and a half, possession Doubt was turned into certainty, that she had was gained. The Christians suffered severely, prematurely blown up, as one of the enemy's and the general was slightly wounded. Great gunboats was observed to be missing, and exertions were immediately made to fortify several others much shattered and damaged, the city. On the 8th of May it was attacked Commodore Preble, in his account, says, that by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times the ketch, and without suspecting her to be a tempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th fireship, the missing boats had suddenly of June another battle was fought, in which boarded her, when the gallant Somers and the enemy were defeated. The next day the three boats surrounding them, and no pro- harbour, which so terrified the Tripolitans speet of escape, determined at once to prefer that they fled precipitately to the desert. The death, and the destruction of the enemy, to frigate came, however, to arrest the operacaptivity and torturing slavery, put a match tions of Eaton in the midst of his brilliant and to the train leading directly to the magazine, successful career. Alarmed at his progress, which at once blew the whole into the air, and the reigning bashaw had offered terms of terminated their existence;" and he adds, peace, which, being much more favourable that his "conjectures respecting this affair are than had before been offered, were accepted founded on a resolution which Captain Somers by Mr. Lear, the authorized agent of the go-

saries. This was an important acquisition, not only for its extent and fertility, but because, by its commanding the Ohio for three hundred miles, and nearly half that distance the Wabash, the produce of the settled country could be safely conveyed down those rivers, and, with the cession recently made hy the Kaskaskias, it nearly consolidated the possessions An officer was sent from the Leopard to the of the United States north of the Ohio, from Chesapeake, with a note from the captain Lake Erie to the Mississippi.

Early in the following year Mr. Jefferson was re-elected to fill the president's chair, by the decided majority of sixty-two votes against sixteen, a circumstance which he viewed as an indication of a great decay in the strength of the federal party. George Clinton

was also elected vice-president.

The American government at this period began to be seriously affected by the contest which was raging in Europe. Under the guidance of the splendid talents of Napoleon the military prowess of France had brought most of the European nations to her feet. England, however, still retained almost undisputed command of the ocean, expelling every hostile navy from the seas. America profited from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations; being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and the dependant kingdoms; and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England: indeed, few ships were found on the ocean except those knew of none such being in her; that he was of the United States and Great Britain, instructed never to permit the crew of any These advantages were, however, too great ship under his command to be mustered by to be long enjoyed unmolested. American any officers but her own; that he was disships carrying to Europe the produce of posed to preserve harmony, and hoped his French colonies were, in the early stage of answer would prove satisfactory. The Leothe war, captured by British cruisers, and pard, shortly after this answer was received condemned by their courts as lawful prizes; by her commander, ranged along side of the and now several European ports under the Chesapeake, and commenced a heavy fire control of France were, by British orders in upon her. The Chesapeake, unprepared for council, dated in May 1806, declared in a state action, made no resistance, but having suffered of blockade, although not invested with a Brit- much damage, and lost three men killed, and ish fleet; and American vessels attempting eighteen wounded, Commodore Barron orto enter those ports were also captured and dered his colours to be struck, and sent a condemned. France and her allies suffered, lieutenant on board the Leopard, to inform as well as the United States, from these pro- her commander that he considered the Chesaceedings; but her vengeance fell not so much peake her prize. The commander of the daily, is extending from the nearer to the upon the belligerent as upon the neutral party. Leopard sent an officer on board, who took By a decree, issued in Berlin in November, possession of the Chesapcake, mustered her 1806, the French emperor declared the Brit-crew, and, carrying off four of her men, abanish islands in a state of blockade, and of doned the ship. Commodore Barron, findcourse authorized the capture of all neutral ing that the Chesapeake was very much invessels attempting to trade with those islands. jured, returned, with the advice of his offi-From these measures of both nations the cers, to Hampton Roads. On receiving inforcommerce of the United States severely suf- mation of this outrage, the president, by profered, and their merchants loudly demanded clamation, interdicted the harbours and waof the government redress and protection.

This was not the only grievance to which vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and ment in such progressive manner as we shall the contest between the European powers ordered a sufficient force for the protection of think best." gave rise. Great Britain claimed a right to Norfolk, and such other preparations as the search for and seize English sailors, even on occasion appeared to require. An armed vesboard neutral vessels while traversing the sel of the United States was despatched with continue in office for a longer term than eight right, citizens of the United States were don to call on the British government for the sident of the American republic, "released seized, dragged from their friends, transported satisfaction and security which this outrage to distant parts of the world, compelled to required. perform the duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own, enforcing with rigour the Berlin decree; the Against this outrage upon personal liberty and British government having solemnly asserted But the enormities of the times in which I the rights of American citizens, Washington, the right of search and impressment, and hav-Adams, and Jefferson had remonstrated in ing intimated their intention to adopt mea-

ly incensed the Americans. The frigate Chesapeake, being ordered on a cruise in the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Commodore Barron, sailing from Hampton Roads, was come up with by the British ship of war Leopard, one of a squadron then at anchor within the limits of the United States. respecting some deserters from some of his Britannic majesty's ships, supposed to be serving as part of the crew of the Chesapeake, and enclosing a copy of an order from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, requiring and directing the commanders of ships and vessels under his command, in case of meeting with the American frigate at sea, and without the limits of the United States, to show the order to her captain, and to require to search his ship for the deserters from certain ships therein named, and to proceed and search for them; and if a similar demand should be made by the American, he was permitted to search for deserters from their service, according to the customs and usage of civilized nations on terms of amity with each other. Commodore Barron gave an answer, purporting that he knew of no such men as were described; that the recruiting officers for the Chesapeake had been particularly instructed by the government, through him, not to enter any deserters from his Britannic majesty's ships; that he ters of the United States to all armed British to be identified with us, in laws and govern-In the exercise of this pretended instructions to the American minister at Lon-

vain. The abuse continued, and every year sures in retaliation of the French decree, the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank added to its aggravation. In June, 1807, a President recommended to Congress that the God for the opportunity of retiring from them

plements for agriculture, and in other neces- circumstance occurred which highly and just- seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port to preservo them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean; and a law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A few days only had elapsed when information was received that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon most injurious conditions, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed in a few weeks by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel which should submit to be visited by a British ship. or comply with the terms demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence rendering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean. In the New England states, the embargo. withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favoured by fortune, occasioned discontent and The federalists, more numerous clamour. there than in any other part of the union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the distress which the people endured, induced a zealous opposition to the measures of the government.

The president, in his message on the opening of the tenth Congress, stated the continued disregard shown by the belligerent nations to the neutral rights, so destructive to the American commerce; and referred it to the wisdom of Congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things. "With the Barbary powers," he said, "we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the Dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency," the character and circumstances of which he laid before Congress. "With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. From a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them. Husbandry and household manufacture are advancing among them, more rapidly with the southern than the northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate; and one of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation, has now under consideration to solicit the friendship of the United States, and

Mr. Jefferson, following and confirming the example of Washington, determined not to years. "Never did a prisoner," says the prefrom his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature Bonaparte having declared his purpose of intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the

most consoling proofs of public approbation. bitrary ediets will be continued in spite of the be pardoned for not suppressing the sympa-I leave every thing in the hands of men so demonstrations, that not even a pretext for thy, with which my heart is full, in the rich able to take care of them, that if we are destined to meet misfortunes it will be because and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce loved country, gratefully bestowed for exno human wisdom could avert them."

CHAPTER XXXII.

ADMINISTRATION OF MR. MADISON.

Mr. Jefferson was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Madison. He stated in his find some support in a consciousness of the dence will, under every difficulty, be best inangural address, that, "Unwilling to depart from examples of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impression made on me by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge tions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So belligerent nations; to prefer, in all eases, amidistinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding cable discussions and reasonable accommodafrom the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a tion of differences, to a decision of them by an free and virtuous nation, would, under any appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and foreign partialities, so degrading to all and devotion, as well as filled me with an countries and so baneful to free ones; to foster awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Un- a spirit of independence, too just to invade the der the various circumstances which give perights of others, too proud to surrender our allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

gaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits the other salutary provisions in behalf of priof a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of the press; to observe economy in public over the face of our land.

terity at least will do justice to them.

avail against the injustice and violence of the the path in which I am to tread, lighted by belligerent powers. In their rage against examples of illustrious services, successfully duced, equally contrary to universal reason of my immediate predecessor, it might least declaring that unrestrained commerce with Vol. 2.-5.

"To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent disposiculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel, own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejuthat both the honour and the responsibility, dices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union "The present situation of the world is in- of the states as the basis of their peace and deed without a parallel; and that of our coun-happiness; to support the constitution, which try full of difficulties. The pressure of these is the cement of the union, as well in its limittoo is the more severely felt, because they ations as in its authorities; to respect the have fallen upon us at a moment, when na- rights and authorities reserved to the states tional prosperity being at a height not before and to the people, as equally incorporated with attained, the contrast resulting from this and essential to the success of the general change has been rendered the more striking. system; to avoid the slightest interference Under the benign influence of our republican with the rights of conscience or the functions institutions, and the maintenance of peace with of religion, so wisely exempted from civil juall nations, whilst so many of them were en- risdiction; to preserve, in their full energy, of this were seen in the improvements of expenditures; to liberate the public resources agriculture; in the successful enterprises of by an honourable discharge of the public commerce; in the progress of manufactures debts; to keep within the requisite limits a and useful arts; in the increase of the public standing military force, always remembering, revenue, and the use made of it in reducing that an armed and trained militia is the firmthe public debt; and in the valuable works est bulwark of republics, that without standand establishments every where multiplying ing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor, with large ones, safe; to promote, "It is a precious reflection, that the transi- by authorized means, improvements friendly tion from this prosperous condition of our to agriculture, to manufactures, and to extercountry to the scene, which has for some time nal as well as internal commerce; to favour, been distressing us, is not chargeable on any in like manner, the advancement of science unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any and the diffusion of information, as the best involuntary errors in the public councils. In-aliment to true liberty; to earry on the bedulging no passions which trespass on the nevolent plans which have been so meritorirights or the repose of other nations, it has ously applied to the conversion of our aboribeen the true glory of the United States to ginal neighbours, from the degradation and cultivate peace, by observing justice, and to wretchedness of savage life, to a participation entitle themselves to the respect of the na- of the improvements of which the human tions at war by fulfilling their neutral obliga- mind and manners are susceptible in a civiltions with the most scrupulous impartiality, ized state:—as far as sentiments and inten-If there be candour in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Pos- my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

"This unexceptionable course could not "It is my good fortune, moreover, to have each other, or impelled by more direct mo- rendered in the most trying difficulties, by this assurance, the president, on the second tives, principles of retaliation have been intro-those who have marched before me. Of those day of November, issued his proclamation,

without censure, and carrying with me the and acknowledged law. How long their ar- become me here to speak; I may, however, a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. alted talents, zealously devoted, through a Assuring myself, that under every vicissitude, long career, to the advancement of its highest the determined spirit and united councils of interest and happiness. But the source to the nation will be safe-guards to its honour, which I look for the aids, which alone can and its essential interests, I repair to the post supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried inassigned me with no other discouragement telligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens, than what springs from my own inadequacy and in the councils of those representing them to its high duties. If I do not sink under the in the other departments associated in the care weight of this deep conviction, it is because I of the national interests. In these, my confipurposes, and a confidence in the principles placed; next to that, we have all been enwhich I bring with me into this arduous ser-couraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

One of the first acts of Congress under the new president was to repeal the embargo; but at the same time to prohibit all intercourse

with France and England.

In the non-intercourse law a provision was inserted, that if either nation should revoke her hostile ediets, and the president should announce that fact by proclamation, then the law should cease to be in force in regard to the nation so revoking. On the 23d of April, Mr. Erskine, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the United States, pledged his court to repeal its anti-neutral decrees by the 10th of June; and, in consequence of an arrangement now made with the British minister, the president proclaimed that commercial intercourse would be renewed on that day; but this arrangement was disavowed by the ministry; and, in October, Mr. Erskine was replaced by Mr. Jackson, who soon giving offence to the American government, all further intercourse with him was refused, and he was recalled.

The Rambouillet decree, alleged to be designed to retaliate the act of Congress, which forbade French vessels to enter the ports of the United States, was issued by Bonaparte on the 23d of March. By this decree, all American vessels and cargoes, arriving in any of the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, were ordered to be

seized and condemned.

On the 1st of May, Congress passed an act. excluding British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States; but providing, that if either of the above nations should modify its ediets before the 3d of March, 1811, so that they should cease to violate neutral commerce, of which fact the president was to give notice by proclamation, and the other nation should not, within three months after, pursue a similar course, commercial intercourse with the first might be renewed, but not with the other.

In August the French government assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy at Paris. that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the first day of November ensuing. Confiding in

with Great Britain was prohibited.

British ports as legal prizes. The contempt the men who were to be restored to that ship. In which the British officers held the Republican navy, in one instance, led to an action. assurance that his government was disposed met in the evening a vessel on the coast of ject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in were called the army of the centre. His head-Virginia: he hailed; but, instead of receiving council. These orders, on the contrary, conquarters were at Lewiston on the river Nianan answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was tinued to be enforced with rigour; and, on gara, and on the opposite side was Queenssilenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an dred American vessels. answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop of war, Little Belt, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and indicating an apprehension of hostilities with wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

near the sources of the Mississippi, had occu- resolutions for filling up the ranks of the arpied themselves in murdering and robbing the my; for raising an additional force of ten white settlers in their vicinity. At length the thousand men; for authorizing the president distance into Canada, surprised a small body frontier inhabitants, being seriously alarmed to accept the services of fifty thousand volunby their hostile indications, in the autumn of teers, and for ordering out the militia when he siderable quantity of public stores. Other 1811 Governor Harrison resolved to move to-should judge it necessary; for repairing the movements were anxiously expected by the wards the Prophet's town, on the Wabash, navy; and for authorizing the arming of merwith a body of Kentucky and Indiana militia, chantmen in self-defence. A bill from the and the fourth United States regiment, under senate, for raising twenty-five thousand men, dient to engage in any important enterprise. Colonel Boyd, to demand satisfaction of the after much discussion, was also agreed to by Indians, and to put a step to their threatened the house. hostilities. His expedition was made early in November. On his approach within a few ing the preparations for war, still cherished miles of the Prophet's town, the principal the hope that a change of policy in Europe chiefs came out with offers of peace and sub-mission, and requested the governor to en-till May in the following year. Towards the camp for the night; but this was only a trea-close of that season, the Hornet arrived from advanced towards the Constitution, firing cherous artifice. At four in the morning the London, bringing information that no prespect broadsides at intervals; the American recamp was furiously assailed, and a bloody existed of a favourable change. On the 1st of served her fire till she had approached within contest ensued; the Indians were however June, the president sent a message to Con- half pistol shot, when a tremendous cannon-

structed to repeat to the American governability ment the prompt disavowal made by his mafrom a highly important and honourable com- and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing

Great Britain having previously expressed miral Berkeley's orders, were forcibly taken ing down the river in numbers sufficient to a willingness to repeal her orders, whenever out of the Chesapeake, to the vessels from everwhelm the American forces. France should repeal her decrees, was now which they were taken; or, if that ship were struck, General Hull hastened back to Detroit. called upon by the American envey to fulfil no longer in commission, to such a scaport of General Brock, the commander at Malder, that engagement. The British ministry obtained States as the American govern-pursued him, and erected batteries opposite jected, however, that the French decrees ment may name for the purpose; and that he Detroit. The next day, meeting with no recould not be considered as repealed, a letter was also authorized to offer to the American sistance, General Brock resolved to march difrom the minister of state not being, for that government a suitable pecuniary provision for purpose, a document of sufficient authority; the sufferers, in consequence of the attack on American troops awaited the approach of the and still persisted to enforce the orders in the Chesapeake, including the families of those enemy, and anticipated victory; but, to their council. For this purpose British ships of seamen who fell in the action, and of the dismay, General Hull opened a correspondwar were stationed before the principal har-bours of the United States. All American to these propositions; and the officer com-army, and of the territory of Michigan. An merchantmen, departing or returning, were manding the Chesapeake, then lying in the event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter boarded, searched, and many of them sent to harbour of Boston, was instructed to receive Commodere Rogers, in the President frigate, to make a satisfactory arrangement of the sub- militia, had the command of the troops which fired, which struck the mainmast of the Pre- the restoration of a free commerce with town, a fortified British post. The militia sident. The fire was instantly returned by France, a large number of American vessels, displaying great eagerness to be led against the commodore, and continued for a few mi- laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her the enemy, the general determined to cross nutes, when, finding his antagenist was of in- ports, fell into the power of British cruisers, the river at the head of about one thousand ferior force, and that her guns were almost which, since 1803, had captured nine hun-

son summoned the Congress. His message Great Britain, the committee of foreign rela-For several years the Indian tribes, residing tions in the house of representatives reported

The American Congress, although continurepulsed. The loss on the part of the Ameri-gress, recounting the wrongs received from ade was directed upon her, and in thirty micans was sixty-two killed and one hundred Great Britain, and submitting the question, nutes, every mast and nearly every spar being and twenty-six wounded, and a still greater whether the United States should continue to number on the side of the Indians. Governor endure them, or resort to war? The mes- the crew, fifty were killed and sixty-four Harrison, having destroyed the Prophet's sage was considered with closed doors. On wounded; while the Constitution had only town, and established forts, returned to Vin- the 18th, an act was passed, declaring war seven killed and seven wounded. The Guer-In November reparation was made by the proclamation was issued. Against this de-thought to be impossible to get her into port, British for the attack on the Chesapeake. claration, however, the representatives, be- and she was burned. Captain Hull, on his Mr. Foster, the British envoy, informed the longing to the federal party, presented a so-return to the United States, was welcomed secretary of the United States, that he was in- lemn protest, which was written with great with enthusiasm by his grateful and admiring

At the time of the declaration of war, Gene-

France was allowed, but that all intercourse ate restoration, as far as circumstances would post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large admit, of the men who, in consequence of Ad-body of British and Indians, who were rushwhere success was confidently anticipated. caused the greatest mortification and amazement throughout the Union.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York men: though successful at first, he was compelled, after a long and obstinate engagement, Early in November, 1811, President Madi- to surrender. General Brock, the British commander, fell in rallying his troops.

The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of General Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short of British and Indians, and destroyed a conpeople; but, after the misfortunes of Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpe-

While, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean they gained victories, which compensated their loss, and relieved their wounded pride. On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, commanding the Constitution, of forty-four guns, fell in with the British frigate, Le Guerriere, She shot away, Captain Dacres struck his flag. Of against Great Britain; and the next day a riere received so much injury, that it was countrymen. The vast difference in the numher of killed and wounded certainly evinced jesty, on being apprized of the unauthorized ral Hull was also governor of the Michigan great skill, as well as bravery, on the part of act of the officer in command of his naval territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the American seamen. But this was the first forces on the coast of America, whose recall the 12th of July, with two thousand regulars only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, Captain Jones, in the Wasp. mand immediately ensued, as a mark of his the United States from Canada, apparently of eighteen guns, captured the Frolic, of majesty's disapprobation; that he was au-intending to attack Malden, and thence to twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of threethorized to offer, in addition to that disavewal proceed to Montreal. Information was, how-on the part of his royal highness, the immedience, received, that Mackinaw, an American cans obtained a victory over a superior force;

wounded, while on that of the enemy about commerce between the two countries as might although opposed at the water's edge by a su-The Wasp was unfortunately cap-States, commanded by Captain Decatur, captured the British frigate Macedonian. In this instance, also, the disparity of loss was asto-thorizing them to conclude a treaty of comnishingly great; on the part of the enemy, a merce with Russia, with a view to strengthen hundred and four were killed and wounded; the amicable relations, and improve the beneon that of the Americans but eleven. The United States brought her prize safely to New York. A most desperate action was manded by Captain Bainbridge, and the British frigate Java, of thirty-eight. The comthe Java strike till she was reduced to a mere wreck. Of her crew, a hundred and sixtyone were killed and wounded, while of that of the Constitution there were only thirty-four.

fying to the feelings of the Americans; they were gained in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated; they were gained over a nation whom long-continued success had taught to consider themselves lords of the sea, and Frenchtown, by a division of the British army who had confidently affirmed that the whole from Detroit, with their Indian allies, under Harbour. On the 27th of May, their squadron American navy would soon be swept from the Colonel Procter. Colonel Procter leaving appeared before the town. Alarm guns inocean. Many British merchantmen were also the Americans without a guard, the Indians stantly assembled the citizens of the neighcaptured, both by the American navy and by returned, and deeds of horror followed. The bourhood. General Brown's force amounted privateers, which issued from almost every wounded officers were dragged from the to about one thousand men; a slight breastport, and were remarkably successful. The houses, killed, and scalped in the streets. number of prizes made during the first seven The buildings were set on fire. Some who months of the war exceeded five hundred.

president, in his message, stated that imme- the highway. The infamy of this butchery in council, the discharge of American seamen, and the abandonment of the practice of impressment; and that the ministry had dechery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to clined to accede to his offers. He also stated the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rathat, at an early period of the war, he had re- pids of the Miami, where he erected a fort, ceived official information of the repeal of the which he called Fort Meigs, in honour of the orders in council; that two propositions for governor of Ohio. On the 1st of May it was an armistice had been made to him, both of invested by a large number of Indians, and came within its reach, while a more powerful which he had rejected, as they could not have by a party of British troops from Malden, the squadron, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, been accepted without conceding to Great whole commanded by Colonel Procter. An destroyed the farm-houses and gentlemen's Britain the right of impressment. The re-unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege was seats along the shore of Chesapeake Bay. jection of these propositions was approved by made by General Clay, at the head of twelve Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredricktown, the national representatives, who, far from hundred Kentuckians; but the fort continued and Georgetown, were sacked and burnt. abandoning the ground they had taken, adopted to be defended with bravery and skill. The Norfolk was saved from a similar fate by the more vigorous measures for the prosecution Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weaof the war.

a friendly power abroad interposed for its ter- despairing of success, then made a precipitate withstanding the gallant resistance of its small mination. Soon after the spring session of retreat. Congress, an offer was communicated from accepted by the American government, and provision made for the contemplated negotiation. Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, and the naval preparations were so far completed, ed to the relief of the vanquished; the same Great Britain. They were also authorized to Brigadier-General Pike, who was born in a brave and generous Americans. On his re-

he mutually advantageous. The two first sident minister from the United States. A commission was also given to the envoys, auficial intercourse, between the two countries.

On the 24th of May, Congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were fought, on the 29th of December, between the enacted, imposing a direct tax of three mil-Constitution, of forty-four guns, then com- lions of dollars; authorizing the collection of forward, and soon gained possession of the various internal duties; providing for a loan town. Of the British troops, one hundred of seven and a half millions of dollars; and were killed, nearly three hundred were but continued more than three hours; nor did prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United wounded, and the same number made priso-States from sailing under British licenses. ners. Near the close of the session, a committee appointed to inquire into the subject made a long These naval victories were peculiarly grati- the war had been conducted by the British.

principally in the north, towards Canada. Brigadier-General Winchester, of the United States army, and nearly five hundred men, of-At the commencement of the session of the flames, while others were put to death by ry and discontented; and, on the 8th of May,

On the northern frontier a hody of troops the emperor of Russia of his mediation, as the had been assembled, under the command of conflicts. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of common friend of the United States and Great General Dearborn, at Sackett's Harbour, and war, Hornet, on the 23d of February, met Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace great exertions were made by Commodore the British brig Peacock, and a fierce combat between them. The offer was immediately Chauncey to build and equip a squadron on ensued. In less than fifteen minutes the Pea-John Quincy Adams, were appointed com- that the general and seventeen thousand troops strength which had been exerted to conquer missioners, and invested with the requisite were conveyed across the lake to the attack was equally ready to save; but the Peacock powers to conclude a treaty of peace with per- of York, the capital of Upper Canada. On sank before all her crew could be removed, sons clothed with like powers on the part of the 27th, an advanced party, commanded by carrying down nine British seamen, and three

and, on their part, but eight were killed and enter into such conventional regulations of the camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, landed. perior force. After a short but severe contured, soon after her victory, by a British ship named envoys proceeded to join their colleague | flict, the British were driven to their fortificaof the line. On the 25th, the frigate United at St. Petersburgh, where he then was as re- tions. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the English magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber. Numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment. but, recovering from the shock, again pressed

The object of the expedition attained, the squadron and troops returned to Sackett's report upon the spirit and manner in which Harbour, and subsequently sailed to Fort George, situated at the head of the lake. Af-The scene of the campaign of 1813 was ter a warm engagement, the British abandoned the fort and retired to the heights, at the head of Burlington Bay.

While the greater part of the American ficers and soldiers, were made prisoners at army was thus employed, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's work was hastily thrown up at the only place where the British could land, and behind this attempted to escape were forced back into he placed the militia, the regulars, under Colonel Backus, forming a second line. On the Congress, held in the autumn of 1812, the the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron, and advandistely after the declaration of war, he com- does not fall upon the perpetrators alone, but ced towards the breast-work; the militia gave municated to the British government the extends to those who were able, and were way, but by the bravery of the regulars, under terms on which its progress might be arrested; bound by a solemn engagement, to restrain the skilful arrangement of General Brown, that these terms were, the repeal of the orders them. The battle and massacre at French- the British were repulsed, and re-embarked so hastily as to leave behind most of their wonnded.

The sea coast was harassed by predatory warfare, earried on by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which determined bravery of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbour. A furious While the war was proceeding in America, they deserted their allies. The British, attack was made upon Hampton, which, notgarrison, was captured.

The ocean was the theatre of sanguinary

was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then in the harbour of Boston. For several weeks the British frigate Shannon, of equal force, had been cruising before the port; and Captain Broke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet, in single combat, an American frigate. Inflamed by this challenge, Captain Lawrence, although his crew was just enlisted, set sail on the 1st of June to seek the Shannon. Towards evening of the same day they met, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing master of the Chesapeake was killed, Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded, her rigging was so cut to hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the of it, it became necessary that the civil governpieces that she fell on board the Shannon, Captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound, and was carried below; at this instant Captain Broke, at the head of his marines, gallantly boarded the Chesapeake, when resistance ceased, and and the American flag was struck by the British. Of the crew of the Shannon twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded. Of that of the Chesapeake, fortyeight were killed and nearly one hundred killed, and ninety-four wounded. The Ame- and, until the will of the government should wounded. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride, and in the journals of the day many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. The youthful and intrepid Lawrence was lamented, with sorrow deep, sincere, and lasting. When sorrow deep, sincere, and lasting. carried below, he was asked if the colours should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." Delirious from excess of suffering, he continued to exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"-an expression the territory of Michigan was still in the post tish squadron at the entrance of the harbour, consecrated by his countrymen. He uttered but few other words during the four days that ments were against the British and Indians at would be destroyed in the conflict, which had he survived his defeat.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican, in which the latter was victorious. Soon after, the American brig Enterprise, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig Boxer, commanded by Captain Blyth. Beth commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side in Portland.

While each nation was busily employed in equiping a squadron on Lake Erie, General to Fort Stephenson, on the river Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing, surrounded by a ditch, and the garrison consistwas estimated at about four hundred in uniform, and as many Indians; they were reone killed and seven slightly wounded. About troops, and perhaps also to the want of vigour cruelty, about three hundred men, women, three the next morning the British sailed in the commanders, that project was abandown the river, leaving behind them a boat doned, and the army under Wilkinson, marchine the Tensaw settlement. Although fre-

turn to the United States, Captain Lawrence containing clothing and considerable military ing to French Mills, there encamped for the

American squadron had been fitted out on and the causes which led to it have never Lake Erie early in September. It consisted been fully developed. The severest censure of nine small vessels, in all carrying fifty-four fell upon General Armstrong, who was se-Commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns. Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary, and on the 10th of September, the British commander left the harbour of Malden to accept the offer. In a few hours the wind shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give ment of the territory should be re-established, up the ship." Loud huzzas from all the ves- and the former officers resume the exercise sels proclaimed the animation which this motto inspired. About noon the firing commenced; and after a short action two of the have been derived from British officers were British vessels surrendered, and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the battle, the victory was rendered decisive and complete. The British loss was forty-one General Hull on the 15th of August, 1812, rican loss was twenty-seven killed, and nine- be known, directed that all persons having ty-six wounded, of which number twenty-one were killed and sixty-two wounded on board the period of the capitulation of Detroit, the flag-ship Lawrence, whose whole comple-should resume the exercise of the powers ment of able bodied men before the action appertaining to their offices respectively. was about one hundred. The commodore The United States squadron, chased by gave intelligence of the victory to General Commodore Hardy with a superior naval Harrison in these words: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." The of the fortifications afforded a precarious de-Americans were now masters of the lake; but fence. The menacing appearance of the Brisession of Colonel Procter. The next move- and the strong probability that the town Detroit and Malden. General Harrison had been long expected, produced among the inpreviously assembled a portion of the Ohio habitants the greatest consternation. In this militia on the Sandusky river; and on the 7th moment of alarm, the major-general of the of September four thousand from Kentucky, third division, and the brigadier-general of the the flower of the state, with Governor Shelby third brigade, considered themselves justified, at their head, arrived at his camp. With the at the earnest entreaty of the citizens, in sumco-operation of the fleet, it was determined to moning the militia to their assistance. Goproceed at once to Malden. On the 27th the vernor Smith, of Connecticut, approved this troops were received on board, and reached proceeding, and immediately forwarded sup-Malden on the same day; but the British had, in the mean time, destroyed the fort and public stores, and had retreated along the Thames legislature, "I could not hesitate as to the Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About towards the Moravian villages, together with course which it became my duty to pursue. the last of July, a large number of British Tecumseh's Indians, amounting to twelve or The government of Connecticut, the last to and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping the entire the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without October a severe battle was fought between The Indians at the southern extremity of succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded the two armies at the river Thames, and the the union had imbibed the same hostile spirit British army was taken by the Americans. In this battle Tecumseh was killed, and the Indians fled. The British loss was nineteen had been persuaded that the great spirit reed of but one hundred and sixty men, who regulars killed, and fifty wounded, and about quired them to unite and attempt the extirpa-were commanded by Major Croghan, a youth six hundred prisoners. The American loss, tion of the whites. In the fall of 1812, a of twenty-one. The force of the assailants in killed and wounded, amounted to upwards cruel war was carried on by the Creeks and of fifty. Procter made his escape down the Seminoles against the frontier inhabitants of Thames. On the 29th of September the Georgia. General Jackson, at the head of pulsed, and their loss in killed, wounded, and Americans took possession of Detroit, which, two thousand five hundred volunteers from prisoners, is supposed to have exceeded one on the approach of Harrison's army, had Tennessee, marched into the country of the hundred and fifty, those of the remainder who been ahandoned by the British. Preparations Indians. Overawed by his presence, they dewere not able to escape were taken off du-ring the night by the Indians. The whole and taking Montreal; but owing to the diffi-return, their animosity, burst forth with inloss of Major Croghan during the siege was culties attending the concentration of the creased and fatal violence. Dreading their

winter. This abortive issue of the campaign By the exertions of Commodore Perry, an occasioned murmurs throughout the nation, guns. A British squadren had also been built cretary of war, and upon General Hampton. and equipped, under the superintendence of The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and General Izard was selected

to command the post at Plattsburgh.

Major-General Harrison, commander in chief of the eighth military district in the United States, issued a proclamation, stating, that the enemy having been driven from the territory of Michigan, and a part of the army under his command having taken possession of their authority. He therefore proclaimed, that all appointments and commissions which at an end; that the citizens were restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed previously to the capitulation made by civil offices in the territory of Michigan, at

been given them, yet, at noonday, on the militia were placed without delay at nearly American camp. On the 25th was fought the 30th of August, they were surprised by a all the vulnerable points on the seaboard, and party of six hundred Indians, who, with where troops could not be stationed, patrols the afternoon, and continued until midnight.

After a desperate conflict, the British troops the people into the houses which it enclosed. On the 25th of April, Admiral Cochrane To these they set fire. Many persons were declared, in addition to the ports and places burnt, and many killed by the tomahawk. blockaded by Admiral Warren, all the re-Only seventeen escaped to earry the horrid maining ports, harbours, bays, creeks, rivers, tidings to the neighbouring stations. The whites resolved on vengeance. Again Ge-United States, from Black Point, on Long neral Jackson, at the head of three thousand Island Sound, to the northern and eastern five hundred militia of Tennessee, marched boundaries between the United States and the into the southern wilderness. A detachment British province of New Brunswick, to be in under General Coffee encountering at Tallus- a state of strict and rigorous blockade. On hatchie a body of Indians, a sanguinary con-fliet ensued. The latter fought with despe-States issued a proclamation, declaring that ration, neither giving nor receiving quarter, the blockade proclaimed by the British of the until nearly every warrior had perished. Yet whole Atlantic coast of the United States, still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, nearly two thousand miles in extent, being inand their faith in victory unshaken. With no capable of execution by any adequate force little sagacity and skill they selected and for- actually stationed for the purpose, formed no tified another position on the Tallaoosa, lawful prohibition or obstacle to such neutral called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the and friendly vessels as may choose to visit and whites Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and dered and instructed all the public armed vestors. determined resolution were collected. Three sels of the United States, and all private armthousand men, commanded by General Jack- ed vessels commissioned as privateers, or with son, marched to attack this post. To prevent letters of marque and reprisal, not to interescape, a detachment under General Coffee rupt, detain, or molest any vessels belonging encircled the Bend. The main body advanced to neutral powers, bound to any port or place to the fortress; and for a few minutes the op-posing forces were engaged muzzle to muzzle but, on the contrary, to render all such vessels at the port-holes; but at length the troops, all the aid and kind offices which they might leaping over the walls, mingled in furious need or require. combat with the savages. When the Indians, fleeing to the river, beheld the troops on the British a large disposable force, both naval opposite bank, they returned and fought with and military, and with it the means of giving increased fury and desperation. Six hundred to the war in America a character of new and warriors were killed; four only yielded them-increased activity and extent. The friends selves prisoners; the remaining three hundred of the administration anticipated a severer escaped. Of the whites, fifty-five were killed, conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and and one hundred and forty-six wounded. It greater sufferings. Its opposers, where diffi-was deemed probable that further resistance culties thickened and danger pressed, were would be made by the Indians at a place encouraged to make more vigorous efforts to called the Hickory-Ground; but on General wrest the reins of authority from men who, Jackson's arriving thither in April, 1814, the they asserted, had shown themselves incomprincipal chiefs came out to meet him, and petent to hold them. The president deemed among them was Wetherford, a half-blood, it advisable to strengthen the line of the Atdistinguished equally for his talents and eru- lantic, and therefore called on the executive elty. "I am in your power," said he, "do of several states to organize and hold in reawith me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have three thousand five hundred men.

The hostile movements on the northern was a time when I had a choice; I have none frontier were now becoming vigorous and innow, even hope is ended. Once I could aniteresting. In the beginning of July, General mate my warriors; but I cannot animate the Brown, who had been assiduously employed dead. They can no longer hear my voice; in disciplining his troops, crossed the Niagara their bones are at Tallushatehie, Talladega, with about three thousand men, and took pos-Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there session, without opposition, of fort Eric. In peace; but my people are gone, and I now distant, was intrenehed an equal number of ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and General Jackson and his On the 4th, General Brown approached their troops enjoyed an honourable but short repose. works; and the next day, on the plains of

Saybrook called Pettipauge, where they de large reinforcement, joined him, and assuming ranac; but as often as the British advanced

quent warnings of an intended attack had stroyed about twenty-five vessels. Guards of the command, led back the army towards the

The pacification in Europe offered to the

was a chance of success I never supplicated a strong position at Chippewa, a few miles It was the declared intention of the British Chippewa, an obstinate and sanguinary battle to lay waste the whole American coast, from was fought, which compelled the British to Maine to Georgia. Of this intention demonstration was made by their descent upon Pet-which was fought with great judgment and tipauge, and the destruction which followed coolness on both sides, the loss of the Ameriin that harbour, Early in April, a number of cans was about four hundred men, that of the British barges, supposed to contain about two British was upwards of five hundred. Soon hundred and twenty men, entered the mouth afterwards, General Riall, abandoning his of Connecticut river, passed up seven or works, retired to the heights of Burlington, cannonade upon the American lines, and ateight miles, and came on shore at a part of Here Licutenant-General Drummond, with a tempted at different places to cross the Sa-

battle of Bridgewater, which began at four in After a desperate conflict, the British troops were withdrawn, and the Americans left in possession of the field. The loss on both sides was severe, and nearly equal. Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command develved upon General Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, whose roar was silenced by the thunder of eannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. The American general found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy fort Erie. On the 4th of August it was invested by General Drummond with five thousand troops. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made a daring assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four. The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September. General Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison. For their fate great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree removed, by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. After an hour of close fighting they entered the fort, having killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the British. The loss of the Americans was also considerable, amounting to more than five hundred. On the 21st of September, the forty-ninth day of the siege, General Drummond withdrew his forces.

The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Provost, the governor-general of Canada, at the head of fourteen thousand men, entered the territories of the United States. On the 6th they arrived at Plattsburgh. It is situated near lake Champlain, on the northern bank of the small river Saranae. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on the opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breast-works, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. The British employed themselves for several days in creeting batteries, while the American forces were daily augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia. Early in the morning of the 11th, the British squadron, commanded by Commodere Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor prepared for battle. At nine o'clock the action commenced, Seldom has there been a more furious encounter than the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake was now ealled to witness. During the naval conflict, the British on land began a heavy

battle on the lake. Thus deprived of naval by a brisk fire from a wood, Major-General aid, in the afternoon the British withdrew to Ross was mortally wounded. A battle was menced a precipitate retreat. Upon the lake the militia, and the inhabitants of Baltimore, the British one hundred and ninety-four, besides prisoners. On land, the American loss the attempt to get possession of the city, re-British has been estimated as high as two 13th of September. thousand five hundred.

The inhabitants of the middle and southern states, anticipating a great augmentation of blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. About the middle of August, a British squadron of between fifty and sixty sail arrived in the Chesapeake, with troops destined for the attack of Washington, the capital of the United States. A body of five thousand of them having landed, an action was fought at Bladensburgh, six miles from Washington. General Winder commanded the whole American force; Commodore Barney the flotilla. The British were commanded by Major-General Ross and Rear-Admiral Cockburn. Americans were repulsed, and the British advanced towards the capital. A body of militia had been assembled in this emergency: but the president and heads of departments, on reviewing the force brought out for defence, despaired of success, and dispersed. General Ross, at the head of about seven hundred men, took possession of Washington, and burned the capitol, or senate-house, the president's house, and public offices, the arsenal, the navy yard, and the bridge over the Potomac. The loss of the British in this expedition was nearly a thousand men, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of the Americans was ten or twelve killed, and thirty or forty wounded. Commodore Barney's horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh and taken prisoner; but he was paroled on the field of battle for his bravery.

The capture of Washington reflected no credit the attack of fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, defended; but the destruction of the national edifices was still more disgraceful to the character of the invaders. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act, as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals blew up, and the remaining three vessels, of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror been guilty of sheltered in this place, where they were butic as it was barbarous; it naturally excited an indignant spirit throughout the republic, and led its inhabitants to vie with each other in exerting all their faculties to overcome the the town, was refused entrance by the Span-

tish army re-embarked on board the fleet in where their flag had been hoisted, in conjuncthe Patuxent, and Admiral Cockburn moved tion with the Spanish, the day before the Amedown that river, and proceeded up the Chesa- rican forces appeared. Preparations were peake. On the 29th of August, the corpora-tion of Alexandria submitted to articles of battery having been taken by storm, with capitulation, and the city was delivered up to slight loss on either side, the governor surthe British. On the 11th of September, the rendered, the English having previously re-British admiral appeared at the mouth of the tired on board their ships. The forts below, he caused a canal, leading from a creek emp-Patapsco, fourteen miles from Baltimore, with which commanded the passage, were blownup,

into the water they were repelled by a de-ing to fifty sail. The next day six thousand structive fire from the militia. At half-past troops were landed at North Point, and comcleven the shout of victory heard along the menced their march towards the city. In this American lines announced the result of the march, when the foremost ranks were harassed their intrenchments, and in the night they com- fought on this day. The American forces, the American loss was one hundred and ten; made a gallant defence, but were compelled to retreat; the British, however, abandoning was one hundred and nineteen; that of the tired to their shipping during the night of the

On the ocean, the Essex, commanded by Captain Porter, after a bloody combat, struck to a British frigate and sloop of war, whose the English force, and uncertain where the united force was much superior. The American sloop Peacock captured the Epervier of equal force. The sloop Wasp, commanded by Captain Blakely, captured the Reindeer, and afterwards, in the same cruise, sank the Avon, both of superior force. She made several other prizes, but never returned into port; she probably foundered at sea.

The closing scene of this unnecessary and disgraceful war, the more detestable when contemplated as a series of human sacrifices for the preservation of a commercial system, was creditable to the genius and bravery of the American republic. The operations of the British in Louisiana were commenced by a small expedition, the naval part under the command of Captain Percy, and the troops under Colonel Nicholls. They landed and took forcible possession of Pensacola, and were aided by the Spaniards in all their proceedings; they collected all the Indians that would resort to their standard; and Colonel Nicholls then sent an officer to the piratical establishment at Barrataria to enlist the chief, Lafitte, and his followers, in their cause; the most liberal and tempting offers were made them. These people, however, showed a decided preference for the American cause; they deceived the English by delay; conveyed intelligence of their designs to the Governor at New Orleans, and offered their services upon those by whom it ought to have been commanded by Major Lawrence, with one hundred and thirty men. The result, however, was a loss to the besiegers of more than two hundred men; the commodore's ship was so disabled that they set fire to her, and she shattered and filled with wounded men, returned to Pensacola. While the British thus similar conduct. The act was also as impoli-sily occupied in bringing over the Indians to join them, General Jackson formed an expedition of about four thousand men, regulars and militia, to dislodge them. He summoned ravagers of their country.

After the capture of Washington, the Briupon; the British soldiers being in the forts, ish governor, and his flag of truce was fired a fleet of ships of war and transports amount- and this enabled the English fleet to put to sea. channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he

General Jackson then evacuated the Spanish territory, and marched his troops back to Mobile and New Orleans, which he reached on the second day of Decem er. Having reviewed a corps of volunteers the day of his arrival, he immediately proceeded to visit every post in the neighbourhood, to give orders for adding fortifications, and establishing defensive works and outposts in every spot where the enemy might be expected, as theres was the greatest uncertainty where a landing would be made; he mingled with the citizens. and infused into the greater part his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortations they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable. All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were either put to work upon the fortifi-cations, or trained in the art of defending them. The Mississippi, upon the eastern bank of which New Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels; one leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it, and forms in its course lake Ponchartrain and lake Borgne. Early in December, the British entered this channel, with a force of about eight thousand men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, the remainder having arrived direct from England. A small squadron of gunboats, under Lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their passage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the British exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender. The loss of the gunboats left no means of watching the movements of the enemy, or of ascertaining where the landing would be made. Orders were given for increased vigilance at every post; the people of colour were formed into a battalion; the offer of the Barratarians to volunteer, on condition of pardon for previous offences, if they conducted themselves with bravery and fidelity, was accepted. General Jackson, after applying to the legislature to suspend the act of habeas corpus, and finding that they were consuming these extreme moments in discussion, proclaimed martial law, and from that moment his means became more commensurate with the weight of responsibility he had to sostain.

On the 22d, the British having landed, took a position near the main channel o the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, General Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder: but they soon rallied, and fought with a bravery at least equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river. On the 28th of December, and the 1st of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the English. In the meantime, both armies had received reinforcements; and General Sir E. Packenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry, tying itself into lake Borgne to the main

might remove a part of his boats and artillery en for a single moment. But half-after eight portion of the inhabitants of the New Engto that river. On the 7th of January, from in the morning, the musketry had ceased. the movements observed in the British camp, a speedy attack was anticipated. This was of the river, from the road to the edge of the a speedy attack was anticipated. This was of the river, from the road to the edge of the made early on the Sth. The British troops, water, was covered with the British soldiers formed in a close column of about sixty men who had fallen. About four hundred woundin front, the men shouldering their muskets, all carrying fascines, and some with ladders, advanced towards the American fortifications, the British camp; and a space of ground, exfrom whence an incessant fire was kept up on tending from the ditch of the American lines the column, which continued to advance, until the musketry of the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, joined with the fire of the artillery, began to make an impression on it which soon threw it into confusion. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, making them advance obliquely to the left, to avoid the fire of a battery, every discharge from which opened the column, and mowed down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continual firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the column entirely broke, and part of the troops dispersed, and ran to take shelter among the bushes on the right. The rest retired to the ditch where they had been when first perceived, four hundred yards from the American lines. There the officers with some difficulty rallied their troops, and again drew them up for a second attack, the soldiers having laid down their knapsacks at the edge of the ditch. that they might be less encumbered. And now for the second time, the column, recruited with the troops that formed the rear, advanced. Again it was received with the same galling fire of musketry and artillery, till it at last broke again, and retired in the utmost confusion. In vain did the officers now endeavour, as before, to revive the courage of their men; to no purpose did they strike them with the flat of their swords, to force them to advance; they were insensible of every thing but danger, and saw nothing but death, which had struck so many of their comrades. The attack had hardly begun, when the British commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Packenham, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops with ardour for the assault. Soon after his fall, two other honourable to the American arms, a large generals, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field of battle, dangerously wounded. A great number of officers of rank had fallen: the ground over which the column had marched was strewed with the dead and wounded. Such slaughter on their side, with scarcely any loss on the American, spread consternation through the British ranks, as they were now convinced of the impossibility of carrying the lines, and saw that even to advance was certain death. Some of the British a false attack, or to ascertain whether a real one were practicable. These the troops under General Coffee no sooner perceived, than they opened on them a brisk fire with their part of those who had the best opportunities of judging of their propriety, and who, from their various relations, which made them retire. The greater part of those who, on the column's being repulsed, had taken shelter in the thickets, only escaped the batteries to be killed by the musketry. During the whole hour that the attack lasted, the American fire did not slack-

ed prisoners were taken, and at least double that number of wounded men escaped into to that on which the enemy drew up his troops, two hundred and fifty yards in length, by about two hundred in breadth, was literally covered with men, either dead or severely wounded. Perhaps a greater disparity of loss never occurred; that of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in this attack, which was not made with sufficient judgment, and which, besides, was embarrassed, by unforseen circumstances, was upwards of two thousand men; the killed and wounded of the Americans was only thirteen.

The events of the day on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of military operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of their brave assailants, and were protected by intrenchments; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit, and recrossed the river. They then returned and resumed possession of their intrenchments. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hopes of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested: General Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

The Americans naturally indulged in ecstasies of joy for this signal victory. Te Deum was sung at New Orleans, and every demonstration of gratitude manifested by the inhabitants of the union generally. In speaking of gratitude on this occasion, however, we must not omit a ludicrous instance of the meanness which party-spirit will sometimes exhibit. The state of Louisiana passed votes of thanks to several of the officers concerned in the defence, and omitted General Jackson.*

Although the results of the war had been

* The reason for this omission was, that, while they were wrangling and delaying to suspend the habeas corpus in a moment of the most imperious necessity, the general, to save the country, proclaimed martial law. In consequence of the omission of thanks by the legislature, some of the citizens of New Orleans presented an address to the general; the answer to which is highly characteristics of the collary officer, now president of the United to the general; the answer to which is highly characteristic of the gallant officer, now president of the United States:—"Although born and bred in the land of freedom," says the general, "popular favour has always been with me a secondary object. My first wish in political life has been, to be useful to my country. Yet I am not insensible to the good opinion of my fellow-citizens; I would do much to obtain it; but I cannot, for this purpose a reference of the purpose of the purpose of the purpose. troops had penetrated into the wood towards the extremity of the American line, to make a false attack, or to ascertain whether a real one were practicable. These the troops in-

land states were unceasingly opposed to the measures of the administration. The governor of Massachusetts convoked the general court of that state; the legislature of Connecticut was about to hold its usual semi-annual session; and the legislature of Rhode Island also assembled. When these several bodies met, what should be done in this unexampled state of affairs became a subject of most solemn deliberation. To insure unity of views and concert in action, the legislature of Massachusetts proposed a 'Conference' by delegates from the legislatures of the New England states, and of any other states that might accede to the measure. Their resolution for this purpose, and the circular letter accompanying it, show, that the duty proposed to be assigned to these delegates was merely to devise and recommend to the states, measures for their security and defence, and such measures as were "not repugnant to their federal obligations as members of the Union." The proposition was readily assented to by several states, and the delegates appointed in pursuance of it met at Hartford, on the 15th of December following. The convention recommended, 1. That the states they represent take measures to protect their citizens from " forcible draughts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the constitution of the United States." 2. That an earnest application be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the states senarately, or in concert, may take upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and that a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the states be appropriated to this object. 3. That the several governors be authorized by law to employ the military force under their command in assisting any state requesting it, to repel the invasions of the public enemy. 4. That several amendments of the constitution of the United States, calculated in their view to prevent a recurrence of the evils of which they complain, be proposed by the states they represent for adoption either by the state legislatures, or hy a convention chosen by the people of each state. Lastly, That if the application of these states to the government of the United States should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the

and privileges, should not, when they were first put in danger by the proclamation of martial law, have manifested that lively sensibility of which they have since made so ostentations a display. So far, however, was this from being the case, that this measure not only met, then, the open support of those who, when their country was invaded, thought resistance a virtue, and the silent proposed of all was presented the particular possibility. npprobation of all, but even received the particular recom-mendation and encouragement of many who now inveigh the most bitterly against it. It was not until a victory, accured by that very measure, had lessened the danger which occasioned the resort to it, that the present feeling guardians of our rights discovered that the coomanding general ought to have suffered his posts to be abandoned through the interference of a foreign agent—his ranks to be thinned by desertion, and his whole army to be broken

defence of these states be still neglected, it and unimportant to commence hestile opera- purchases of lands have been made, particuwould, in their opinion, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in June, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require. The effect of these proceedings upon the public mind in the aggrieved states, was alike seasonable and salutary. The very proposal to call a convention, and the confidence reposed in the men delegated to that trust, served greatly to allay the passions, and to inspire confidence and hone. Nor was the influence of this body upon the national councils less perceptible. Within national councils less perceptible. Within three weeks after the adjournment of the Convention and the publication of their report, an act passed both houses of the national legislature, and received the signature of the president, authorizing and requiring him to "receive into the service of the United States any corps of troops which may have been or may be raised, organized, and offieered, under the authority of any of the states," to be "employed in the state raising the same, or an adjoining state, and not elsewhere, except with the consent of the executive of the state raising the same." fore the commissioners who were sent to confer with the government could reach Washington, a bill passed the senate, providing for the payment of the troops and militia already called into service under the authority of the states. The arrival of the treaty of peace at this juncture, rendered all farther proceedings unnecessary.

During the preceding year, the British government had declined to treat under the mediation of Russia, and a direct negotiation had been agreed on. Ghent was ultimately determined as the place of meeting; and in the autumn of 1814 the commissioners prosecuted their labours, but at first with very doubtful success. By the 24th of December, a treaty was agreed upon and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the respective powers at Ghent; and in February of the following year it received the ratification of the presi-

dent.

While the people of the United States were rejoicing at the return of peace, their attention was called to a new scene of war. By a message from the president to the house of representatives, with a report of the secretary of state, it appeared that the dey of Algiers had violently, and without just cause, obliged the consul of the United States, and all the American citizens in Algiers, to leave that place, in violation of the treaty then subsisting between the two nations; that he had exacted from the consul, under pain of immediate imprisonment, a large sum of money, to which he had no just claim; and that these acts of violence and outrage had been followed by the capture of at least one American vessel, and by the seizure of an American citizen on board of a seizure of an American citizen on board of a abolishes tribute, and the slavery of our eapneutral vessel; that the captured persons tured citizens. The result of the answer has were yet held in captivity, with the excep- not been received. Should be renew his tion of two of them, who had been ransomed; warfare on our commerce, we rely on the prothat every effort to obtain the release of the tection it will find in our naval force actually equally diminished claim on the historic pen others had proved abortive; and that there in the Mediterranean. With the other Bar-an indication that an interchange of benevowas some reason to believe they were held by bary states our affairs have undergone no lent acts constitutes an increasing proportion the dey as means by which he calculated to change. With reference to the aborigines of of national proceedings, giving little to record,

tions on the part of the United States, were new terminated by the peace with Great Britain, which opened the prospect of an active and valuable trade of their citizens within the range of the Algerine eruisers; and recommended to Congress the consideration of an act declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States and the dey of the United States preferring the augmented, Algiers, and of such provisions as might be requisite for the prosecution of it to a successful issue. A committee of Congress, to whom was referred a bill "for the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerine cruisers," after a statement of facts, concluded their report by expressing their united opinion, "that the dey of Algiers considers his treaty with the United States as at an end, and is waging war with them;" and in March, war was declared against the Alge-

the Mediterranean, under the command of itself; and of thus establishing, in the cul-Commodore Bainbridge. advance on that service, under Commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean, in seeking the naval force of the enemy, then cruising in that sea, and the United States and the dev of Algiers, to succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them commanded by the Algerine admiral. The American commander, after this demonstration of skill and prowess, hastened to the port of Algiers, where he readily obtained peace, in the stipulated terms of which the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted, by a perpetual relinquishment, on the part of the dey, of all pre-tensions to tribute from them. The impressions thus made, strengthened by subsequent transactions with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under Commodore Bainbridge, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, afforded a reasonable prospect of future security for the valuable portion of American commerce which passes within reach of the Barbary cruisers.

President Madison, in his message to the eongress of 1816, having adverted to the peace of Europe and to that of the United States with Great Britain, said, he had the "satisfaction to state, generally, that they remained in amity with foreign powers." He proceeded to say, that the posture of affairs with Algiers at that moment was not known; but that the dey had found a pretext for complaining of a violation of the last treaty, and presenting as the alternative, war or a renewal of the former treaty, which stipulated. among other things, an annual tribute. "The answer," says the president, "with an explicit declaration that the United States preferred war to tribute, required his recognition and observance of the treaty last made, which

larly favourable to the wishes and security of our frontier settlements as well as to the general interests of the nation. In some instanees, the titles, though not supported by due proof, and clashing those of one tribe with the claims of another, have been extinguished by double purchases, the benevolent policy of expense to the hazard of doing injustice, or to the enforcement of justice against a feeble and untutored people, by means involving or threatening an effusion of blood. I am happy to add, that the tranquility which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favour the resumption of the work of civilization, which had made an encouraging progress among some tribes; and that the facility is increasing for extending that divided and individual ownership, which exists An expedition was immediately ordered to now in moveable property only, to the soil The squadron in ture and improvement of it, the true foundation for a transit from the habits of a savage to the arts and comforts of social life.'

The doubtful state of the relations between which the president alluded in his message, arose either from a strong impulse of the love of extortion in the dey, or from the influence of some foreign personages; the rising differences were, however, settled by the prudent management of the American consul, Mr. Shaler, and peace has not since been broken on the part of the Algerines.

Among the incidents of domestic interest which indicate the rapid growth and increasing prosperity of the republic, we may notiee the formation of the territory of Indiana into a state, and its admission into the union: the progress of canals in various states; the institution of a national bank; and the arrival of many thousand emigrants, chiefly from Great Britain. Treaties were, during this year, negotiated with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians, ceding largo portions of their respective territories to the United States, and acknowledging their tribes to be under the protection of the republic.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JAMES MONROE, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, AND PART OF THAT OF ANDREW JACKSON.

The events of the existing generation can never be considered fully ripe for the historian; we have therefore been concise in our narrative of recent transactions. The closing chapter of this narrative, although comprising a period of eighteen years, will exhibit still more strikingly a happy brevity, through the absence of events which constitute the chief materials of history; and our carnest hope is, extort from the United States a degrading our own country," he continues "the Indian treaty. The president observed, that the tribes within our limits appear also disposed considerations which rendered it unnecessary

blast the happiness of multitudes; and, like find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in family feuds, spread their baneful influence the excellence of our institutions. During a ed and deadly grare of military glory, the arts by very extraordinary events, the United and sciences which contribute to the enjoy. States have flourished beyond example. ment of life wither, and give place to the luxurious growth of rancorous weeds, whose and the nation prosperous. blossoms are decked, indeed, with gorgeous terness and despair.

we propose to include relating chiefly to mea- tional government, under a mild parental sys-

address to both houses of congress:-

whose functions I am about to assume. As crime of high treason. the expression of their good opinion of my conduct in the public service, I derive from it of our government to these beneficent duties, a gratification, which those who are conscious might doubt it in trials which put to the test of having done all that they could to merit its strength and efficiency, as a member of the it, can alone feel. My sensibility is increased great community of nations. Here, too, exby a just e timate of the importance of the perience has afforded us the most satisfactory trust, and of the nature and extent of its duproof in its favour. Just as this constitution ties: with the proper discharge of which, the was put into action, several of the principal highest interests of a great and free people states of Europe had become much agitated, are intimately connected. Conscious of my and some of them seriously convulsed. Deown deficiency, I cannot enter on these duties structive wars ensued, which have, of late without great anxiety for the result. From only, been terminated. In the course of these a just responsibility I will never shrink; cal-conflicts, the United States received great inculating with confidence, that in my best ef- jury from several of the parties. It was forts to promote the public welfare, my mo-their interest to stand aloof from the coutest; tives will always be duly appreciated, and to demand justice from the party committing my conduct be viewed with that candour and the injury; and to cultivate, by a fair and hoindulgence which I have experienced in other nourable conduct, the friendship of all. War stations.

executive office, it has been the practice of that, the greatest of trials, under the most unthe distinguished men who have gone before favourable circumstances. Of the virtue of me, to explain the principles which would the people, and of the heroic exploits of the govern them in their respective administrations. In following their venerated example, my attention is naturally drawn to the great causes which have contributed, in a principal der which we live: a government adequate degree, to produce the present happy condition of the United States. They will best exist formed; a government elective in all its plain the nature of our duties, and shed much branches, under which every citizen may, by light on the policy which ought to be pursu- his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized ed in future.

tion to the present day, almost forty years one portion of the community with another; have elapsed, and from the establishment of a government which protects every citizen in may emphatically be called, self-government; foreign powers.

which engage the admiration of the unreflect- and what has been the effect? To whatever Their citizens, individually, have been happy,

"Under this constitution, our commerce colours, but whose fruit is the dust of bit- has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been A circumstance peculiar to the constitution admitted into our union; our territory has our present labours;—the history of the Unit- and with great advantage to the original states; cel States during the remainder of the period the states respectively, protected by the nasures of internal improvement, which are, tem, against foreign dangers, and enjoying for the most part, conducted by the respect- within their separate spheres, by a wise parive states, and not by the general govern-tition of power, a just proportion of the ment, the arrangements of the work necessa- sovereignty, have improved their police, exrily transfer our notice of these transactions tended their settlements, and attained a to a subsequent section, which will treat of strength and maturity, which are the best them in connection with the statistics and to- proofs of wholesome laws, well administered. pography of the states in which they have And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? The term of Mr. Madison's administration On whom has oppression fallen in any quarhaving expired in the year 1817, James Mon- ter of our union? Who has been deprived roe was inaugurated president, and Daniel of any right of person or property? Who D. Tompkins vice-president. On his inagu- restrained in offering his vows in the mode in ration, Mr. Monroe delivered the following which he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known, that all these "I should be destitute of feeling, if I was blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest not deeply affected by the strong proof which extent; and I add with peculiar satisfaction, my fell w-citizens have given me of their that there has been no example of a capital

became, at length, inevitable, and the result "In commencing the duties of the chief has shown, that our government is equal to army, the navy, and the militia, I need not speak.

"Such, then, is the happy government unhis merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the constitution; which contains within it "From the commencement of our revolu- no cause of discord; none to put at variance

"Other considerations of the highest imporing mass of mankind; but they are deeds object we turn our attention, whether it re-tance admonish us to cherish our union, and which, while they gratify the pride of a few, lates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we cling to the government which supports it. Fortunate as we are in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other cirthrough distant generations. Under the heat- period fraught with difficulties, and marked cumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the source of the great rivers which communicate through of the United States, also tends to abridge been enlarged, by fair and honourable treaty, our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed too with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving, even in years the least favourable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow men in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural interest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow-citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of confidence, in calling me to the high office, punishment being inflicted on any one for the our produce, a steady and profitable market hy local wants, in less favoured parts at home.

"Such, then, being the highly favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

"In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? Tho government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives of every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and a usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own this constitution, twenty-eight. Through this the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to debasement and ruin. Let us then look to whole term the government has been what protect the nation against injustice from the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and consti-

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the people, as the best means of preserving

our liberties.

"Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States may be again involved in war, and it may, in that event, be the object of the adverse party to overset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate, and pacific policy of not be oppressive. It is the crisis which our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honour is national property of the highest value. sentiment in the mind of every citizen, is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

"To secure us against these dangers, our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to presume that a single campaign of invasion, by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property, and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should try, we ought not to depend in the degree we increased harmony of opinion which pervades be moderate, but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of hands, would be felt advantageously on agripeace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoilation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engino of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honourable termination.

"But it always ought to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states, and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend in an eminent degree on the militia.

tutional measures, promote intelligence among United States, to maintain. In such cases, additional resource of great extent and durarecourse must be had to the great body of the effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organized and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such, as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigour of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it canmakes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too in time of peace, to be better prepared for war. With such an organization of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

"Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction. holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens; much to the ornament of the country; and, what is of a greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to, and dependent on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the United States; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and indushave done on the supplies from other countries. While wo are thus dependent, the sudden event of war unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign culture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

"With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civili-

the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full cess so complete. If we look to the history proof of the competency of the national re- of other nations, ancient and modern, we find sources for any emergency, as they are, of no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic; Invasions may be made, too formidable to be the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear of a people so prosperous and happy. In resisted by any land and naval force, which it the burdens which the public necessities re- contemplating what we have still to perform, would comport either with the principles of quire. The vast amount of vacant lands, the heart of every citizen must expand with our government, or the circumstances of the the value of which daily augments, forms an joy when he reflects how near our govern-

tion. These resources, besides accomplishing people, and in a manner to produce the best every other necessary purpose, put it completely in the power of the United States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most, that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive.

"The executive is charged officially, in the departments under it, with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of it to the purposes for which it is raised. The legislature is the watchful guard over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made. To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the executive to enable it to bring the public agents, intrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if, with the requisite faculties, the public money is suffered to lie, long and uselessly, in their hands, they will not be the only defaulters, nor will the demoralizing effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation, and want of tone in the administration, which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can, to secure economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

"It is particularly gratifying to me, to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it so far as depends on the executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

" Equally gratifying is it, to witness the our union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accord with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects the best interests of our union, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

"Never did a government commence un-"The great amount of our revenue, and der auspices so favourable, nor ever was suerespect to it, we have no essential improvement to make; that the great object is to preserve it in the essential principles and features which characterize it, and, that it is to be done, by preserving the virtue and enlightening the minds of the people; and as a security against foreign dangers, to adopt such arrangements as are indispensable to the support of our independence, our rights, and liberties. If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far, and in the path already traced, we cannot fail, by the favour of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.

"In the administration of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties from early life, examples are presented, which will always be found highly instructive, and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy, in his retirement, the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty, that He will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection, which He has already so conspicuously dis-played in our favour."

During this year the republic received another accession by the erection of the territory of Mississippi into a state, and its admission into the union. By the act of admission it is provided, that the public lands, while belonging to the United States, and for five years from the day of sale, shall be exempted from all taxes; that lands belonging to the citizens of the United States residing without the state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing within the state: and that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into it, or into the gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and for ever free of toll or duty to all the citizens of the United States. In return for this concession, Congress provided, that, after paying a debt to Georgia and indemnifying certain claimants, five per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands, lying within the state, shall be devoted to the making of roads and canals for the benefit of the state.

In the summer of this year an expedition was undertaken against East Florida by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the revolted Spanish colonies. The leader of this expedition styled himself "Citizen Gregor M'Gregor, brigadier-general of the armies of the united provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela, and general in chief, employed to liberate the provinces of both the Floridas, commissioned by the supreme governments of Mexico and South America.". The persons that combined for this purpose took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth

ment has approached to perfection; that in state of Georgia. The president, apprised of maintained and protected in the free enjoysisting of naval and land forces, to repel the invaders, and occupy the island. A squadron, arrived off Amelia Island on the 22d of December, and the next day took possession of it, hoisting the American flag at Fernandina. these adventurers from these posts, it was not intended to make any conquest from Spain, or to injure, in any degree, the cause of the colonies." The real reason of the measure seems to have been, that the invasion interfered with endeavours which were then making on the part of the United States to ob-Spaniards.

In the following year the union received the accession of another state, that of Illinois. At the time of its admission, the government of the United States granted to the state one section or thirty-sixth part of every township for the support of schools, and three per cent. of the net proceeds of the United States lands lying within the state for the encouragement of learning, of which one sixth part must be exclusively bestowed on a college or university. The constitution happily provides, that no more slaves shall be introduced into the state. In 1819 the Alabama territory was admitted as a state into the union; and the Arkansaw territory was, by an act of Congress, erected into a territorial government. In the following year the district of Maine was separated from Massachusetts, formed into a distinct state, and admitted into the union.

During this year the American congress did themselves honour by providing more effeetually against carrying on the slave trade. The enactment declared, that if any citizen of the United States, being of the ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged a state, to prevent the increase and to insure in the slave trade, or any person whatever the ultimate abolition of slavery, by the inserbeing of the crew or ship's company of any tion of the following clause:—" Provided. ship or vessel owned by, or navigated for, that the further introduction of slavery or inany citizens of the United States, shall on foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not the punishment of crimes whereof the party held to service or labour by the laws either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make him a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring or receive him on board free at the age of twenty-five years," Judowith such intent, he shall be adjudged a pirate, ing from the previous views and measures of and on conviction shall suffer death.

A treaty for the cession of the Floridas was concluded at Washington, February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States. In the year 1821 it was reluctantly ratified by the king of Spain, and possession was taken of those provinces according to the terms of the bill without the restriction; but the senate the treaty. On the 1st of July, General refused to pass the bill with it; consequently ing "that the government heretofore exer-ment. Such was the rapidity with which the rity of Spain has ceased, and that that of the of congress, that it was scarcely known be-United States of America is established over yound its walls that such a question was agithe same; that the inhabitants thereof will be tated, before it was decided. When, howincorporated in the union of the United States, ever, it came to be generally known what as soon as may be consistent with the principles had been advanced, what votes had been given, with what ardour and vehemence to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United mands, not merely upon the justice, the rea-

this transaction, ordered an expedition, con- ment of their liberty, property, and the religion they profess t that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at under the command of J. D. Henley, with the cessation of the late government remain troops under the command of James Banhead, in full force, and all civil officers charged with their execution," with certain exceptions and limitations, "are continued in their functions." On the 7th of July, the colonel commandant, The president, in a message to Congress rela- Don Jose Gallava, commissioner on the part tive to the capture, observed, "In expelling of his Catholic majesty, made to Major-General Jackson, the commissioner of the United States, a delivery of the keys of the town of Pensacola, of the archives, documents, and other articles, mentioned in the inventories. declaring that he releases from their oath of allegiance to Spain the citizens and inhabitants of West Florida who may choose to retain the cession of the Floridas from the main under the dominion of the United States. On the same day, Colonel Joseph Coppinger, governor of East Florida, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing that, on the 10th day of this month, "possession will be given to Colonel Robert Butler, the commissioner legally authorised by the United States." The American authorities were accordingly put in possession of the Floridas.

During this year Missouri was admitted as a state into the union, forming the eleventh state added to the thirteen confederated states which signed the declaration of independence, making the present number of the United States twenty-four. The proposition for the admission of this state, which was brought forward in the session of 1819, produced vehement discussion in the congress. and excited an intense interest throughout the whole union. The inhabitants of Missouri, the territory having been considered as a part of Louisiana, had derived from their connexion with the Spaniards and French the custom, which they deemed equivalent to the right, of possessing slaves; it was proposed, however, in admitting the territory to the privileges of voluntary servitude be prohibited, except for shall have been duly convicted; and that all the children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be the general government, in similar and analogous cases, it could hardly have been conjectured, that the result of proposing such a limited and qualified restriction would be doubtful. The house of representatives, after a short but animated debate, refused to pass Jackson, who had been appointed governor the bill itself was lost, and Missouri still conof the Floridas, issued a proclamation, declar-tinued under her former territorial governcised over the said provinces under the autho- several proceedings passed in the two houses of St. Mary's River, near the boundary of the States; that in the meantime they shall be son, and good sense of Congress, but upon

their interests, their prejudices, and their of slavery. Jefferson, who prided himself their joy at beholding him, by acclamations, in being the devoted friend of liberty, thus and by tears. At the city hall the officers of expresses himself: "The real question, as the city and many citizens were presented to population, is, are our slaves to be presented from the mayor. While he was at New York, with freedom and a dagger? For, if Congress has the power to regulate the conditions of the inhabitants of the states within the states, it will be but another exercise of that After remaining a few days at New York, he power to declare that all shall be free. Are we then to see again Athenian and Laccdemonian confederacies ?-to wage another Peloponnesian war to settle the ascendency between them? Or is this the toscin of merely a servile war? That remains to be seen; but not, I hope, by you or me. Surely they will parley awhile, and give us time to several weeks. Congress voted him the sum sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciget out of the way." The consequence of of two hundred thousand dollars, and a town-ary has expounded the constitution and laws; this combination of the advocates of the sovereignty of individual states with those who make a traffic of the bodies of their fellow men, was the passing of the bill for the admission of Missouri in the next session of the congress, without the restricting clause; a circumstance which occasioned the deep regret and mortification of most of the inhabitants of the northern states, and excited feelings which it has been feared by many, may ultimately lead to a dissolution of the union.

occurred till the year 1824, when articles of his inauguration, Mr. Adams delivered the mitted to the union, in numbers equal to those a convention between the United States of following address to both houses of congress: America and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, were subscribed at London by plenipotentiaries appointed for that purpose. By the first article, the commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorized by their respective governments to cruise on the coast of Africa, America, and to the faithful performance of the duties althe West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, are empowered, under certain restrictions, to detain, examine, capture, and deliver over for trial and adjudication by some competent tribunal, any ship or vessel con-fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will liberty and law have marched hand in hand; cerned in the illicit traffic of slaves, and carrying the flag of the other.

authority of the said States, any establishment upon the northern [north-west] coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the south of the same parallel."

fears, by how slender a majority a measure by the visit of the venerable La Fayette, on had been checked, which, in the estimation of the express invitation of Congress. He armany of the best friends of American liberty, rived in the harbour of New York on the 13th would have been productive of incalculable of August, and proceeded to the residence of all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental and interminable mischiefs, it excited a feel- the vice-president at Staten Island. A coming of universal surprise and alarm. It is in- mittee of the corporation of the city of New structive to observe that many of the stanchest York, and a great number of distinguished advocates of liberal ideas, who delighted in citizens, proceeded to Staten Island to welappropriating to themselves exclusively the come him to their capital. A splendid escort name of republicans, suffered their jealousy of steamboats, decorated with the flags of of the interference of the congress in the every nation, and bearing thousands of citiinternal government of an individual state, to zens, brought him to the view of assembled engage them on the side of the perpetuators multitudes at New York, who manifested seen in the state afflicted with this unfortunate him; and he was welcomed by an address deputations from Philadelphia, Baltimore, ration. New Haven, and from many other citics, arrived with invitations for him to visit them. proceeded to Boston, where he met with the and in conformity with its provisions, has unsame cordial reception. The general soon after returned to New York, visited Albany and the towns on Hudson river, and afterwards passed through the intermediate states to Virginia. He returned to Washington during affairs, to the revenues and expenditures, and the session of Congress, and remained there ship of land, as a remuneration, in part, of his settling, in harmonious coincidence with the services during the war of the revolution, and legislative will, numerous weighty questions as a testimony of their gratitude.

General Lafayette was present at the imposing ceremony of laying the corner stone of The year of jubilee, since the first formation the Bunker Hill Monument, on the 17th of of our union, has just elapsed; that of the June, 1825, to which he had been invited by the Association for the purpose of erecting a memorial to those which fell in the battle of this constitution. June 17, 1775.

In the year 1825, John Quincy Adams was No circumstances of particular interest in inaugurated president of the United States, the transactions of the general government and John C. Calhoun, vice-president. On

> "In compliance with a usage, coeval with the existence of our federal constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors, in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself by the solemnity of religious obligation, lotted to me in the station to which I have teem by the tillage of our farmers; our combeen called.

" In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed, in the be to that constitution, which I shall swear, ing the flag of the other.

In the spring of this year a convention was tect, and defend. That revered instrument any other government on the globe; and at a also concluded between the United States of enumerates the powers and prescribes the America and the emperor of Russia. By the duties of the executive magistrate; and, in its the expenditure of other nations in a single third article of this convention it was agreed, first words, declares the purposes to which year. "that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by these, and the whole action of the governthe citizens of the United States, or under the ment, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes promote the general warfare, and secure the earth. From evil, physical, moral, and poli-of north latitude; and that, in the same man-blessings of liberty to the people of this tical, it is not our claim to be exempt. We

This year is signalized in American history work of our forefathers. Administered by some of its most eminent men, who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all; it has, to an extent, far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labours, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding gene-

> "In the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws, enacted under its authority, folded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies, Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign to the military force of the union, by land and of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. declaration of our independence, is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by

> "Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea; new states have been adof the first confederation; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth; the people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings; the forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen; the soil has been made to merce has whitened every ocean; the dominion of every man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists; all the purposes of human association have cost little exceeding, in a whole generation,

"Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say, that it is still the condition of men upon ner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel."

In their successive generations. Since have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of heaven, through disease; often, by the wrongs these generations has passed away. It is the among eurselves—dissensions, perhaps, iustates, are all sovereignties of limited pow-separable from the enjoyment of freedom, but ers, fellow-servants of the same masters; unsembled from all quarters of the union at this which have, more than once, appeared to controlled within their respective spheres; place. Here the distinguished men from threaten the dissolution of the union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various; founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations: upon jealousies of partial and sectional interest, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions which strangers to each other are ever apt.

" It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this experiment, upon the theory of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success, equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty, all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices to the formation and administration of this government; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the union was shaken to its centre.

" This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which the poliey of the union in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernthat time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient the rights and interests of the federative fra- wards the effectual suppression of the African to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to the public sentiment or legislative debate. Our political creed is, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government upon earth-that the best security for the beneficence and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the prejudices, every where too commonly enter- the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly purity, and the frequency of popular electained against distant strangers, are worn delineated. To pursue, to their consummations—that the general government of the away, and the jealousies of jarring interests tion, those purposes of improvement in our

inviolate—that the policy of our country is formance of their service at this metropolis. peace, and the ark of our salvation, union, effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have hereof rancour against each other; of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who wore the badge of party communion.

"The collisions of party spirit, which originated in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are, in their nature, transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and therefore perhaps more a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual state in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation in that of the weed of party strife was uprooted. From ment, unconnected with the other members of ternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort traffic in slaves; in alluring the aboriginal of this general government. The duties of hunters of our land to the cultivation of the both are obvious in the general principle, soil and of the mind; in exploring the intethough sometimes perplexed with difficulties rior regions of the union; and in preparing, in the detail. To respect the rights of the by scientific researches and surveys, for the state governments, is the inviolable duty of further application of our national resources that of the union; the government of every to the internal improvement of our country. state will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The

tremites of war; and lastly, by dissensions union, and the separate government of the are allayed by the composition and functions uncontrollable but by encroachments upon every section of our country, while meeting each other—that the firmest security of peace to deliberate upon the great interests of those is the preparation, during peace, of the de- by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate fences of war—that a rigorous economy and the talents, and do justice to the virtues of accountability of public expenditures, should each other. The harmony of the nation is guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, promoted, and the whole union is knit towhen possible, the burden of taxation-that gether, by the sentiments of mutual respect, the military should be kept in strict subordi- the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of nation to the civil power—that the freedom of personal friendship, formed between the rethe press and of religious opinion should be presentatives of its several parts, in the per-

" Passing from this general review of the are articles of faith upon which we are all purpose and injunctions of the federal constinow agreed. If there have been those who tution and their results, as indicating the first doubted whether a confederated represent traces of the path of duty in the discharge of ative democracy were a government compelmy public trust, I turn to the administration tent to the wise and orderly management of of my immediate predecessor, as the second. the common concerns of a mighty nation, It has passed away in a period of profound those doubts have been dispelled. If there peace; how much to the satisfaction of our have been projects of partial confederacies to country, and to the honour of our country's be erected on the ruins of the union, they have name, is known to you all. The great feabeen scattered to the winds: if there have tures of his policy, in general concurrence been dangerous attachments to one foreign with the will of the legislature, have been of time; looking back to that generation nation and antipathies against another, they which has gone by, and forward to that have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, fensive war; to yield exact justice to other at home and abroad, have assuaged the ani-mosities of political contention, and blended to cherish the principles of freedom and of into harmony the most discordant elements of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed; public opinion. There still remains one to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt; to reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force; to improve, the organization and discipline of tofore followed the standards of political the army; to provide and sustain a school of party. It is that of discarding every remnant military science; to extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation; to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes; and to proceed in the great system of internal improvements, within the limits of the constitutional power of the union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction into this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution; the regudangerous. It is this which gives inestimable lar armed force has been reduced, and its value to the character of our government, at constitution revised and perfected; the aconce federal and national. It holds out to us countability for the expenditure of public moneys has been more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised and recommended by example and by counthe union, or with foreign lands, belongs ex-clusively to the administration of the state go-been made in the defence of the country, by vernments. Whatsoever directly involves fortifications, and the increase of the navy to-

"In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate predecessor,

common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. To the topic of internal improvement, emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are, in future ages, to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the union; that, in which the beneficent action of its government will be most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendour of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient repullies. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages, and have survived thousands of years, after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotisin, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of Congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deference is due to doubts originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury? Repeated liberal and candid discussions in the legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and proximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope, that by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowpractical public blessing.

the peculiar circumstances of the recent elecconfidence in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect scorn and contempt that tyranny merits. that I shall stand, more and oftener, in need of your indulgence. Intentions, upright and litical heart of the nation, he made delightful thing else engaged attention, except the cerepure; a heart devoted to the welfare of our excursions into Virginia, in which it happened country, and the unceasing application of all that three out of all the presidents which we the faculties allotted to me, to her service, are have had, yet resided as citizens-distinguishall the pledges that I can give, for the faithful ed over their fellows only by the right of dertake. To the guidance of the legislative virtues,—and this is all the distinction that the councils; to the assistance of the executive constitution allows!—no pension, no prececo-operation of the respective state governcity, the watchman waketh but in vain; with ble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country."

debted for the present happy constitution of places of abode, to greet you with the welther future destinies of my country."

debted for the present happy constitution of places of abode, to greet you with the welther future destinies of my country."

In August, 1826, Lafayette repaired to cursions, he was accompanied by the present Washington, to take leave of the president, president of the republic, and met by the and his last look of the land through which he venerable chief justice of the United States, had passed as a laurelled victor, receiving the homage of nations. His was the homage of these of the great and the good! We can enthe heart; the offerings he received was the tertain some idea of the sensations which they gratitude of an enlightened people. "The last three weeks which he spent in the United States, was exceedingly well appropriated; and, no doubt, after much reflection, by himfor he is a man not more remarkable for the purity of his motives, than an observance of every right rule of conduct, a deviation from which might lead to a suspicion of any of them. This induced him, after witnessing the magnificent ceremony at Boston, on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, leisurely to return to the city of Washington, (visiting many of his personal friends in the way, and reviewing the battle field at Brandywine,) that his last moments might be given up to a brief residence in what must be metaphorically regarded as the heart of the nation. being the seat of its government, where the chief agents of millions of their fellow-citizens are gathered together, to execute the laws, and distribute that moral force, for the preservation of harmony, which rightfully belongs to institutions based upon the self competency of a free people for the self-management of their own affairs; and it was here that Lafayette mentally looked over the whole republic—the twenty-four sovereignties which he had visited-and, with feelings which no honest man will envy, but such as every honourable one would desire to possess for himself-reflected on what he had seen, deliberation, all constitutional objections will and include the fond hopes of what this naultimately be removed. The extent and tion, of which he was a distinguished builder, would attain, before the expiration of that period of time usually allotted to men now living; and his tender heart must have seemledged, to the common satisfaction of all, and ed to melt within him, at the remembrance of every speculative scruple will be solved by a the scenes through which he had passed in the dark days of the revolution, contrasted with "Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the triumphs of his journey through the 'land of the free.' Not the triumphs of the contion, which have resulted in affording me the queror, before whom the enslaved bow to the opportunity of addressing you, at this time. dust, and by their own debasement endeavour You have heard the exposition of the printo win the favour of the oppressor; but growciples which will direct me in the fulfilment ing out of the best affections of the human of the high and solemn trust imposed upon mind, for kindnesses rendered, when a weak me in this station. Less possessed of your people most needed them, that they might become strong, and laugh the oppressor to the

" From the city of Washington, the poperformance of the arduous duties I am to un- franking their letters, except in their private and subordinate departments; to the friendly dent, no other privilege than that of being enabled to correspond through the post-offices ments; to the candid and liberal support of with their old friends and acquaintances, free the people, so far as it may be deserved by of expense! He had before visited one of honest industry and zeal, I shall look for what- the lion-hearted of the revolution, the resolute ever success may attend my public service : and devoted president Adams; and the other him in the following terms :and knowing, that, except the Lord keep the ex-presidents were, the author of the declaration of independence; a soldier who spilled fortune of many of my distinguished fellowfervent supplications for his favour, to his his blood in supporting it; and he to whom, citizens, during the course of the year now overuling Providence I commit, with hum- perhaps, more than any man living, we are in- elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective

a fellow soldier also. What meetings were produced, but language would fail to give utterance to it, and we shall not attempt an impossibility.

" The last days of his visit were properly spent by Lafayette in the nation's house, on the invitation of its present possessor, the chief magistrate of the United States. Mr. Adams was, in his early youth, a favourite with the general, having much personal communication with him; and of his disposition and ability to represent the hospitality and feeling of the millions of free people over whose affairs he presides, there could not be a doubt. Lafavette was at home, in the national house, in the city of Washington, and in the heart of a family which had every inducement that can operate on the human mind to make him comfortable; this was his abode till the moment of his departure, to embark in the Brandywine, named in compliment to him, and peculiarly fitted for his accommodation-her giddy mast' bearing the stripes and the stars, her bosom to contain the person of our guest : man of whom it may be said, 'take him all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again,' unless he shall again visit our shores : one that was the same, great and good, in prosperity and adversity-grateful for kind offices, forgiving of injuries, zealous to confer benefits-modest when as on the pinnacle of human glory, dignified and collected in the proud presence of kings. But I must not proceedif, after Mr. Adams' display of eloquence and power, he, who commands words and they obey him, honestly confessed 'a want of language to give utterance to his feelings'--who among us may attempt it? I shall, therefore. proceed to notice some of the things which happened at the departure of Lafayette, with this simple remark, that if there is any American who can read, unmoved, Mr. Adam's valedictory address to him, or the reply of the general to that address, I would not possess that man's heart for his fortune, though he were a Crœsus.

" The 7th inst. was the day appointed for his departure. The civil and military authorities, and the whole people of Washington, had prepared to honour it. The banks were closed, and all business suspended; and no-

monies prescribed for the occasion.

" At about 12 o'clock, the authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the principal officers of the general government, civil, military, and naval, some members of Congress, and other respected strangers, were assembled in the president's house to take leave of Lafayette. He entered the great hall in silence, leaning on the marshal of the district, and on the arm of one of the president's sons. Mr. Adams then, with much dignity, but with evident emotion, addressed

" 'General Lafayette: It has been the good

name of the nation, adieu.

" 'It were no longer scasonable, and would be superfluous, to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life-incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation, in imperishable connexion with the independence and history of the North American

important juncture was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the authentic records of human

history.

"' You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and the privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all

first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political from every corner of our land. condition of man.

the people of the United States, for whom, and your posterity. The executive government of a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible with whom, you had fought the battles of the union, stimulated by the same feeling liberty, have been living in the full possession which had prompted the congress to the deof its fruits; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting, and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that home. The name of the ship has added one

"'In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of dependence. the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places; and their children's children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them, and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

"The universal prevalence of these senti-

and desiring that a national ship might be em-dicate the character of his nation by that of ployed, at your convenience, for your passage one individual, during the age in which we

to the borders of our country.

my venerable predecessor; himself bound to sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the you by the strongest tics of personal friend-ship, himself one of those whom the highest children, in life and after death, shall claim honours of his country had rewarded for blood you for our own. You are ours by that "The part which you performed at that early shed in her cause, and for a long life of more than patriotic self-devotion with which devotion to her welfare. By him the services you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of since you landed upon our shores. It were gratitude for your services which is a precious scarcely an exaggeration to say, that it has portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie been, to the people of the union, a year of un- of love, stronger than death, which has linked interrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the the name of Washington. twenty-four states of this great confederacy: You have been received with rapture by the you, we take comfort in the thought, that survivors of your earliest companions in arms: wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of "'That this choice was not less wise than You have been hailed as a long absent parent your heart, our country will be ever present by their children, the men and women of the to your affections; and a cheering consolation present age: And a rising generation, the hope assures us, that we are not called to sorrow unable to express the gratitude of the heart of future time, in numbers surpassing the with which your visit to this hemisphere has whole population of that day when you fought been welcomed, afford ample demonstration. at the head and by the side of their fore- pation of beholding our friend again. In the "'When the contest of freedom, to which fathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of meantime, speaking in the name of the whole you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy at beclosed, by the complete triumph of her cause holding the face of him whom they feel to be in this country of your adoption, you returned the common benefactor of all. You have of attachment with which the heart of the nato fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and heard the mingled voices of the past, the pre- tion beats, as the heart of one man-I bid you patriot in the land of your nativity. There, sent, and the future age, joining in one univer- a reluctant and affectionate farewell." in a consistent and undeviating career of forty sal chorus of delight at your approach: and "To which Gen years, you have maintained, through every vi- the shouts of unbidden thousands, which following answer:cissitude of alternate success and disappoint greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, ment, the same glorious cause to which the have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters,

"'You are now about to return to the "'Throughout that long succession of time, country of your birth, of your ancestors, of present the people of the United States with signation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth. more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our in-

"The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the mo-ment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may exception of a few, to whom unusual length be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful

the land of brilliant genius, of generous senti- fection, which have marked each step, each ment, of heroic valour; to that beautiful hour, of a twelve-months' progress through France, the nursing mother of the twelfth the twenty-four states, and which, while they Louis, and the Fourth Henry; to the native overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and have most satisfactorily evinced the concur-Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In rence of the people in the kind testimonies, in that illustrious catalogue of names which she the immense favours bestowed on me by the ments was signally manifested by a resolution claims as of her children, and with honest several branches of their representatives, in of Congress, representing the whole people, pride holds up to the admiration of other na- every part and at the central seat of the conand all the states of this union, requesting the tions, the name of Lafayette has already for president of the United States to communicate centuries been enrolled. And it shall hence"'Yet, gratification still higher awaited me; to you assurances of the grateful and affection- forth burnish into brighter fame; for if, in in the wonders of creation and improvement

now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the ate attachment of this government and people, after days, a Frenchman shall be called to inlive, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle "'The invitation was transmitted to you by in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall

"'At the painful moment of parting from most of all, that we shall see your face no

"To which General Lafayette made tho

"'Amidst all my obligations to the general government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to gratitude.

". To have been, in the infant and critical days of these states, adopted by them as a favourite son, to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom, and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American cra of a new social order, which has already pervaded this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere, to have received at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of

their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

"But how could I find words to acknowglory has been to that of the American people. ledge that series of welcomes, those un-"'Go then, our beloved friend—return to bounded and universal displays of public af-

superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the local the plain rights of man, and where the local dignity melted into subdued affection, and the rights of every section are preserved under a friend of Washington seemed to linger with a Creeks, that it is the policy and wish of the become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy the hand of Mr. Adams, he entered the batto observe that the American people, while rouche, accompanied by the secretaries of abling the United States, in this instance, to comthey give the animating example of successful state, of the treasury, and of the navy. free institutions, in return for an evil entailed and more generally felt, show themselves and followed by the carriages containing the pressed a willingness to migrate beyond the every day more anxiously interested.

"And now, sir, how can I do justice to trict, and numerous military and high civil The Creeks accordingly, by the first article to the vicissitudes of my life, for your affecting picture for the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people The whole scene—the peals of artillery, the in exchange for the lands hereby acquired the of separation, on the country of my birth, and the occasion that assembled them, alto-full, I can say, of American sympathies gether produced emotions, not easily de-on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing scribed, but which every American will again the country that has deigned, near half readily conceive. a century ago, to call me hers? I shall conwhich I have had daily opportunities publicly that of the general. The whole military to utter, from the time when your venerable body then passed him in review, as he stood predecessor, my old brother in arms and friend, in the barouche of the president, attended tribes, then the United States will extinguish Congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, and of the navy. After the review, the ge- the said emigrants. whose friendly connexion with me dates from peral proceeded to the steam vessel under a your earliest youth, are going to consign me salute of artillery, surrounded by as many the United States all their lands both within to the protection, across the Atlantic, of the citizens, all eager to eatch the last look, as and without the limits of Missouri, excepting heroic national flag, on board the splendid could press on the large wharf; and, at four a reservation beyond that state on the Kansas ship, the name of which has not been the o'clock, this great, and good, and extraordi-river, about thirty miles square, including least flattering and kind among the number-nary man, trod, for the last time, the soil of their villages. In consideration of this eesless favours conferred upon me.

"God bless you, sir, and all who surround patriotic heart that lives on it. us. God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Actime after, the deepest silence was observed diately with three hundred head of cattle, cept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing by the whole of the vast multitude that lined three hundred hogs, five hundred fowls, three heart; such will be its last throb when it the shore. The feelings that pervaded them voke of oxen, and two carts, and with such ceases to beat.'

general advanced, and, while the tears poured gazing after the retiring vessel, until she had port a blacksmith for them; and to employ over his venerable cheek, again took the pre- passed Greenleaf's Point, where another persons to aid and instruct them in their agrisident in his arms-he retired a few paces, salute repeated the valedictory sounds of re-cultural pursuits, as the president may deem but overcome by his feelings again returned, spect, and these again were, not long after, and uttering in broken accents, 'God bless echoed by the heavy guns of fort Washing- sections on the Big Blue river were to be laid you!' fell once more on the neck of Mr. ton, and reminded us of the rapidity with out under the direction of the president, and Adams. It was a scene, at once solemn and which this benefactor and friend of our counmoving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many, who witnessed it, bore testimony.

Having recovered his self-possession, the gen-Brandywine by the secretary of the navy, the stipulations mutually satisfactory. It was

that have met my enchanted eye, in the un-|eral stretched out his hands, and was, in a mo-mayors of the three cities of the district, the paralleled and self-felt happiness of the peo- ment, surrounded by the greetings of the commander-in-chief of the army, the generals ple, in their rapid prosperity and insured se-curity, public and private, in a practice of good eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that Bainbridge, and several other gentlemen." order, the appendage of true freedom, and a beloved hand which was opened so freely for national good sense, the final arbiter of all dif- our aid, when aid was so precious, and which and the Indian tribes have occasioned considficulties, I have had proudly to recognise a grasped, with firm and undeviating hold, the erable discussion among the philanthropists of result of the republican principles for which steel which so bravely helped to achieve our both the new and the old world; we shall, we have fought, and a glorious demonstration deliverance. The expression which now therefore, notice the treaties which were to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the beamed from the face of this exalted man was formed somewhat particularly. In February, constitutional bond of union. The cherishing mournful delight among the sons of his adopt- general government, that the several Indian of that union between the states, as it has been ed country. A considerable period was then the farewell intreaty of our great paternal occupied in conversing with various individu-Washington, and will ever have the dying als, while refreshments were presented to the designated on the west side of the Mississippi prayer of every American patriot, so it has company. The moment of departure at river, as well for the better protection and se-

America, followed by the blessings of every sion, the United States agreed to pay three

"As the last sentence was pronounced, the to a venerated parent. The whole remained may deem necessary; to provide and sup-

The transactions between the United States ply with a compact entered into with the state "The parting being over, the carriage of of Georgia, on the 24th of April, 1802. The upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal the general, preceded by the cavalry, the machines of the Creek towns assented to the and enlightened sense is every where more rine corps, and Captain Edwards' rifle corps, reasonableness of the proposition, and excorporate authorities of the cities of the dis-Mississippi, those of Tokanbatchee excepted. my deep and lively feelings for the assu-officers of the government, moved forward, of the treaty, ceded to the United States all rances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem followed by the remaining military com-the lands within the boundaries of the state of and friendship, for your so very kind refer- panies. In taking up the escort, the whole Georgia now occupied by them, or to which ences to old times, to my beloved associates, column moved through the court, in front of they have title or claim, lying within certain on the remaining days of a delighted veteran, animating sounds of numerous military bands, like quantity, acre for acre, westward of the for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour the presence of the vast concourse of people, Mississippi, on the Arkansas river. Other plore the territory herein offered them in ex-"On reaching the bank of the Potomae, change; and if the same be not acceptable to tent myself, refraining from superfluous repe- near where the Mount Vernon steam vessel them, then they may select any other territory titions, at once, before you, sir, and this re- was in waiting, all the carriages in the pro- west of the Mississippi, on Red, Canadian, spected circle, to proclaim my cordial con- cession, except the general's, wheeled off, and Arkansas, or Missouri rivers, the territory ocfirmation of every one of the sentiments the citizens in them assembled on foot around copied by the Cherokees and Choctaws extransmitted to me the honourable invitation of by the secretaries of state, of the treasury, the title of such occupants for the benefit of

The Kansas Indians, by treaty, ceded to thousand five hundred dollars a year for was that of children bidding a final farewell farming utensils as the Indian superintendent sold for the support of schools among the

of navigation in the waters of the Kansas.

territory, west of the Missouri line, fifty miles ral Jackson was elected by a large majority. square; an agent to be permitted to reside on the reservation, and the United States to have nuity of seven thousand dollars for twenty the grave in poverty, with complaints on their years; furnish forthwith six hundred head of lips against the rulers of the land. All the cattle, six hundred hogs, one thousand fowls, wise, patriotic, and eloquent of both houses of ten yoke of oxen, six carts, with farming Congress, were on the side of the veteran solutensils, persons to teach the Indians agricul-ture, and a blacksmith, and huild a commodious cause. Strong arguments were used in their The chairman of the committee which dwelling house for each of the four principal reported the bill, made the following forcible chiefs, at his own village. Rescrvations were remarks :made for the establishment of a fund for the support of schools for the benefit of the Osage my duty, sir, as chairman of the committee children; and provision was made for the who reported this bill, to explain the origin benefit of the Harmony missionary establish- and character of it. I regret that this duty ment. The United States also assume cer- has not devolved upon some abler representtain debts due from certain chiefs of the ative of the interests of the petitioners; but I tribes; and agree to deliver at the Osage vil- regret it the less as my colleagues on the comlages, as soon as may be, four thousand dol- mittee possess every quality of both the head lars in merchandise, and two thousand six and heart to advance those interests, and will hundred in horses and their equipments.

In May, a general convention of peace, gent attention on the part of the senate. amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States of America and the republic that knock at your door? and for what do

Washington.

was termed, of American independence, was observed throughout the states with great enthusiasm, and was rendered additionally interesting by the remarkable circumstance that by the present pension act. No, sir, they both Adams and Jefferson, eminent men come as petitioners for their rights. They

commended a naval academy, and urged the and led the way to victory and independence. appropriation of money for such an establishment; but Congress did not move far in the business. He also recommended the crection adhered to your cause through evil report and of an observatory, that the United States good report, till the great drama closed; and might not be behind the nations of Europe in they now ask only that the faith so plighted their astronomical knowledge. This was also may be redeemed. Amid the wrecks from neglected. The next election was the all en-time and disease, during almost half a century, grossing subject of the politicians, in every short of two hundred and fifty now survive, quarter of the country, and forbade any improvements in science or letters. Towards who existed at the close of the war. Even the close of his administration, twenty thou- this small number is falling fast around us, as sand dollars were appropriated, to be paid by the leaves of autumn; and this very morning instalments, for statuary to fill some niches in a gentleman before me has communicated the the east front of the eapitol, and a suitable information, that another of the most faithful artist engaged to repair to Italy, to commence among them has just passed 'that hourne ous that many of the officers thus impoverhis labours. He received his instructions whence no traveller returns.' It behooves us, ished and disheartened, must actually resign from Mr. Adams, who had designed the ornathen, if we now conclude, in our prosperity in order to provide themselves with decent ments of the pediment on the front of the and greatness, to extend relief, either from clothing, and to maintain their families, and same building.

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taken by the Indians for the violation of their but his success did not warrant the conclusion rights; but that they shall make their com- that such a course could ever be wisely purplaint to the superintendent or other agent, sued. Many were mortified, and not a few and receive justice in a due course of law; disappointed, to see those who had made no and it was lastly agreed, that the Kansas na- effort to bring in the administration, receive tion shall never dispose of their lands without the rewards which belonged to his political the consent of the United States, and that the friends. Mr. Adams was unquestionably the United States shall always have the free right most learned of all the chief magistrates the nation has had. He received all foreign am-A treaty was also concluded with the Great bassadors without an interpreter, and satisfied and Little Osages, at St. Louis, Missouri. all that he was acquainted with their mother The general principles of this treaty are the tongue. His learning and his openness of dissame as those of the treaty with the Kansas. position did nothing to insure his second elec-The Indians cede all their lands in Arkansas tion. The tide of party was not to be stemand elsewhere, and then reserve a defined med by learning and enlarged views. Gene-

In the year 1828, Congress made provision, by law, for certain officers of the revothe right of free navigation in all the waters lutionary army. The debt of justice had been on the tract. The United States pay an anlong delayed. Thousands had descended to

"Mr. President, (said he,) it has become no doubt, hereafter, be seconded by an indul-

"Who, then, sir, are the venerable men of Colombia, was signed by the president, at they ask? They are not suppliants for mere favour or charity, though we all know that The fiftieth anniversary, the jubilee, as it nothing but the proud spirit which helped to revolution, has withheld most of them from reliance for daily bread on the alms provided among the fathers of their country, died on come as the remnant of that gallant band, who enlisted your continental army, who disci-Mr. Adams, in a message to Congress, re-plined its ranks, who planned its enterprises, Confiding in the plighted faith of Congress, given in the form of a solemn compact, they

also agreed, that no private revenge shall be prove that a president could act without party; Throughout the whole inquiry, there is no disposition to censure the motives or policy of the old congress. They adopted such measures as the exigencies and necessities of the times forced upon them; and now, when those exigencies have ceased, it is just, as well as generous, to give such relief as the nature of the case may demand.

"A very great obstacle to the success of this measure, heretofore, has been a prevalent opinion, that these petitioners are seeking compensation merely for losses sustained on the depreciation of continental money and certificates received for their monthly wages; whereas from their first memorial in A.D. 1810, to the present session, they have invariably rested on the non-performance, by Congress, of a distinct and independent contract. All the losses on their monthly wages, they bore in common, and are willing to forego in common with many in the walks of civil life, and with the brave soldiers under their command. This is the plain and decisive reason why none but officers are embraced in the present bill. The contract on which they rely, was made with the officers alone; and gallant and unfortunate as were the soldiers, the officers have endured, and will continue to endure, without repining, still severer sufferings from the worthless money and certificates received for their wages; because those losses were perhaps too large, and too general in all departments of life, ever to warrant the expectation, or practicability, of complete remuneration. I have said severer sufferings on this account by the officers; because the money received for wages before A. D. 1780, worth only one dollar in the bundred, was, to the officers, the only means to purchase camp equipage and clothing, that were furnished to the soldiers out of the public arsenals; and because the soldier often received besides bounties both at home and from Congress.

"Let it then be distinctly understood, that sustain them through the distresses of our notwithstanding this disparity against the officers, no such losses or depreciations form any part of the foundation for this bill. A moment's attention to the history of that period, will show the true ground of the appropriation. After this unequal pressure had continued nearly three years—after the officers had sustained their spirits during that trying period under such disadvantages, by the force of those principles that led them at first to join in the pledge to the cause, of 'their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour;' after their private resources had become nearly exhausted in supplying those wants their country was unable rather than unwilling to satisfy, there arose a state of things which led to certain proceedings by Congress in relation to

half pay.
"The prospect had nearly vanished, that feeted with the parent country. The contest seemed likely to become more severe, and to be protracted for many years; and it was obvicharity, gratitude, or justice, to do it quickly. secure any subsistence for advanced life, or Mr. Adams lived in harmony with his cabi- "My great anxiety is, in the outset, to pre- that they must receive some assurance of nct, although they were made of different materials from himself. He struggled hard to on which the appropriation is founded. vice, and abandoned every thing else to sink

country.

"It was then that the resolve of May 15th, 1778, granting half-pay, for only seven years,

the war, was passed.

"This short period of half-pay was dictated, rather by the wants of Congress to provide a longer one, than from an impression that it was, in truth, sufficient, or in accordance with any similar system in the armies of Europe. Hence, a committee, May 24th, 1779, reported a resolution, allowing half-pay for life to the same class of officers, and justing grounded it on the great risks they were called to encounter, on their great sufferings and sacrifices, of youth, ease, health, and fortune, in the cause of their country. But the want of resources in Congress, induced them to postpone this subject, and on the 17th of August, 1779, to urge upon the respective states the expediency of adopting such a resolution, and of pledging for its fulfilment their state resources. The power of the states over those resources, was much more effective than that The power of the states over those of the confederation over the states. But such were the general gloom and despondency of the times, that not a single state, except Pennsylvania, complied with the recommendation. The currency continued to depreciate more and more, daily; the officers, in many instances, were utterly unable, by their whole pay, to procure decent apparel: treason had penetrated the camp in the person of Arnold; Charleston had been surrendered: Lincoln captured: Gates defeated at Camden: the southern states overrun by Cornwallis: our soldiery had become discouraged; and the great military leader of the revolution had become convinced, and had urged, with his usual energy, upon Congress, that the adoption of this resolution was almost the only possible method of retaining the army together. Under such appalling circumstances, Congress passed, on the 24th of October, A. D. 1780, the resolution, which I will now take the liberty to read:

"'Resolved, That the officers who shall continue in the service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half-pay during life; to commence from the time of their reduction.

(1 U. S. Laws, 688.)

"This, with one or two subsequent resolutions, explaining and modifying its provisions as to particular persons, constitutes the great foundation of the bill under consideration. The promise was most solemnly and deliberately made: the consideration for it was ample, and most honourably performed by the officers: and yet, on the part of Congress, its stipulations have, in my opinion, never, to this day, been equitably fulfilled. As to the binding effect of the compact on Congress, nobody can pretend to doubt. I shall, therefore, not waste a single moment in the discussion of that point. But I admit that the officers were first bound to perform the condition faithfully, of serving to the close of the war, however long or disastrous. Did they do it ? History and tradition must convince all, that through defeat as well as victory, they clung to our fortunes to the uttermost moment of the struggle. They were actuated by a spirit and intelligence, the surest guarantees of such fidelity. Most of them had investigated, and well understood, the principles in dispute, and to move any formal objection, petitioned Con-

on the first alarm of war, with all the ardour mode of indemnifying and rewarding them. of a Scottish gathering, at the summons of the No opposition had been made to the amount hery cross. And it is not poetry, that one of or value of the half-pay, and therefore, as apto all who continued in service till the close of my own relatives, an officer, long since no pears in the commutation act itself, the offimore, when the alarm was given at Lexing- cers expected, if a change took place, a full tnn, left for the tented field, the corpse of his 'equivalent' in value to the half-pay for life. father unburied:

> 'One look he cast upon the bier, Dashed from his eyes the gathering tear,'

and hastened to devote his own life to the salvation of his country. In the same dutyin performing their part of the compact, to the period they have actually since lived. serve faithfully to the close of the war, these Congress gave only five years' full pay to the petitioners endured the frosts of winter, often youngest in the line, and just as much to the half sheltered, badly fed, badly clothed, and eldest; treating the officer of twenty-five, as badly paid. God forbid that I should exag- not likely to live any longer than him of sevengerate. The naked truth is stronger than any colouring of fancy. We have the authority of their commander, that they were, at times, whole life, of probably thirty-five years, the in such a condition as to be unable and same small sum bestowed on him not likely ashamed to receive their friends; but never, to live ten or fourteen years. I believe, loath to face their enemies. Their paths were sometimes marked by their blood—officers at that time, the commutation was still their courage and constancy tried by frequent inadequate. That age was probably not over alarms, by ambuscade, and the pitched battle; thirty; none have pretended to consider it but they never faltered: and when, towards over thirty-five; and on all observations, in the close of the war, neglect on the part of similar climates, and all calculations of annuity Congress, as to their monthly wages, might tables, such persons' lives would be likely to have justified, under most circumstances, dis-extend beyond thirty years, and thus their quiet and distrust; and when at Newburg half-pay for life be, on an average, worth the they were tempted with the insidious taunt, gross sum, in presenti, of at least seven years that if, relinquishing their arms and retiring full pay. Any gentleman can test the ge-home with the promises made to them un-neral accuracy of these results, by a reference fulfilled, they would 'go starve, and be for- to Price's Annuity Tables, and to Milne on gotten;' yet they dishanded in peace, and expressed their 'unshaken confidence in the it will be seen that a person of thirty years of justice of Congress."

stance, that by means of this resolve the offi- to live about twenty-eight more. An annuity cers were inspired to make renewed exer- for thirty-four years is worth a fraction more tions; to feel a security for themselves and than fourteen times its annual amount, if paid families, which enabled them to devote every in a gross sum in advance; and one, for faculty to the common cause; and that thus twenty-eight years, only a fraction less than was an army kept together, which otherwise fourteen times its annual amount. So that must have dissolved, and we probably have seven years' full pay is as near a fair commubeen compelled to pass again under the yoke tation for the half pay for life, taking their

of colonial servitude.

" For all this fidelity to the performance of is necessary for the present inquiry. their part of the compact, the officers have been duly thanked by many congresses, and applauded by the world. They have occupied a conspicuous niche in toasts, odes, and orations, and some of them have animated the stead of five years' full pay, as they have surcanvass and breathed in marble.

"But has the promise to them of half-pay ever four years. heen either literally or substantially fulfilled ? "Congress, as if conscious that the pressure That, sir, is the important question. I answer of the times had driven them to propose a subnot literally, by any pretence, from any quar-stitute for the half-pay for life, not, in any ter. No half-pay, as such, has ever, for any view, sufficient or equivalent, as regarded the length of time, been either paid or provided younger officers, who alone now survive and for one of the petitioners. Almost as little, ask for redress, provided in the commutation substantially fulfilled. No kind of fulfilment ject it at pleasure, but that it should take efhas been attempted, except in the commuta-fect, if accepted within certain periods, not tion act, passed March 22d, 1783.

of the states, to the system of half-pay as a tial officers in any line, are of course the elder system, because not strictly republican in theo- and superior ones. To these, as a general ry, and because every thing of a pension rule, five years full-pay was a fair equivalent; character had become so odious by its abuse and by their exertions the commutation was in some governments, in the maintenance of accepted by majorities in most of the lines, hirelings who had performed secret and dis- and no provision ever afterwards made for

reputable service.

"Some of the officers being anxious to re- and dissenting.

or swim with the military destinies of their defend them, had flown to the field of battle gress for a commutation or change in the

"But instead of such an equivalent, Congress gave, by that act, what was far short of an equivalent, whether we regard the particular ages at that time of these petitioners, or their average age with the other officers, or ty; and subjecting the former to take for his half-pay, which he was entitled to for his

age is ascertained to be likely to live thirty-"Washington, himself, declared in sub-four more; and of thirty-five years of age, average ages, as can well he calculated, or as

"Again: If we advert to the real facts, as vived, since the close of the war, over forty-

sir, can there be a pretence that it has been act, not that each officer might accept or reexceeding six months, by majorities in the "That act grew out of objections, in some several lines of the army. The most influensuch officers, as were either absent or present,

of the lines, till after the expiration of the six months prescribed. But a report of the secretary of war, dated October 31, 1783, (8 Journals of Congress, 478,) enumerates certain lines and individuals, that had then signified their acceptance. It would be difficult, as might be expected, to find among the individuals named, one who still survives. Those, then, the youngest and now surviving, must have felt deeply the inequality proposed; and if most of them had not been absent on furlough, by a resolve of Congress, after peace was expected, probably even majorities in the lines would never have been obtained. The certificates were made out for all, without application, and left with the agents; no other provision was made for those entitled to halfpay, and it remained with the younger officers to receive those certificates or nothing.

"But it is most manifest, that Congress had no legal right to take away from a single offi-cer his vested half-pay for life, without giving him a full equivalent; or, to say the least, what the officer should freely and distinctly assent to, as a full equivalent. It would be contrary to the elementary principles of legisthis subject of private rights of property, than they could bind Congress, or the states, on questions of politics. This point need not be argued to men, who, like those around me, have watched the discussions and decisions. this country the last quarter of a century. But might all have retained their certificates till is forced upon the creditor, by the necessities no such individual assent was asked here: it was indeed declared to be useless for any minority of individuals to dissent; the commutation not having been, in any view, a full nish food and raiment, and not a fund to be dictate of every moral and honourable feeling equivalent, individual assent cannot fairly be presumed. The subsequent taking of the certificates was merely taking all that was provided, and all they could get, without any pretence that they took it as a full and fair equivalent. And hence it follows, that, on the lowest computation, two years more full pay are necessary to make any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the compact on the part of Congress. In truth, twenty years more would be less than the petitioners could rightfully claim now, if the commutation act had never passed; or if the position was clearly established that the commutation act, as to them, was, under the circumstances, entirely null and void. To say that such a transaction, resorted to under the pressure of the times, and finding no apology except in the security and necessities of that pressure, should not be relieved against when the pressure is over, and our means have become ample, is to make a mockery of justice, and to profane every principle of good faith.

"But consider a little farther the history of these proceedings, on the supposition that the five years full-pay was an ample equivalent to all. Was it either paid or secured to them in such manner as to become any thing like a substantial fulfilment of the promise? Though the act allowed Congress to give the officers money or securities, and though these last might be in the form prescribed for other creditors, yet the act contemplated giving them money or money's worth, else it doubly violated the former engagement to give them half-pay for life. The very nature of halfpay, or of any commutation for it, implies that amount therein promised; or, if he retained it, he speedy adoption.

of any acceptance, even by majorities, in any it should be actually paid, or so secured as obtained only about two thirds of that amount. to raise the money whenever it becomes due. They were here intended as means for imme-striking, we ourselves have in this way saved. diate maintenance or business to those who, and reduced our national debt below what it by peace, would be thrown out of their accus- would have been, many millions of dollarstomed employment and support. This is too from eighteen to fifteen, I believe; and yet, plain for further illustration; and, in confor- now, in our prosperity, hesitate to restore mity with these views, Congress forthwith what was taken in part from these very men, effected a loan in Europe, and paid in money and when not from them, taken from others all the foreign officers entitled to the commu-tation. But how were the petitioners treated? They did not obtain a dollar in money, and was at the time of the funding thought just, even their certificates were not delivered till and attempted by some of our ablest statessix or nine months after their right to half-pay men, to provide some retribution to the oriaccrued; and when received, so far from be- ginal holders of certificates for the losses that ing secured by pledges or requisitions rendering them valuable as money, the officers could some way a partial restoration. But the innot obtain for them in the market over one- herent difficulty of the subject, and the low fifth of their nominal amount. The receipts state of our resources, prevented us from state that they were in full payment, of either the commutation or the half-pay. By such means these petitioners, to supply the then similar ones, ten times the amount now proexisting wants of themselves and families, posed for these petitioners. which was the legitimate object of both the half-pay and its commutation, in fact realized conclusions: that what is honest, and moral, only one, instead of five years' full-pay; or and honourable, between debtor and creditor

vious that such a payment or security was leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.'
not worth so much by nearly a third, as the "It is not to be forgotten, that a measure due on six per cent, interest.

"What renders this circumstance still more had been sustained on them-to provide in given for these certificates truly omitted to completing any such arrangement, though we

"On this state of facts, then, I hold these

afterwards funded, and in that event have es-caped loss. Can gentlemen, however, forget lieved from his embarrassments or necessities, that the very design of half-pay was to fur- to make ample restitution. That it is the deposited in bank for posterity? And that, to supply the deficiency; and especially, though the use of a portion of it, if all had been paid at once, might have been postponed quacy was more than four fifths of the whole to a future period, yet their necessities utterly debt; where the debtor, by a part of the arforbade most of them from not resorting, rangement, saved millions to contribute to forthwith, to a single year's pay, which was the entire value of the whole certificate. It itself was, as in the present case, the price of is another part of the distressing history of this blood lavished for the creditor, the wages of case, that if, on the contrary, every officer those sufferings and toils which secured our had retained his certificate till funded, his loss present liberties, and fill the hrightest page of on it would have been very near one third of its glory in our country's history. The great amount. But on this point I shall not dwell, military leader of the revolution has given his as its particulars are more recent and familiar. sanction to this measure, in the strongest terms, It will suffice to call to your minds, that the when calling to mind the lion hearts, and provision made for the payment of these cer- eagle eyes, that had surrounded and sustain tificates in A. D. 1790, was not by money, nor ed him in all his arduous trials, and reflecting virtually to their full amount, but hy opening that they, not soldiers by profession, nor adaloan, payable in those certificates, and a venturers, but citizens, with tender ties of scrip of stock given for them on these terms: kindred and friendship, and with cheering one third of the principal was to draw no in-terest whatever, for ten years; and all the in-follow him, and to sink or swim with the terest then due, was to draw thereafter only sacred cause in which he had enlisted, he inthree per cent. Without going into any cal- voked towards them the justice of his country, culations of the value of different kinds of and expressed the fullest confidence, that 'a stock, under different circumstances, it is ob- country rescued by their arms, will never

money would have been worth, or as scrip like this would remove a stain from our hiswould have been worth for the whole then tory. Its moral influence on our population, in future wars, for wars we must expect, again "It is true that this loan was, in form, vo- and again: its consonance with those religious, luntary; but it is equally true, that, as no as well as moral principles of perfect justice, other provision was made for payment, no al- which, in a republic, are the anchor and salternative remained but to accept the terms, vation of all that is valuable; its freedom, I Hence, if the officer sold his certificate from trust, from political prejudice and party feel-necessity, he obtained only one fifth of the ing, all strengthen the other reasons for its

a local measure, been at all well founded. commutation. What is right or just in regard to contracts, is Island; five in Vermont; sixteen in Connecticut; twenty in New York; twelve in New sand seven hundred and eighty-four dollars. Jersey; eighteen in Pennsylvania; three in Delaware; twelve in Maryland; thirty-three to thirty-eight in Virginia and Kentucky; ten to twelve in Ohio; twelve or fifteen in the Carolinas; and five or six in Georgia. As by the annuity tables, something like two hundred and fifty ought now to be alive, the computations have been made on a medium of two hundred and thirty, between the number ascertained and the conjectural number.

" The question then, is of a general public nature, and presents the single point, whether, in the late language of an eloquent statesman of New York, these veterans shall any longer remain 'living monuments of the neglect

of their country.'

"All the foreign officers, whose claims rested on the same resolve, were, as I have before stated, promptly paid in specie; and their illustrious leader, Lafayette, by whose side these petitioners faced equal toils and dangers, has been since loaded with both money and applause. Even the tories, who deserted the American cause, and adhered to one so much less holy and pure, have been fully and faithfully rewarded by England: and it now remains with the senate to decide, not whether the sum proposed shall be bestowed in mere charity-however charity may bless both him that gives and him that takes; nor in mere gratitude-however sensible the petitioners may be to the influence of either; but whether, let these considerations operate as they may, the officers should be remunerated for their losses, on those broad principles of eternal justice which are the cement of society, and which, without a wound to their delicacy and honest pride, will, in that event, prove the solace and staff of their declining years.

" I shall detain the senate no longer, except to offer a few remarks on the computations, on which the sum of one million one hundred thousand dollars is proposed as the proper one for filling the blank. Various estimates, on various hypothesis, are annexed to the report in this case, and others will doubtless occur to different gentlemen. But if any just one amounts to about the sum proposed, no captious objection will, I trust, be offered on account of any trifling difference. It is impossible, in such cases, to attain perfect accuracy; but the estimates are correct enough, probably, for the present purpose.

"The committee have proposed a sum in

" Nor have all the imputations against it as the reasons that originally gave rise to the declining years; they all stand on their own

right without regard to the residence of indi- 1783, justly entitled to two years more full- bill, and they can all be provided for otherviduals, whether in the east, the west, or the pay, as a fair equivalent for half-pay during wise, this session, or hereafter, if thought south. But independent of that consideration, these venerable worthies, though once of them of the rank supposed in the report, much more numerous at the north than elsetheir monthly pay would be about thirty dolwhere, have since followed the enterprises of lars each. This, for two years, would be their children, and pushed their own broken seven hundred and twenty dollars each; or persons be also tried on its own grounds. fortunes to every section of the union. It is one hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-five thousand sixt responding and verbal inquiries it is ascertain- then received certificates for. The interest tion of the certificates, or the loss in funding, ed, that four or five survive in New Hamp- on that, for forty-four years, would be four any member is convinced that the sum proshire; from thirty to thirty-five in Massa-chusetts and Maine; five or six in Rhode dred and eighty-four dollars, which, added to will first consider the case of the officers, and

> out any interest, on the depreciation, amounts any thing ever be accomplished. to nine hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-four dollars; or, with in- cannot be objected to on the grounds that terest, to more than a million and a half; or, doubtless caused the losses and sufferings if the depreciation be considered seven-eights, which we are now seeking to redress. The as it really was, the sum would be still larger. country during the revolution, and at its close, On the other hand, if nothing be allowed for would hardly have been unwilling to bestow depreciation on the cortificates, but one-third twice the amount, had its resources permitted. he considered as lost in funding, that one-third, But, now, such have been our rapid advances in A. D. 1791, would be about two hundred in wealth and greatness, by means of the and four thousand two hundred and forty dol- rights and liberties of the valour of these men lars, and interest since would swell it to six contributed so largely to secure; that the hundred and forty-five thousand four hundred very public land they defended, if not won, and thirty-four dollars, which added to the two yields every year to our treasury more than years' pay not received, and interest on that the whole appropriation. One twentieth of pay, makes the whole one million two hun-our present annual revenue exceeds it. A dred and forty-eight thousand two hundred fraction of the cost of the public buildingsand eighteen dollars.

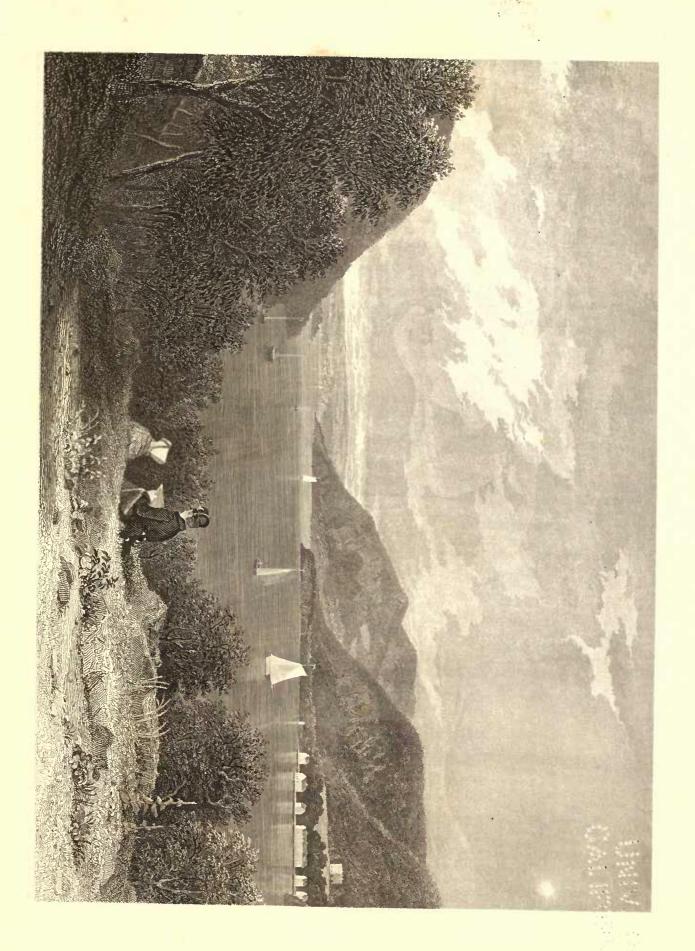
> me the most technical, and which steers clear our national debt in the funding system—a of any difficulty about the loss, either by de-tax of ten cents per head on our population, preciation or funding, will lead to about the only a single twelvemonth, -either of them same result as to the amount. It is this. On the ground that seven years' full-pay was the "But, whatever might be the five sevenths of their half-pay. Or, in other longer delay will do this as effectually as a words, five sevenths of their half-pay was ex- hard hearted refusal; since the remains of words, five sevenths of their half-pay was extinguished and paid. The other two seventles, them are almost daily going down to the city tinue to accrue while the petitioners survive. forty-two cents per year, to each officer, or single self, before I would another year eneleven thousand eight hundred and twenty- dure the stigma, of either injustice or ingratisix dollars to these officers, would amount at tude to men like these, I would vote to stop this time to five hundred and twenty thousand every species of splendid missions: I would three hundred and forty-four dollars; and the cease to talk of Alleghany canals: I would let interest accruing on it during only thirty-five the capitol crumble to atoms for want of apyears, would make it exceed the one million propriations, and introduce retrenchment from one hundred thousand dollars proposed. The the palace to the humblest door-keeper. amount is fairly reached by this view of the case, without a single cent for either depre- cers are relieved, so must be those of the late ciation or loss in funding, and thus does not war. But, deserving as were these last, the indirectly touch a single fact or principle cause in which they fought required much infeupon which a similar allowance could be rior sacrifices—they were not contending under made to any body besides these officers. Gallant, and meritorious, and suffering, as were were liberally and promptly paid; and whatthe soldiers, and none could be more so; ever small depreciation may have existed in worthy and affectionate as may have been the the treasury notes taken for their monthly pay,

cases and merits. None of them have been "On the ground that these officers were, in referred to the committee who reported this "If to that be added what they lost on their that sum in due time; and thus let the sense certificates by depreciation, which at four-fifths was three hundred and thirty-one thou-case at a time, and upon the only case now sand two hundred dollars, and the sum with-duly before us. In this manner, only, can

"The amount of the sum now proposed, the expense of two or three ships of the "Another view of the case, which seems to line-one tenth of what has been saved to

"But, whatever might be the cost, I would smallest sum which, in A. D. 1783, could be say, in all practicable cases, be just and fear deemed a fair equivalent for the half-pay for not. Let no illiberal or evasive feeling blast life, then the petitioners got certificates for only the hopes of these venerable patriots. Much then, has annually accrued since, and will con- of silence. Either drive them, then, at once from your doors, with taunts, and in despair,-This two sevenths being fifty-one dollars and or sanction the claim. So far as regards my

"It has formerly been said, that if these offigross rather than a half-pay or annuity, because more appropriate to the circumstances of the case, and because more acceptable, for filial and generous devotion to smooth their for which they neither ask nor expect relief.





a statute of limitation, if conscious that his now proper for me briefly to explain. promise has not been substantially fulfilled? Under such circumstances, it is no defence,

"Here no express bar has ever been provided. Before their first application, the officers waited till A. D. 1810, when old age and infirmity rendered them more needy, and their country more able. However numerous, ling to a gallant people. and technical, and evasive, may have been the objections since interposed, let it not be forgotten, that in performing their portion of the compact, however neglected as to food or wages, they never were heard to plead excuses or evasions, however appalling the danger, whether roused by a midnight alarm or they have granted to the confederacy. invited to join a forlorn hope.

"Like others, too, it may be imputed to them in derogation, that they were 'military chieftains.' But if, as such for a time, they did, like others, nobly help ' to fill the measure of their country's glory;' so, like others of that class, they have often distinguished themselves in forums, cabinets, and halls of legisla-

"Whatever 'honour and gratitude' they have yet received, is deeply engraven on their hearts; but they now also need-and they ask, only because they need, the additional rewards of substantial justice.

"It remains, sir, for us, whose rights they defended and saved, to say whether they shall longer ask that justice in vain."

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson took the oath of office. His course as a military commander had been wonderfully successful, and in all republics, the military chieftain has been held in the highest consideration. He was not bred a statesman, nor had he been considered as a leader in senates; but he was energetic, prompt, and fearless. He was initiated in war on the borders with the Indian tribes, and his name was a terror throughout the nations then hostile or friendly to the United States. His successful defence of New Orleans had excited the admiration and awakened the gratitude of the American people. His inaugural speech was short, and full of promises in the way of reform. "Fellow-citizens, (said he,) about to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform, by the choice of a free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion, to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires, and to acknowledge the accountability which my

to pursue, in regard to the rights of the separate states, I hope to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our to observe towards the Indian tribes within union; taking care not to confound the powers our limits, a just and liberal policy; and to they have reserved to themselves, with those give that humane and considerate attention to

"The management of the public revenuethat searching operation in all governmentsis among the most delicate and important trusts with real independence—and because it will continued, power in unfaithful or incompetent counteract that tendency to public and private hands. public officers.

"With regard to a proper selection of the

vernment, are of high importance.

shall not seek to enlarge our present establish- care and gracious benediction." situation enjoins. While the magnitude of ment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of General Jackson at once filled up his cabi-

"One other consideration, and I will at this command their forces; and, by communical that I should be excused for omitting their time trouble the senate no longer. The long tions to the legislature, to watch over and to mention sooner than for enlarging on their imlapse of time since the claim originated has promote their interests generally. And the portance. But the bulwark of our defence is been objected formerly to its success. But principles of action by which I shall endea- the national militia, which, in the present state what honest individual shelters himself under vour to accomplish this circle of duties, it is of our intelligence and population, must render us invincible. As long as our govern-In administering the laws of Congress, I ment is administered for the good of the peoshall keep steadily in view the limitations as ple, and is regulated by their will; as long as either in the court of conscience or in a court of honour; and Congress have often shown their liberality in waiving it, where expressly provided to bar an application.

Well as the extent of the executive power, it secures to us the rights of person and of the trusting thereby to discharge the functions of property, liberty of conscience and of the my office without transcending its authority. With foreign nations it will be my study to as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia preserve peace, and to cultivate friendship on will cover it with an impenetrable agis. Parfair and honourable terms; and in the adjust- tial injuries and occasional mortifications we ment of any difference that may exist or arise, may be subjected to, but a million of armed to exhibit the forbearance becoming a power-freemen, possessed of the means of war, can when many years of prosperity had rendered ful nation, rather than the sensibility belong- never be conquered by a foreign foe. To any just system, therefore, calculated to strengthen "In such measures as I may be called on this natural safe-guard of the country, I shall cheerfully lend all the aid in my power.

"It will be my sincere and constant desire their rights and their wants which are consistent with the habits of our government, and the feelings of our people.

"The recent demonstration of public senin ours; and it will, of course, demand no in- timent inscribes, on the list of executive duconsiderable share of my official solicitude. ties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, Under every aspect in which it can be con- the task of reform; which will require, parsidered, it would appear that advantage must ticularly, the correction of those abuses, that result from the observance of a strict and have brought the patronage of the federal gofaithful economy. This I shall aim at the vernment into conflict with the freedom of more anxiously, both because it will facilitate elections, and the counteraction of those the extinguishment of the national debt-the causes which have disturbed the rightful unnecessary duration of which is incompatible course of appointment, and have placed, or

profligacy which a profuse expenditure of "In the performance of a task thus genemoney by the government, is but too apt to rally delineated, I shall endeavour to select engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attain- men whose diligence and talents will insure, ment of this desirable end, are to be found in in their respective stations, able and faithful the regulations provided by the wisdom of co-operation—depending, for the advance-Congress, for the specific appropriation of pub- ment of the public service, more on the inlie money, and the prompt accountability of tegrity and zeal of the public officers, than on their numbers.

"A diffidence, perhaps too just, in my own subjects of impost, with a view to revenue, it qualifications, will teach me to look with revewould seem to me, that the spirit of equity, rence to the examples of public virtue left by caution, and compromise, in which the constitution was formed, requires that the great in- tion to the lights that flow from the mind that terests of agriculture, commerce, and manu-founded, and the mind that reformed, our sysfactures, should be equally favoured; and tem. The same diffidence induces me to that, perhaps, the only exception to this rule hope for instruction and aid from the co-ordishould consist in the peculiar encouragement nate branches of the government, and for the of any products of either of them that may be indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens found essential to our national independence. generally. And a firm reliance on the good-"Internal improvement, and the diffusion ness of that Power whose providence merciof knowledge, so far as they can be promoted fully protected our national infancy, and has by the constitutional acts of the federal go- since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent "Considering standing armies as danger-supplications that he will continue to make ous to free governments, in time of peace, I our beloved country the object of his divine-

their interests convinces me that no thanks political experience, which teaches that the can be adequate to the honour they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return civil power. The gradual increase of our appointed secretary of state. He was a self-I can make, is the zealous dedication of my navy, whose flag has displayed, in distant made man, and had secured the votes of his humble abilities to their service and their good. climes, our skill in navigation and our fame in native state for governor, which office he held "As the instrument of the federal constitution, it will devolve on me, for a stated pe- and dock yards; and the introduction of pro- D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, was appointed riod, to execute the laws of the United States; gressive improvements in the discipline and secretary of the treasury. He had been a to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations; to manage their revenue; to vice, are so plainly prescribed by prudence, national legislature, and was thought a straightforward, plain man. John H. Eaton was tent thereof, and are null and void, and no that must inevitably result from an observance made secretary of war. He had been a sena- law,' nor binding on the citizens of that state of the dictates of the convention. tor from Tennessee, and was the personal friend of General Jackson. John Branch was further declared to be unlawful for any of the more than the exercise of those powers with appointed to fill the office of secretary of the constituted authorities of the state, or of the which I am now, or may hereafter be invested, navy. The qualifications he had for this office United States, to enforce the payment of the for preserving the peace of the union, and for presumed the executive was fully aware of same state, and that it is the duty of the legis- aspect which opposition has assumed in this them, before he had elevated him to that of- lature to pass such laws as may be necessary case, by clothing itself with state authority? fice. John M'Pherson Berrien was made attorney-general. This appointment gave general satisfaction. He was at the time of his appointment a senator from Georgia, and celebrated for his acquirements, eloquence, and discrimination. He had shown his talents as dity of the said ordinance, or of the acts of will certainly justify a full exposition to South well in the high judicial councils of the nation, the legislature that may be passed to give it Carolina and the nation of the views I enteras in the senate of the United States. John M'Lean, who had held the office of post master general, was transferred to the bench of the supreme court of the United States, and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, was put into the office which Mr. M'Lean had filled with so much reputation, that not a man of note in the country wished him removed. A general sweep was made of men in office not favourable to the administration. This was justified upon political grounds, as a course of true poliey, and in full accordance with the genius of the government.

The relations of the United States with foreign countries, were in a prosperous situation. Some little misunderstanding existed with the British government, in regard to the West India trade, which was arranged by the plenipotentiary to the court of London, Mr. Louis M'Lane; but this was of no great importance, although thought so at the time.

In 1832, the cholera raged in the United States, and gave great alarm to the whole population; but the number of deaths was not

great.

The boundary line, a subject of dispute, has

not lately been agitated.

The people of South Carolina had, before this time, broached some doctrines in regard to state rights, not acknowledged by the great body of the union. The question was most ably argued in Congress, particularly by Colonel Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, on the one side, and by Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on the other.

The attention of the people was attracted by this discussion, and an immense majority of them were decidedly against the doctrines avowed by Carolina. Although the state of South Carolina assumed an attitude of defiance, President Jackson at once took a most decided course. He was supported by the great body of the people. He issued a proclamation, which we shall insert, fraught with all the sound doctrines of the old school. This manly, bold, and decided course, made him tenfold more popular than before.

or its officers: and by the said ordinance, is "Strict duty would require of me nothing to give full effect to the said ordinance.

court of the United States, nor shall any copy sense of duty will require me to pursue. of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to defeasible right of resisting acts which are

contempt of court:

"And, finally, the said ordinance declares, that the people of South Carolina will main- Congress void, but prohibit its executiontain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they may do this consistently with the that they will consider the passage of any act constitution—that the true construction of that by Congress abolishing or closing the ports of instrument permits a state to retain its place in the said state, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal constitutional. It is true, they add, that to government to coerce the state, shut up her justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to publy contrary to the constitution; but it is enforce the said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsist- of that description, coupled with the unconent with the longer continuance of South Car- trolled right to decide what laws deserve that olina in the Union; and that the people of the character, is to give the power of resisting all said state will thenceforth hold themselves laws. For, as by the theory, there is no apabsolved from all further obligation to main-tain or preserve their political connexion with bad, must prevail. If it should be said that the people of the other states, and will forth- public opinion is a sufficient check against the with proceed to organize a separate govern- abuse of this power, it may be asked, why it ment, and do all other acts and things which is not deemed a sufficient guard against the

scribes to the people of South Carolina a of a state more indefensible, and which does course of conduct in direct violation of their not exist in the other. There are two apduty as citizens of the United States, contrary peals from an unconstitutional act passed by to the laws of their country, subversive of its Congress—one to the judiciary, the other to constitution, and having for its object the de- the people and the states. There is no apstruction of the union-that union which, coe- peal from the state decision in theory, and the val with our political existence, led our fa- practical illustration shows that the courts are thers, without any other ties to unite them shut against an application to review it, both than those of patriotism and a common cause, judges and jurors being sworn to decide in its through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious in- favour. But reasoning on this subject is sudependence—that sacred union, hitherto in- perfluous, when our social compact in express violate, which, perfected by our happy constitution, has brought us, by the favour of States, its constitution and treaties made un-Heaven, to a state of prosperity at home, and der it, are the supreme law of the land-and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, for the greater caution adds, that the judges equalled in the history of nations. To pre- in every state shall be bound thereby, any serve this bond of our political existence from thing in the constitution or laws of any state "Whereas, a convention assembled in the destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of to the contrary notwithstanding.' And it may state of South Carolina, have passed an ordinational honour and prosperity, and to justify be asserted without fear of refutation, that no nance, by which they declare, That the seve- the confidence my fellow-citizens have reposed federative government could exist without a ral acts and parts of acts of the Congress of in me, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the similar provision. Look for a moment to the the United States, purporting to be laws for United States, have thought proper to issue consequence. If South Carolina considers the the united states, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially two acts.

Onited States, have monght proper to issue consequence. It south Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional States, and more especially two acts. for the same purposes, passed on the 29th of put forth to sustain them, declaring the course other port, and no revenue could be collected May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, are which duty will require me to pursue, and any where, for all imposts must be equal. It 'unauthorized by the constitution of the United appealing to the understanding and patriotism is no answer to repeat, that an unconstitu-States, and violate the true meaning and in- of the people, warn them of the consequences tional law is no law, so long as the question of

were not known to the nation at large, but they duties imposed by the said acts within the the execution of the laws. But the imposing and the deep interest which the people of the "And whereas, by the said ordinance it is United States must all feel in preventing a further ordained, that in no case of law or resort to stronger measures, while there is a equity, decided in the courts of the said state, hope that any thing will be yielded to reasonwherein shall be drawn in question the vali- ing and remoustrance, perhaps demand, and effect, or of the said laws of the United States, tain of this important question, as well as a no appeal shall be allowed to the supreme distinct enunciation of the course which my "The ordinance is founded, not on the in-

take such appeal shall be punished as for a plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one state may not only declare an act of sovereign and independent states may of right passage of an unconstitutional act by Condo:

gress. There is, however, a restraint in this "And whereas, the said ordinance pre-last case, which makes the assumed power

its legality is to be decided by the state itself; vails. It was formed for important objects, "The next objection is, that the laws in for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

"If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the union would have been dissolved in its infancy. The excise law in Pennsylvania, the embargo and non-intercourse law in the eastern states, the carriage tax in Virginia, were all deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately none of those states discovered that they had the right now claimed by South Carolina. The war into which we were forced, to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens, might have ended in defeat and disgrace instead of victory and honour, if the states who supposed it a rainous and unconstitutional measure, had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hardly and unequaliv as those measures bore upon several members of the Union, to the legislatures of none did this efficient and peaceable remedy, as it is called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our constitution was reserved to the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina belongs the invention, and upon the citizens of that state will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to practice.

"If the doctrine of the state veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity, our constitutional history will also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation had it been proposed to form a

feature in our government.

"In our colonial state, although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defence, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as the United Colonies OF AMERICA. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of our confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several states, by which they agreed that they would collectively form one nation for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that union, is found an article which declares that 'every state shall abide by the determination of Congress on all questions which by that confederation should be submitted to them.'

"Under the confederation, then, no state could legally annul a decision of the Congress, or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

"But the defects of the confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither Prosperity at home nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and should be admitted, that a state may annul an ordinance to these laws are, that the sums in-

that are announced in the preamble, made in question operate anequally. This objection the name, and by the authority of the people may be made with truth to every law that of the United States, whose delegates framed, has been or can be passed. The wisdom of and whose conventions approved it. The man never yet contrived a system of taxation most important among these objects, that that would operate with perfect equality. If which is placed first in rank, on which all the the unequal operation of a law makes it unothers rest, is 'to form a more perfect Union.' constitutional, and if all laws of that descripexpress provision giving supremacy to the cause, then indeed is the federal constitution constitution and laws of the United States unworthy of the slightest effort for its preser-over those of the states—it can be conceived, vation. We have hitherto relied on it as the that an instrument made for the purpose of perpetual bond of our union. We have re'forming a more perfect' Union' than that of the ceived it as the work of the assembled wisdom

law of the United States, assumed by one make it? Did we pledge ourselves to the state, incompatible with the existence of the support of an airy nothing, a bubble that must the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, in- tion ? Was this self-destroying, visionary for which it was formed.

cation of it which is made in the ordinance.

law may be annulled under this pretext. If, patriotically offered for its support. therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine "The two remaining objections made by the but formed in vain, if this fatal doctrine pre- it will not apply to the present case.

Now, is it possible that even if there were no tion may be abrogated by any state for that confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country, as to substitute for that confederation a form of govern- of conflict with a foreign or domestic foc. We ment, dependent for its existence on the local have looked to it with sacred awe as the palinterest, the party spirit of a state, or of a prevailing faction in a state? Every man of lemnities of religion, have pledged to each plain, unsophisticated understanding, who other our lives and fortunes here, and our hears the question, will give such an answer hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defence as will preserve the union. Metaphysical and support. Were we mistaken, my counsubtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, trymen, in attaching this importance to the could alone have devised one that is calculated constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy "I consider, then, the power to annul a contrivance, which this new doctrine would Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of he blown away by the first breath of disaffecconsistent with every principle on which it was theory, the work of the profound statesmen, founded, and destructive of the great object the exalted patriots, to whom the task of constitutional reform was intrusted? Did the "After this general view of the leading prin- name of Washington sanction, did the states ciple, we must examine the particular appli- deliberately ratify, such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We "The preamble rests its justification on were not mistaken! The letter of this great these grounds:-It assumes as a fact, that the instrument is free from this radical fault: its obnoxious laws, although they purport to be language directly contradicts the imputation: laws for raising revenue, were in reality in- its spirit, its evident intent, contradicts it. tended for the protection of manufactures, No, we did not err! Our constitution does which purpose it asserts to be unconstitu- not contain the absurdity of giving power to tianal; that the operation of these laws is un-make laws, and another power to resist them. equal; that the amount raised by them is The sages, whose memory will always be greater than is required by the wants of the reverenced, have given us a practical, and, as government; and, finally, that the proceeds they hoped, a permanent constitutional comare to be applied to objects unauthorized by pact. The Father of his country did not afthe constitution. These are the only causes fix his revered name to so palpable an absuralleged to justify an open opposition to the dity. Nor did the states, when they severally laws of the country, and a threat of seceding ratified it, do so under the impression that a from the union, if any attempt should be made veto on the laws of the United States was reto enforce them. The first virtually acknow-served to them, or that they could exercise it ledges that the law in question was passed by implication. Search the debates in all under a power expressly given by the consti- their conventions-examine the speeches of tution, to lay and collect imposts; but its con- the most zealous opposers of federal authority stitutionality is drawn in question from the -look at the amendments that were proposed. motives of those who passed it. However They are all silent-not a syllable uttered, not apparent this purpose may be in the present a vote given, not a motion made, to correct case, nothing can be more dangerous than to the explicit supremacy given to the laws of admit the position, that an unconstitutional the union over those of the states-or to show purpose, entertained by the members who that implication, as is now contended, could assent to a law enacted under a constitutional defeat it. No, we have not erred! The con-power, shall make that law void; for how is stitution is still the object of our reverence, that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to the bond of our union, our defence in danger, make the scrutiny? How often may bad pur-the source of our prosperity in peace. It shall poses be falsely imputed? in how many cases descend, as we have received it, uncorrupted are they concealed by false professions? in by sophistical construction, to our posterity; how many is no declaration of motive made? and the sacrifices of local interest, of state Admit this doctrine, and you give to the states prejudices, of personal animosities, that were an uncontrolled right to decide, and every made to bring it into existence, will again be

our present happy constitution was formed, unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, tended to be raised by them are greater than are required, and that the proceeds will be

unconstitutionally employed. The constitution has given expressly to Congress the right Congress shall have power to lay and collect of raising revenue, and of determining the sum taxes, duties, imposts, and excises-in vain the public exigencies will require. The states have they provided that they shall have power have no control over the exercise of this right, to pass laws which shall be necessary and other than that which results from the power proper to carry those powers into execution; of changing the representatives who abuse it, that those laws and that constitution shall be and thus procure redress. Congress may un- the 'supreme law of the land; and that the doubtedly abuse this discretionary power, but judges in every state shall be bound thereby, the same may be said of others with which any thing in the constitution or laws of any they are vested. Yet the discretion must ex-ist somewhere. Yet the discretion must ex-state to the contrary notwithstanding.' In Yain have the people of the several states soto the representatives of all the people, checked lemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them by the representatives of the states, and by their paramount law, and individually sworm the executive power. The South Carolina to support them whenever they were called construction gives it to the legislature or the on to execute any office. Vain provisions! convention of a single state, where neither the ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of people of the different states, nor the states in oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if their separate capacity, nor the chief magis- a bare majority of the voters in any one state trate elected by the people, have any representation? Which is the most discreet intent with which a law has been passed, dedisposition of the power? I do not ask clare themselves free from its operation—say you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional here it gives too little, there too much, and disposition—that instrument speaks a language operates unequally—here it suffers articles to not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general convention, which would those that ought to be free—in this case the you think the safest depository of this discre-tionary power in the last resort? Would you poses which we do not approve, in that the add a clause giving it to each of the states, or amount raised is more than is wanted. Conwould you sanction the wise provisions algress, it is true, are invested by the constituted made by your constitution? If this tion with the right of deciding these questions should be the result of your deliberations when according to their sound discretion. Congress providing for the future, are you—can you— is composed of the representatives of all the he ready to risk all that we hold dear, to es- states, and of all the people of all the states; tablish, for a temporary and local purpose, but we, part of the people of one state, to that which you must acknowledge to be de- whom the constitution has given no power on structive, and even absurd, as a general provi- the subject, from whom it has expressly taken sion? Carry out the consequences of this right it away—we, who have solemnly agreed that vested in the different states, and you must this constitution shall be our law—we, most of perceive that the crisis your conduct presents whom have sworn to support it—we now abat this day would recur whenever any law of rogate this law, and swear, and force others the United States displeased any of the states, to swear, that it shall not be obeyed, and we and that we should soon cease to be a nation. do this, not because Congress have no right to

of the future that characterizes a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax views. They are unconstitutional from the will be unconstitutionally applied. If this motives of those who passed them, which we could be ascertained with certainty, the objection never with certainty know; from their tion would, with more propriety, be reserved unequal operation, although it is impossible

ing the duty.

ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens, judge for yourselves. I appeal relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged to you to determine whether they are so clear, unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their It repeals, in express terms, an important part atives of the particular state from which they correctness; and even if you should come to of the constitution itself, and of laws passed come. They are paid by the United States, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their It repeals, in express terms, an important part this conclusion, how far they justify the reck- to give it effect, which have never been al- not by the state; nor are they accountable to less, destructive course, which you are directed to be unconstitutional. The constituto pursue. Review these objections and the tion declares that the judicial powers of the conclusions drawn from them, once more. United States extend in cases arising under in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult What are they? Every law, then, for raising the laws of the United States, and that such revenue, according to the South Carolina or- laws, the constitution, and treaties, shall be dinance, may be rightfully annulled unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each state has a right of the United States by appeal, when a state to oppose their execution, two rights directly tribunal shall decide against this provision of forms a government, not a league; and whethopposed to each other; and yet is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument there shall be no appeal: makes the state law or in any other manner, its character is the drawn for the express purpose of avoiding paramount to the constitution and laws of the same. It is a government in which all the collisions between the states and the general United States; forces judges and jurors to people are represented, which operates digovernment, by an assembly of the most en- swear that they will disregard their provi- rectly on the people individually, not upon lightened statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose.

"In vain have these sages declared that that it shall not be lawful for the authorities "The ordinance, with the same knowledge pass such laws, this we do not allege; but befor the law so applying the proceeds, but from the nature of things that they should be surely cannot be urged against the laws levy-equal; and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, al-This is the plain meaning of the ordinance in paramount to the state constitutions and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court United States, to promote the general good, the constitution.

of the United States, or of that state, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

"Here is a law of the United States, not even pretended to be unconstitutional, re-pealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single state. Here is a provision of the constitution which is solemnly

abrogated by the same authority.

"On such expositions and reasonings, the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which ic complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the union, if any attempt is made to execute

"This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the constitution, which, they say, is a compact between sovereign states, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and, therefore, are subject to no superior; that, because they made the compact, they can break it when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by the other states. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

"The people of the United States formed the constitution, acting through the state legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions, and acting in separate conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in its construction, show it to be a government in which the people of all the states collectively are represented. We are ONE PEOPLE in the choice of the president and vice president. Here the states have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of states may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people, then, and not the states, are represented in the executive branch.

"In the house of representatives there is this difference, that the people of one state do not, as in the ease of president and vice president, all vote for the same officers. people of all the states do not vote for all the "These are the allegations contained in the though that disposition has not been declared. members, each state electing only its own representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they are all representatives of the United States, not representit for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions: and however they may and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interests, yet it is their first and highest duty, as representatives of the

"The constitution of the United States, then, The ordinance declares er it be formed by compact between the states, sions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to the states; they retained all the power they attempt relief by appeal. It further declares did not grant. But each state having ex-

right to secede, because such secession does alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, not break a league, but destroys the unity of a and on their having formed in this sovereign nation; and any injury to that unity is not only capacity a compact which is called the constia breach, which would result from the contra- tution, from which, because they made it, they vention of a compact, but it is an offence have the right to secede. Both of these posiagainst the whole union. To say that any tions are erroneous, and some of the arguments state may at pleasure secede from the union, to prove them so have been anticipated. is to say that the United States are not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend, that any part of a nation might dissolve that in becoming parts of a nation, not memits connexion with the other parts, to their in- bers of a league, they surrendered many of jury or ruin, without committing any offence. their essential parts of sovereignty. The right Secession, like any other revolutionary act, to make treaties—declare war—levy taxesmay be morally justified by the extremity of exercise exclusive judicial and legislative oppression; but to call it a constitutional right powers, were all of them functions of soveis confounding the meaning of terms; and can reign power. The states then, for all these only be done through gross error, or to de-important purposes, were no longer sovereign. ceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolu- ferred, in the first instance, to the government gagements solemnly made. Every one must tion, or incur the penalties consequent on a of the United States—they became American see that the other states, in self-defence, must failure.

pact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart in Congress. This last position has not been, pact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or hinding obligation. It may, by its ent, whose citizens owe obedience to laws not terms, have a sanction or penalty for its breach, made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it to disregard those laws, when they come in than moral guilt: if it have a sanction, then shows conclusively that the states can not be the breach incurs the designated or implied said to have reserved an undivided sovetions, generally has no sanction other than a to punish treason-not treason against their enforced. A government, on the contrary, alsovereignty, and sovereignty must reside with ways has a sanction, express or implied; and, the power to punish it. But the reserved in our case, it is both necessarily implied and rights of the states are not less sacred, because arms to destroy a government, is an offence, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defence, menced with its very existence. Under the to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless royal government we had no separate characthat right is modified, restrained, or resumed, ter-our opposition to its oppression began as by the constitutional act.—In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant, provision has been made these stages did we consider ourselves in any for punishing acts which obstruct the due ad- other light than as forming one nation. Treaministration of the laws.

thing to show the nature of that union which How, then, with all these proofs, that under connects us; but as erroneous opinions on this all changes of our position we had, for desigsubject are the foundation of doctrines the nated purposes and with defined powers, cremost destructive to our peace, I must give ated national governments-how is it, that the some further development to my views on most perfect of those several modes of union this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, has a should now be considered as a mere league, higher reverence for the reserved rights of the that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from states, than the magistrate who now addresses an abuse of terms. Compact is used as syyou. No one would make greater personal nonymous with league, although the true term sacrifices, or official exertions, to defend them is not employed, because it would at once from violation; but equal care must be taken show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would to prevent on their part an improper interfe- not do to say that our constitution was only a rence with, or resumption of, the rights they league; but, it is laboured to prove it a comhave vested in the nation. The line has not pact, (which in one sense it is,) and then to been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in argue that as a league is a compact, every some cases of the exercise of power. Men of compact between nations must of course be a

pressly parted with so many powers as to con-dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. are not sovereign and that even if they were,

"The states severally have not retained The allegiance of their citizens was transcitizens, and owed obedience to the constitu-"Because the union was formed by com- tion of the United States, and to the laws made in conformity with the powers it vested state be said to be sovereign and independ-United Colonies. We were the United States under the confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the union rendered more perfect, by the federal constitution. In none of ties and alliances were made in the name of "It would seem superfluous to add any all. Troops were raised for the joint defence.

stitute jointly with the other states, a single Of this nature appears to be the assumed right and the national constitution had been formed nation, cannot from that period possess any of secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the by compact, there would be no right in any one state to exonerate itself from its obliga-

> "So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The union was formed for the hencht of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the states who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland states agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulf. for their own benefits? Shall there be a free port in one state, and oncrous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single state to involve all the others in theso and countless other evils, contrary to the en-

oppose at all hazards.

"These are the alternatives that are presented by the convention—a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the governfrom it: but it is precisely because it is a com- and can not be denied. How then can that ment without the means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was may be broken with no other consequence conflict with those passed by another? What known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled the breach incurs the designated or implied said to have reserved an undivided sove-penalty. A league between independent na-reignty, is, that they expressly ceded the right involving itself in disgrace, and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet, if moral one; or, if it should contain a penalty, separate power—but treason against the this is not done in a given day, or if any atas there is no common superior, it cannot be United States. Treason is an offence against tempt is made to execute the laws, the state is, by the ordinance, declared to he out of the union. The majority of a convention assemhled for the purpose have dictated these terms, expressly given. An attempt by force of they have for their common interest made the or rather this rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the governor of the state speaks of the submission of their grievances to a convention of all the states; which, he says, they 'sincerely and anxiously seek and desire.' Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other states on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the state on to this destructive measure. The state might have proposed the call for a general convention to the other states; and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it. But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, 'on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy, such a convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress or any functionary of the general government has authority to call such a convention, unless it he demanded by two-thirds of the states. This suggestion, then, is another instance of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on, or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the legislature of South Carolina 'anxiously the best intentions and soundest views may league, and from such an engagement every desire' a general convention to consider their differ in their construction of some parts of sovereign power has a right to secede. But complaints, why have they not made applicathe constitution: but there are others on which it has been shown, that in this sense the states tion for it in the way the constitution points

it is completely negatived by the omission.

stand. A small majority of the citizens of one first told you as an inducement to enter into fending their frontiers, and making their name state in the union have elected delegates to a this dangerous course. The great political respected in the remotest parts of the earth! state convention: that convention has ordained truth was repeated to you, that you had the Consider the extent of its territory, its instate convention: that convention has ordained truth was repeated to you, that you had the that all the revenue laws of the United States revolutionary right of resisting all laws that must be repealed, or that they are no longer were palpably unconstitutional and intoleraa member of the union. The governor of the bly oppressive; it was added, that the right state has recommended to the legislature the to nullify a law rested on the same principle, raising of an army to carry the secession into but that it was a peaceable remedy! This effect, and that he may be empowered to give character which was given to it, made you reclearances to vessels in the name of the state. ceive, with too much confidenc, the assertions No act of violent opposition to the laws has that were made of the unconstitutionality of yet been committed, but such a state of things of the law, and its oppressive effects. Mark, is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of my fellow-citizens, that by the admission of this instrument to PROCLAIM, not only that the your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be duty imposed on me by the constitution, 'to palpable, or it will not justify either resistance take care that the laws be faithfully executed, or nullification! What is the meaning of the shall be performed to the extent of the powers word palpable, in the sense in which it is here already invested in me by law, or of such used? that which is apparent to every one; others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise, that which no man of ordinary intellect will and intrust to me for the purpose; but to fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have these laws of that description? let those among been deluded into an opposition to the laws, your leaders who once approved and advoof the danger they incur by obodience to the cated the principle of protective duties, anillegal and disorganizing ordinance of the con-swer the question; and let them choose vention—to exhort those who have refused to whether they will be considered as incapable, support it to persevere in their determination then, of perceiving that which must have been to uphold the constitution and laws of their country, and to point out to all, the perilous situation into which the good people of that endeavouring to mislead you now. In either interrupted by bloody conflicts with your state have been led—and that the course that case, they are unsafe guides in the perilous they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and path they urge you to tread. Ponder well en disgrace to the very state whose rights they affect to support.

me not only admonish you, as the first magistrate of our common country, not to incur the ary fathers; nor are you an oppressed people, penalties of its laws, but use the influence that contending, as they repeat to you, against a father would over his children whom he saw worse than colonial vassalage. You are free rushing to a certain ruin. In that paternal members of a flourishing and happy union. feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that There is no settled design to oppress you. you are deluded by men who are either de- You have indeed felt the unequal operation of ceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. laws which may have been unwisely, not un-Mark under what pretences you have been constitutionally passed; but that inequality hed on to the brink of insurrection and treason, must necessarily be removed. At the very nounced in the constitution. Those who told on which you stand! First a diminution of moment when you were madly urged on to the value of your staple commodity, lowered the unfortunate course you have begun, a by over production in other quarters, and the change in public opinion had commenced. consequent diminution in the value of your The nearly approaching payment of the publands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws. lie debt, and the consequent necessity of a di-The effect of those laws are confessedly inju-minution of duties, had already produced a such opposition must be repelled. Their obrious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by considerable reduction, and that too on some the unfounded theory you were taught to be-articles of general consumption in your state. lieve, that its burdens were in proportion to The importance of this change was underyour exports, not to your consumption of im- rated, and you were authoritatively told, that ported articles. Your pride was roused by no further alleviation of your hurdens was to the assertion that a submission to those laws be expected, at the very time when the con- heads be the dishonour, but on yours may full was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to dition of the country imperiously demand such them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if force upon the government of your country. laws of Great Britain. You were told that apprehensive of the effect of this change in It can not accede to the mad project of disu-

forward to the consequences to which it must commerce, securing their literature and the "This, then, is the position in which we inevitably lead! Look back to what was arts, facilitating their intercommunication, deapparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence, and this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they ad-"Fellow-citizens of my native state!-Let dress to you. They are not champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our revolution-

"Eloquent appeals to your passions, to means that were used to hurry you on to the your state pride, to your native courage, to position you have now assumed, and forward your sense of real injury, were used to pre- to the consequences it will produce. Some-pare you for the period when the mask which thing more is necessary. Contemplate the concealed the hideous features of DISUNION condition of that country of which you still standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, should be taken off. It fell, and you were form an important part! Consider its governand they will point to our discord with a tri-

out? The assertion that they 'earnestly seek' which have brought you to this state-look title of AMERICAN CITIZENS, protecting their arts, which render life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, morality, and general information, into every cottage in this wide extent of our territories and states! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honour, and say-we too, are citizens of America: Carolina is one of these proud states: her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented this happy union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy union we will dissolve-this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface-this free intercourse we will interrupt-these fertile fields we will deluge with blood-the protection of that glorious flag we renounce-the very name of Americans we discard-And for what, mistaken men !-- for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings-for what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honour of the union! For the dream of a separate independence-a dream neighbours, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home-are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighbouring republics, every day suffering some new revolution, or centending with some new insurrection-do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed.

"The laws of the United States must be you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the ject is disunion; but be not deceived by names; disunion by armed force is TREASON. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequence, -on their this opposition might be peaceably—might be allaying your discontents, you were precipiconstitutionally made—that you might enjoy tated into the fearful state in which you now all the advantages of the union, and bear none of its hurdens.

"I have urged you to look back to the quence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity, with a vexation they could not conceal-it was a made to look with complacency on objects ment, uniting in one hond of common interest which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts states, giving to all their inhabitants the proud that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the

Sumpters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand you honour their memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives-as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your from the archives of your state the disorganizing edict of its convention-bid its members to re-assemble and promulgate the decided which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honour-tell them that compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of alldeclare that you will never take the field unless the star spangled banner of your country shall float over you: that you will not be stig-matized when dead, and dishonoured and scorned, while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the constitution of your country !-its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

names of those once respected, by whom it is culties as well as adversity. In general, all expedition, in the Pacific Ocean and southern uttered-the array of military force to support it-denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free governments, may depend. The conjunction demanded a free, a full, and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but of my principles of action; and as the claim was asserted of a right by a state to annul the laws of the union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties which has been expressed, I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws-to preserve the union by all constitutional means-to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and, if it he the will of heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

"Fellow-citizens! The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred union will be preserved, and the blessings it secures to us as one people, shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the

reasonably aspire."

expressions of your will to remain in the path precious to be forgotten. The second election ties are insurmountable. of General Jackson was of a decided character. The opposition was overwhelming. Afhave still many troubles. The grasping dister this event, he made a tour to the eastern position of the speculator, and the chafed feel-and northern states. Every where he was received with enthusiasm. Party feelings judicious treaties; and, if made, the same were forgotten, and the president alone was spirit is likely to prevent their being fairly execonsidered. A brave and generous people cuted. Whatever bickerings there may have received a gallant commander, with every demonstration of respect and admiration. The tion, the country has been highly prosperous. most ancient university in the country made Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures him a Doctor of Laws. He visited Bunker have increased beyond all precedent, in any Hill, saw the plains of Lexington, ground sa- age or nation. Distant points are brought tocred to the descendants of the Pilgrims, and gether by rail roads and locomotive engines, returned with their warmest wishes for his and inland commerce is in a fair way to ex-

commenced with undiminished popularity, and heaven has not yet said where it shall be but the current of the politics of a Republic stayed. "Fellow-citizens of the United States! can never run entirely smooth, if the nation is The threat of unhallowed disunion—the ever so prosperous. Prosperity has its diffiknow how to obtain funds to carry on the inample records to draw from.

ment of the business.

tion for spoliations made on our commerce in one or more tenders. Arrangements have the time of Napoleon Bonaparte. Difficulties been made to have a numerous and efficient prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defence, will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

The transmitter of vaporeon Bonaparte. The interest indicates the made to have a manifestate the management of human know-it will bring to their defence, will transmit them effect, and a war-cloud, for a while, hung ledge shall escape them. The appointment of unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

"May the great ruler of nations grant that British government offered her services, as a other names which adorn the pages of your the signal blessings with which he has favoured mediatorial power, to settle the dispute, but revolutionary bistory, will not abandon that ours, may not, by the madness of party, or the French, on further consideration, conunion, to support which, so many of them personal ambition, be disregarded and lost: cluded to come to the terms of our governfought, and bled, and died. I adjure you, as and may his wise providence bring those who ment, without any intervention. Naples and have produced this crisis to see the folly, he-fore they feel the misery of civil strife; and inspire a returning veneration for that union stipulated, the sums due us. With England which, if we may dare to penetrate his de- the United States are on good terms, and own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch signs, he has chosen as the only means of at-there is no subject of contention between the taining the high destinies to which we may two governments, except the north-east boundary line. This will be a difficult question to The language of the proclamation is too settle, but we cannot believe that the difficul-

ceed that of the ocean. The wave of popula-The second term of President Jackson tion is resounding onward to the far West;

During this administration, Congress has made provision for a surveying and exploring the talent of a country is put in requisition to regions of the globe. This appropriation was called for by our great interests in those seas. tentions of an administration, but history will More than eight years ago, the people of record that it has once occurred, that a Re- Nantucket, those enterprising whalers, mepublic has been embarrassed to know how to morialized Congress upon the subject. This keep safe the exuberance of the treasury, and example was followed by others, and great keep safe the exuberance of the treasury, and example was followed by others, and great afterwards how to dispose of it. The bank advances were made by the secretary of the of the United States had for some time been navy, at that time, Samuel L. Southard. A in bad odour with the president, and it was vessel was built for the purpose, but a change well known that he would be opposed to a in the administration was fatal to the enter-renewal of the charter of this institution. The prize. In December 1834, after the subject war was waged, on both sides, with zeal and had, in a measure, slept for six years, the mapower; and if the days of the institution were rine society of Salem, Massachusetts, sent a numbered, by the president's fixed purposes, memorial to Congress renewing the request, its solvency could not be shaken, or its influence destroyed. Future historians must settle Island. In February 1835, a report was made the merits of the question. There will be by Mr. Pierce of the committee of commerce of the House of Representatives in Congress. President Jackson had the good fortune to which was widely circulated, but not acted conclude a treaty of peace between the Otto-upon at that time. The next session, the subman Porte and the United States, on recipro- ject was brought up again by Mr. Southard cal principles. This had been a favourite of the committee on naval affairs in the senate. plan in the cabinet councils at Washington for which, after mature deliberation, was carried several years. English, Richards, and others by a commanding majority, and finally passed of intelligence, had been sent to Constantino- in the house by equal weight, on the 10th of ple as agents, and broke the pathway for May, 1836. The bill makes ample provision those, more successful, to negotiate a treaty for a surveying and exploring expedition, to of commerce. The correspondence with the be fitted out in accordance to the wishes of secretary of state and those agents, is pre- the people. The president of the United served in our annals, and shows that the go- States has taken a deep interest in the busivernment did not lavish much of the nation's ness, and considered the subject in a right hard savings to accomplish the ends, or, at view, and has ordered the means on an extenleast, were not extravagant in the commence- sive plan. The frigate Macedonia is being prepared for the expedition, to be accompanied In this administration, the government con- by a vessel of four hundred and fifty tons; cluded a treaty with France, for indemnificative of two hundred and thirty tons each, with

the world should do something, on a magnificent scale, for the general treasury of knowledge. The hearts of the people are with this enterprize. The hum of preparation has begun, energy marks its course, and it is to be

the public full assurance that every thing will hoped that before the year expires, the expe-|the glory of conquest. The great leader in be conducted in harmony and with effect. It dition will sail for its high destination. On the battle of Leponto is hardly ever named, is time that the second commercial nation in looking over all the exploring expeditions of while that of Vasco de Gama is familiar in the

END OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

TO THE

MISCELLANEOUS PORTION

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY:

Having brought down the history of the United States to nearly the present day; it is but proper and just, in regard to our readers, to make a succinct review of the memorable era of planting colonies on these shores; and to show the great principles on which our mighty republic was founded. Instead of a continuous history of events, as they occurred, our readers may now expect such passages of American history as throw light on our annals, from the earliest to the latest periods of our existence as a people. For many years our destinies were so connected with England, that it is impossible to separate them entirely on the historic page. The revolutions of the mother country were felt in this, and we availed ourselves of every advancement she made in civil and political liberty.

Our knowledge would be very limited if there were no records of the past. Traditions do something towards enlightening the minds of men; but they are in general, too vague and uncertain to make a firm foundation for correct systems.

The ages before the invention of letters, history was but little more than fable, and even after the wonderful discovery, much of tradition of a marvellous nature, superstitious legends, and false reasonings crept into the pages of the historian, even after he had taken a high stand among the guides and benefactors of mankind.

Early history should be read in the spirit of philosophical inquiry. Every statement should be examined, and weighed, compared and sifted before we draw conclusions from them, or treasure them up for future use; and after the most careful attention these facts should be carefully arranged in the memory, that they may be readily called up for correction, when time and deeper investigation afford opportunity for correction.

No one can become a thorough historian by glancing at general views, any more than he could be an accurate geographer by sailing round the globe. The history of an age, or nation, must be examined in minute details before we can come to any thing like a fair understanding of it.

History, when rightly read, gives the mind new powers of investigation, and new views of society. The knowledge any individual can collect by experience alone, without history, is as limited as the human vision, which embraces only a small hemisphere, but through history, one view after another, opens up, until past ages are before us, for our examination and instruction.

It is natural for youthful minds to be more fond of ancient than modern history. In poetical ages every exploit takes a fanciful tinge, and youth is more readily charmed with a Hercules and a Homer, than with a Milton or a Washington; yet more may be acquired for the improvement of the mind by attending to modern history than ancient. Our own history, which marks the rise and progress of the states of this Union, is more calculated to elevate the mind, to give us more insight into the propensities and capacities of man, than the scenes of ancient history, for every thing is distinct and may easily be read; there are none of those mists on it which hang over the pages of antiquity, which often reflects a light that,

." Leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind."

Still ancient history should be read, but not exclusively, as it is in many of our institutions of learning;—often in the writers of antiquity the reader finds beautiful models of style when the facts are unimportant or equivocal. The ancient historian thought more of the temple and the shrine, than of the god to whom it was dedicated.

In all histories there are necessarily some errors, for the most accomplished historian cannot refrain from showing his partialities and prejudices, either in philosophy, politics, or religion.

We have not had, as yet, any one master writer of our annals, who so far surpassed all others in clearness of statement, happiness of arrangement, and in a captivating literature, united with a vein of fine philosophy as to throw all others into the back ground, nor is such a man likely soon to arise. It is only given the mightiest mind to improve by degrees. Hume was first among the English historians, until Lingard and Sharon Turner wrote, after deeper research and more regard to accuracy. It is not well for a nation that their early history should have been written with extraordinary genius. South America has not profited much by her splendid history from the enchanting pen of Robertson. His work abounds in flowers of the sweetest perfume grown up where the faggot blazed around writhing victims, sacrificed to avarice, superstition, and to lust of power, or where torrents of blood followed the Spanish dagger, and which still cries from the ground for vengeance. If the iron hand of despotism, which once grasped the whole of that vast region, is broken and destroyed, still an after age of crime rests upon it. "Infuriated man seeking for long lost liberty" in the midst of ignorance and superstition, is there in a continued paroxysm. When the mines of South America shall cease to tempt cupidity, and man finds it wiser to pursue knowledge than power, then may that country be worthy of an historian who, like Robertson, is able to festoon the wreath of history upon a nation's brow, and carry it along to posterity with the empires of past ages. As yet she has not profited much by reading her own records.

But to come back to our own country: North America was discovered soon after the days of the glory of Columbus, by the Cabots, but nearly a century elapsed before England, France and Holland had made any successful attempts to settle the

country.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Sir Walter Raleigh made no small efforts to settle Virginia, but after spending large sums of money, failed in all his schemes. In 1607 a more successful attempt was made to establish a colony in Virginia. The attempt was attended with the worst policy, and but for one great man of practical, as well as of commanding talents, all would have been inevitably lost. Captain John Smith was the father and preserver of Virginia. He delivered them from the midst of their disasters, when savages fell upon them, and when the devouring flame followed Indian incursions, and pestilence came sweeping after conflagration, and as if the colonists were to drink the dregs of misery, party feuds were mingled in their cup of wretchedness. Nothing could check the ardour or repress the energy of Smith. He saw one president deposed, and another elected, and all sorts of disorders taking place; but his soul was as dauntless as if he had taken a bond from fate. He fell into captivity, and was redeemed from thence most miraculously. The story of his escape is the first beauty in the history of our country, and has been commemorated by the pen, the chisel, and the pencil. The name of Pocahontas is as much renowned in the annals of friendship as those of Sappho and Corrina in song, or Cornelia in patriotism.

In 1608, in an open boat, with fourteen persons and a scanty stock of provisions, Captain Smith explored the whole of that great extent of waters from Cape Henry to the Susquehannah, trading with some tribes of Indians and fighting with others. On this voyage he made a map of Chesapeake bay, which was drawn with such wonderful accuracy that it has been copied in every subsequent age. He was as profound a statesman as ever ruled a people, and as consummate a warrior as ever wore a sword. Every thing was within the scope of his genius. He not only drew charts and wrote topography, but attended to agriculture, commerce and the fisheries; and in this infancy of the colony extended his views to a manufacturing interest. Several Dutchmen and Poles were introduced to the colony to make glass, tar, and potashes. Smith understood the true policy of the colonists, but the proprietors in England were miserably ignorant of their interests, and ordered the new settlers to seek for the South Seas, and to find gold. It was not known then that there were other mines more valuable than those producing gold. Perils still surrounded this infant settlement. The sagacious chief, Powhattan, saw that the English, from their weapons and their skill in war, would soon be too powerful for him and his tribes, formed a plan to cut them off at a single blow, but his plot was frustrated by his daughter, Pocahontas, the guardian angel of Virginia. She overheard the conspirators, but seemed to take no notice of what she heard, but before all was ripe for action, and her father was in a deep sleep, she arose without waking him, and ran nine miles through the woods, in a dark and dreary night, to Jamestown, to apprise Captain Smith of his danger, and instantly returned, taking her station on her bed of skins unsuspected, and unperceived. The whole life of this heroine of the wilderness is full of extraordinary events.

Superstition, so often pregnant of evils, at this time saved the infant colony. An Indian in a state of asphyxia from inhaling the gas from burning charcoal, was re-animated by the use of pungent applications used by the president; and the savages believed that he had the power of restoring the dead.

About the same time there was an explosion of gun powder which destroyed several Indians and severely scorched others. These accidents excited the astonishment of Powhattan, and he came with his head men to Jamestown, with his offerings of peace, and during his life time the colonists were unmolested, and their business went on comparatively smooth; they built new houses, strengthened their fort, erected a block house, dug a well, attended to their manufactures, enlarged their agriculture; in fact, so much was done in a short time that Captain Smith left them, in 1609, in prosperity, and in considerable strength. The population of Virginia then, was 490; they had 14 pieces of ordnance, 300 muskets, and a good stock of munitions of war. An hundred of the men were well disciplined soldiers. They had also a competent supply of working tools, some live stock, and ten weeks provisions. The perseverance of their president was conspicuous in every thing about them. They had three ships and seven boats. They had fortified Jamestown with pallisades, within which there were fifty or sixty houses. Several small forts had been erected in positions favourable for defence. The manufacturers were kept steadily at

work and were successful. The colonists were rather short handed in artificers, having only three in number; one carpenter and two blacksmiths. The great mass of the people however, were a set of lazy fellows, made up, as Smith describes them; "the most part footmen and adventurer's attendants, who never knew what a day's work was; all the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, libertines and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin one, or but help to maintain it."

A new charter was given to Virginia, in 1612, which confirmed all former privileges and extended their powers. By this charter all the islands lying within three hundred leagues of the coast were annexed to the province of Virginia. This grant embraced the Bermudas, which the company sold. The expenses of the new charter were defrayed by a lottery, the second known in English history.

In 1613, Pocuhontas was married to John Rolfe, which secured peace to Virginia for many years. In 1614, Smith came again to this country, and surveyed the coast to a high degree of north latitude. No voyage of trade, observation, and discovery was ever conducted with more ability. When Smith was not in Virginia every thing was retrograde; discord entered as he departed. In 1617, every thing was sunk into a deplorable condition.

The next efforts for the colony were, the following year, made under Lord Delaware; but that distinguished man died on his voyage just as he entered the bay which now bears his name. His talents and courteous demeanour would have done wonders for the colony if his life had been spared. In 1619, a provincial legislature was formed in Virginia, the first on this continent. They had now found the futility of digging for gold, and had turned their attention to cultivating tobacco as an article for exportation, and their labours were well compensated by the price that it commanded in Europe. In this year there was a great mortality prevailed; but this visitation of God was to be borne in patience and resignation; but the treacherous character of the savages was a constant cause of alarm.

After the death of Powhattan, Opechankanough became his successor. He was ever a deadly enemy to the settlers, and formed a plan to strike them from the land with one fierce blow, but heaven averted a part of the intended massacre; on Monday the 22d of March, 1622, three hundred and forty-seven of the unresisting and defenceless settlers were slain by the savages with indiscriminate barbarity; no regard was shown to old age or tender years, or to previous friendships, except in one instance, an Indian made the secret known to his white friend, who spread the alarm and saved the rest of the people. An exterminating war followed the massacre; vengeance whetted her knife, and it drank deeply of blood; famine followed the footsteps of war, a natural consequence in a newly formed community. From that time however, the colonists were never in danger of extermination, but moved onward with the common vicissitudes of fortune, to a powerful commonwealth.

The traveller of the present day, as he visits the spot where these scenes transpired, finds not a vestige of a village; even the roof of the old church at Jamestown, the last relic, has disappeared; but disappointed imagination calls up the shades of Smith, Pocahontas, and all the actors of that memorable period, and converses with them as beings still on the stage of life.

The settlement of New Netherlands next claims our attention. The early auspices of this colony were propitious. The Dutch were the proper kind of people to settle a new country. They were cautious, industrious, provident, and sufficiently educated to begin a colony. The people of Holland had been engaged sufficiently in war to be good soldiers: they were aware of all the benefits of commerce, and they had a good share of the learning of the age. They were not behind any people in the doctrines of property, and their very temperament was in aid of personal liberty. They had been among the first to follow the great reformers in the soundness of their principles, and at the same time, were wise enough to subdue the fiery particles of their zeal. Their imaginations formed no paradise to which they were coming, and with patient labour they believed a good living might be had almost everywhere. They had been determined on colonization for several years when chance gave them a fair opportunity to commence an undertaking which has in the end proved most gloriously successful. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who was engaged in his native service in attempting to find a north-west passage, made many discoveries in the arctic circle. He was the first navigator who advanced beyond the eightieth degree of north latitude. In the heighth of his fame as a navigator, the Dutch East India Company engaged him in their service, which was then rivalling that of the most commercial nations. The glories of Venice and Florence were on the wane. Spain was then forgetting her manufactures and much of her general commerce in her eager pursuit of the precious metals, proud of her share of the new world, and England and France were making efforts to get a foothold on the northern part of this continent. The Dutch now began to emulate these nations, and they were never wanting in that sagacity which provides means for ends. In the employment of the East Indian Company, Hudson sailed on a voyage of discovery. He left the Texel on the sixth of April, 1609, and made his way to the coast of Norway, entered the White sea, coasted down Nova Zembla, but finding great quantities of ice he tacked towards Greenland, but this region was barren of interest, and he came to the determination to steer directly for the coast of America, and touched at Newfoundland; and he saw but little was to be discovered in this northern region. He then sailed along our eastern shores by the mouths of the Penobscot, Kennebeck and Merrimack, and passing the North river, reached the Potomac. This he knew was British territory, and of course no discovery would be of any avail to his employers, and he returned north. On the third day of September, 1609, he entered the southern waters of New York. No navigator claims to have been there before him. Tradition has it, that he first landed at Coney Island, and commenced a cautious trade with the natives. He next discovered the mouth of the river which has since been called by his name. He proceeded slowly, spending a week south of the Narrows, and while trading with the natives keeping a sharp eye upon them, not unacquainted with the treacherous nature of savages. Hudson was not then aware that the present site of

the city of New York was an island. On the 14th of the same month he passed through Tappan and Haverstraw bays, and anchored, during the night, near West Point. The scenery was every where picturesque, and in many places sublime. The bold shore of the west bank of the river allowed him to sail close by the land, and to take a fair view of the Pallisades, and the Catskill mountains. The natives appeared more mild than those near the sea. On the 16th he anchored near the place where the city of Hudson now stands, but in all probability he had no visions of his future greatness. He unquestionably sailed much above this place, but how far, is problematical. Hudson's vessel was called the Half-Moon, and considered as a mere fly boat. The size of this boat has been a subject of wonder, as the Dutch at that time had some large ships. Hudson knew that a big ship was not well calculated for an exploring expedition; and there was some policy in taking so small a vessel, for she might enter and depart anywhere, without exciting any suspicion. Hudson, on his return, made known his discoveries to the Company, and the next year they sent out three ships, of a much larger size, on a trading expedition. In this they were successful; and to protect themselves from any sudden caprice of the Indians, they made a small fort, and enjoyed a great measure of security. They explored the country to Albany, and beyond; but all with much quietude, and their prosperity was so rapid, that in the course of a few years they exhibited no small degree of strength; keeping an eye on the settlement in Virginia, Maryland, and especially in New England. The Dutch were fair traders, and had fewer quarrels arising out of their traffic than any other of the colonies. The English annoyed them in 1614, but no great changes took place, in consequence of Captain Argill's attack upon them. They were wise enough to let the fiery Englishman have his way for awhile, believing all would soon come right.

In 1609 a band of puritans fled from England to Holland with Mr. Robinson, to enjoy, in that Protestant country, without fear of a hierarchy that dealt in faggots and stakes, the religion of their choice. New difficulties beset them here; although they were not persecuted for their belief, they were apprehensive that their children would be led away by the people about them, who were not sufficiently strict for those pilgrims. The history of these adventurers ought never to be forgotten. It is wonderful to think what changes have been produced in the world by the simple circumstance that a handful of men should have left one continent to find a resting place on another. On the 22d day of December, 1620, a small vessel, of a hundred and eighty tons burthen, not much larger than some of our coasting vessels at this period, on board of which, according to the notions of modern comfort, not more than a dozen passengers could be accommodated for a short voyage, entered the harbour of Plymouth, and from her landed, with the intention of making it a permanent residence, one hundred and one persons. The bleak shores of New England received this little band of pilgrims, at this inclement season of the year, after they had been a hundred and sixty-nine days from Holland, and a hundred and seven from England. The deed was one of daring, and one which could alone have been supported by religion, enthusiasm and fortitude: their minds were braced up to it; there was something of that glow which beamed from the countenance of the first martyr, in every breast of the pilgrims. They had lived nearly eleven years in a strange land, and had learned to concentrate their mental energies, and to bring them to bear on this one purpose on finding an asylum, where they could, without being molested, enjoy their religion in their own way. The whole time of their exile was one continued training for the enterprize, both as to body and mind. Their great leader and patriarch, John Robinson, was a man of true, evangelical piety, and of the most consummate political sagacity: his religious creed was simple and pure—the doctrines of his divine master. He held in reverence the mighty names of the reformers, but he spurned the thoughts of holding on the skirts of the garments of mortal, sinful man, to raise him to eternal life, and he bade his followers beware of names. His parting blessing to the pilgrims should have a brighter glory than being written in letters of gold, in temples reared by hands; they should be written on the hearts of every christian republican. His doctrines were the essence of human reasoning, aided by the lights of revelation. He implored them in the name of his Father in beaven: by all they suffered, and by all they enjoyed, to become wiser and better. They followed his principles from love and duty; and every wind that lacerated the branches of the trees they planted, drove the roots deeper into the soil.

The first days of the pilgrims were dark and sorrowful; before the return of spring, many of them had paid the debt of nature; monrning was in every family, and the cold and snowy bosom of the virgin earth had been consecrated by the ashes of their beloved dead, and hallowed by the hopes of the resurrection and the life to come, before the soil had been turned up for the planting of a single vegetable for their sustenance, or a flower had sprung from it by the hand of cultivation. Forty-four had died before the end of March, and the rest were weary and heavy laden with many cares; but the sickened soul has a communion with God that no language can reach; it rests on the promises of revelation and has a foretaste of immortality.

The settlement of Massachusetts bay, ten years after the lauding of the pilgrims, was in pursuance of the same great plan of enjoying their own thoughts in their own way. This expedition was on a tenfold broader scale than the former, with a better digested system of operations, and of course, was more successfully executed: but those settlers had days of sickness, of heart-ache, of hardships and trials; but in their march, they cheered the pilgrims, and made their safety a common cause. The usual view of this subject is, that the settlement of New England grew out of the religious persecutions in England, after the death of Elizabeth. I am not content with so confined a view, and will venture on a wider range of thought than this: for I consider the discovery and settlement of this country the greatest event in the history of man, saving and excepting the introduction of our holy religion; and I think I see, through the vista of history, the finger of God pointing to it for six centuries before its accomplishment. The crusades opened the drama; they did indeed exhaust Europe, ignorant and

fanatic Europe, of her best blood and treasure; but they brought home many lessons of experience. They learnt much from the virtues of the infidels they went out to extirpate or proselyte. In the Saracenic character was a sturdiness of virtue, far transcending that which passed well in the christian world at that time; and that they were far better informed, cannot now be questioned. Every battle, and all the blood-shed of the crusades sprung from the excitement which at that period awakened the human mind to action; and out of the sum of human errors were brought many true results. In the year 1453, the Turkish emperor turned his sword on Europe; and Constantinople, so long the proud seat of the Greek emperors, fell before his conquering arm. The christian world was amazed and terrified beyond description; she saw in the standard of the Turk, a meteor, that was to blaze over Europe. Churches were to sink before minarets and mosques; and the alcoran was to supplant the sacred scriptures: but short-sighted man was disappointed most happily in this: the arms of the conqueror went no farther, and the seeming evil produced an abundance of good. The Mussulman drove out from this ancient and lovely seat of learning, the Greek scholars and philosophers who had long congregated there, and made them schoolmasters for all Europe. They brought out with them many rich manuscripts, which had been concealed from the greatest portion of the world for ages. Kings, nobles, and sovereign pontiffs, contended with one another for the possession of these treasures; but while they were engaged in this noble strife, the art of printing was discovered; and almost faultless copies of the classics were multiplied until the humblest scholar could enjoy the company of the poets and orators of ancient days with the same freedom as the potentates of the earth. From this moment the intellectual world was changed. This invention was at once the sign and the proof, that the world should never again be deluged by a flood of ignorance: not only were the classics disseminated, but the scriptures also were put in every one's hands. The human mind began to throw off its shackles, and a spirit of free inquiry went abroad. Every one was active in the pursuit of knowledge. This was not all: about this time gunpowder, which had been previously discovered, came into general use, in military and naval warfare, and the campaign was now more often decided by science and skill than by mere physical force.

This change in warfare was absolutely necessary to the settlement of this country, in order that the skill of the few should be equal to the strength of the many. This skill saved the New England colonies in the Pequot war. If printing had not been discovered, in all probability, Columbus could not have received sufficient of the elements of geometry to have assisted him in traversing the Atlantic; and if fire-arms and cannon had not been in use, the handful of Spaniards would not have got a footing on the continent.

The discovery of the new world gave a new spring to human enterprize, opened new trains of thought, new paths of gain and of information. Man, before this period, was more dependent on his own thoughts for improvement than afterwards, when by a rapid circulation of books his mind became enriched by the rays of light from ten thousand other minds. Guided by these new impulses, he arose and swept away the thousand little errors of thinking and grappled with dogmas, which in former days he teared to touch. The sovereign pontiff, whose ecclesiastical reign was not bounded by seas and empires, grew more proud by this extent of authority, and more lavish of his wealth, believing that the western world was full of gold. Still the fulness of time had not come for planting a colony in New England. It was necessary not only that man should become culightened and polished, but that his morals should become stricter, and his reasoning powers made more acute and discriminating, before he could set out upon the doctrine of self-government, and to fix his own articles of belief. The awful responsibility of reasoning for one's self had not been for ages assumed. Scintillations of freedom of thought were seen here and there, when Luther burst in a blaze upon the errors of the pontiff, the church, and all who had sustained them. Like other reformers, he was often more zealous than wise, and sometimes laboured harder to correct a folly than to destroy a false principle: but his ends were noble, and his means honest and primitive. He dared, single handed, to pluck the wizard beard of hoary error; to meet the idols of wealth and power, with reason and scripture, as his only weapons. He wrestled with ignorance and sophistry; fought bigotry; and unappalled, met tyranny and oppression. With the natural courage of a Cæsar, he united the inflexible spirit of a christian martyr. His labours were wonderful, and their effects still more so. In imitation of his divine master, he entered the temple with a scourge, and drove out the changers of money, the extortioners, and those who daily polluted the sacred fane. But one man, however great his powers, could not reform an age, or correct a church, grown callous and proud, and grasping at still greater sway over the minds of men. Another reformer followed with equal genius, and equal zeal. Luther attacked practices and habits: but Calvin, striving to root out false principles, plunged into the depths of metaphysics, and set the world to reasoning on all abstruse subjects. He came more to reform thoughts and opinions, than acts and deeds; still he was not unmindful of these things. In the ways of God, the wrath of man shall praise him; so do his weaknesses, his follies, and his passions. The quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, was another cause of the advancement of true religion. Henry's case proved that all that was done on earth, by man assuming to be holy, was not ratified in heaven; for England flourished notwithstanding all the anathemas launched from the Vatican. After men had begun to reason for themselves, in every part of Europe, sects grew up, and boldly assailed the established order of things. Some of them rose in frenzy, and died in shame; but others have continued and will continue, because they were founded upon immutable principles. Among those who held their faith steadfast and immoveable, were our pilgrim Fathers; for their belief contained what no other creed ever did before—a declaration that it was susceptible of improvement, and with this frank avowal-that God has more truth yet to break forth from his holy word; and it was their firm persuasion, that new lights would constantly arise, and new and refreshing views of the will of God would be given from the scriptures: that man, as a religious being, was to be a progressive, as well as an intellectual one. The pilgrims were of an Vol. II.-7

order called puritans, and of the sect improperly called Brownites; but the great divine at their head conjured them to sink the name, and they did so among themselves, after they arrived in this country: but the appellation of pilgrims they retained with fondness; for the first child born among them, on these shores, they baptized Peregrine, in allusion to their wanderings.

Thus the moral, intellectual, religious and political seed sown on these northern shores, were as pure and as full of life as any ever sown on any soil in any age of the world. In examining the course pursued by the pilgrims, every one must be struck with the strong moral honesty in their first intercourse with each other. A community of interests they soon found would not answer their purpose, and they came to an amicable understanding of having separate worldly interests, preserving the integrity of ecclsiastical, legislative and military power. There were still so few of them, for many years, and they were so closely connected in every thing, that they understood each other's minds, dispositions, and course of thinking, as well as acting. They were truly one people, of one heart, and of one mind. Labour gave them muscular strength, and their hubits of reasoning upon every thing, taught them sagacity and quickness of thought. The philosophy of man, as a thinking and immortal being, tried by the standard of the scriptures—the nature of governments—the doctrine of equal rights—the duties of rulers—how far obedience to civil institutions should extend—were constant topics of discussion in the labours of the field, in the chase over the hunting grounds, in the fishing smack, or on their travels in search of their foes. The constant alarm they were in for their personal safety, and the protection of their dwellings, instructed them in the true grounds of human courage—a confidence in themselves and in one another. Almost any man will fight bravely who is sure of the courage of his associates. They knew with whom they went out to fight, against whom they were to fight, and for what they fought; not only for their own existence, but for their wives and little ones. It was necessity that made them warriors: there was no prince or potentate to reward their valour; no spoil of an opulent enemy to gain and divide; no wreaths of glory; no huzzas of a grateful people were known to them. To fight well, was an every day duty, and their ties grew stronger by every shock. They were anxious for their offspring; and not for their immediate descendants alone, but for more remote posterity. They wisely came to the conclusion, that a republican government could not be supported without a more than ordinary share of intelligence, and they set about establishing schools on the broadest basis; and declared, that as the commupity shared in the benefits of a general diffusion of knowledge, they should be at the expense of educating the whole mass of the children. In the seventeenth year of the settlement of Massachusetts bay, (May 1647,) they passed this ordinance, the most remarkable on the page of history. It was at once a proud tribute to their ancestors, and a spirited determination of their own not to suffer their descendants to degenerate. They ordered that every town containing fifty families, or householders, should maintain a school for reading and writing; and that every town that numbered one hundred families or householders, should support a grammar school. The reasons given may seem quaint at the present day, but they are most admirable, and should never be forgotten. Some have attempted to take from them the honour of first establishing public schools at the common expense: this was a vain attempt: our records show the fact without difficulty; and we know that our records are true. The ordinance was carried into effect, if possible, in a more republican manner than one would expeet, from the very letter of the ordinance: for when a town was divided into school districts, each district was taxed in proportion to its property, and the school money was divided among the districts in proportion to the number of persons in it. And this principle, in many parts of New England, is still extant. The ordinance referred to runs thus: "It being one chief project of Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers: to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours; it is ordered," &c.; making the requisitions we have mentioned. In May 1671, the penalty for neglect of this ordinance was increased; and in October 1683, it was ordered that every town, consisting of more than five hundred families or householders, should support two grammar schools, and two writing schools. At the very threshold of their political existence, a college was founded; and from that time to this, most liberally supported. The system of parish, town, and county government, gave all, who strove for it, an opportunity to display their talents in some public way: there was no particular rank, aside from the elective franchise, for the aspiring youth to bow to for office or favour. A man must then have had regard to the feelings of a virtuous and an enlightened people, to rise into power. The government was in its form simple; but there is more wisdom in simplicity than in complexity.

The machinery of government was understood by all, for there were no concealed wires or hidden springs known to a favoured few, but unknown to the mass of the people: and there was but very little party spirit existing among them. The good of the whole was the happiness of each.

For the first century their growth was slow, but solid and hardy. Their numerous wars, and their traffic to the unhealthy climate of the West Indies, made great inroads upon the ranks of those just entering, and of those who had just entered, into life. The whole community were like that class in other countries, in which it has been said, that nearly all virtue and intelligence centres; in the class which has not reached opulence, and yet is above want. Our forefathers put in no claims for ancestral honours or splendid alliances, but they were justly proud of a pure and honest blood; there were no left-hand marriages among them, and none of the poison of licentiousness, or the taint of crime. The women were as brave as the men, and a heroic mother seldom has a coward son. He who learns his lessons of valour on the knee of her who bore him, never shrinks from tales of fear, told by other tongues. Pure principles, early instilled into the human mind, where there are no

evil communications to corrupt them, generally last through life. The other portions of New England were settled principally by emigrants from the Old Colony and Massachusetts bay, and possessed the same characteristics, and have retained them quite as well as the parent states.

We shall not lose sight of the history of other colonies, but take every opportunity to do justice to all.

Among the rare and valuable publications which, when studied, show something of the character and history of the colonists, I have selected, with other works, Dr. Stiles' "History of the three Judges of Charles I. of England." The author of this portion of minute history was a christian, a philanthropist, a patriot, and a scholar. As president of Yale college he had many advantages over most authors of his time, in obtaining documents for his work, and he has made it an interesting one. England dates the era of the birth of her liberties at the moment of obtaining the Magna Charta. From this instrument the people at large had no benefit. By it the great barons and bishops restrained the power of the king, and this was much for them. It was not until the era of which this book treats that any thing had been done for the people. The bold men of the day, when Charles fell on the scaffold, were the great pioneers of liberty. They taught the doctrine that England, with this country, is carrying out at the present time. In some future number we shall make our remarks on the revolution of 1688, when the first compact was made between king and people, and state the rise and progress of free institutions.

EDITOR.

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AHISTORY

OF THREE OF THE

JUDGES OF KING CHARLES

WHO, AT THE RESTORATION, 1660, FLED TO AMERICA; AND WERE SECRETED AND CONCEALED, IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, FOR NEAR THIRTY YEARS. WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MR. THEOPHILUS WHALE, OF NARRAGANSETT, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN ALSO ONE OF THE JUDGES

BY PRESIDENT STILES.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE THREE JUDGES SEPARATELY, AND BE-FORE THEIR EXILE.

Or about one hundred and thirty judges, appointed in the original commission, by the commons' house of parliament, for the trial of king Charles I. only seventy-four sat, and of these, sixty-seven were present at the last session, and were unanimous in passing the definitive sentence upon the king; and fifty-nine signed the warrant for his execution, 1649. Of these fifty-nine, about one-third, or twentyfour, were dead at the restoration, 1660. Twenty-seven persons, judges and others, were then taken, tried and condemned; some of which were pardoned, and nine of the judges, and five others, as accomplices, were executed. Only sixteen judges fled, and finally escaped: three of whom, Major GeneraleEdward Whalley, Major General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell, fled and secreted themselves in New England, and died here. One of the judges pistoled himself in Holland, another fled to Lausanna, and was assassinated there: what became of the rest is to me unknown, and perhaps is yet in undetected oblivion. I am to write the history of those three only, who fled to America and died here. These came to New England, and found a friendly asylum and concealment in Massachusetts and Connecticut: and Colonel Dixwell lies buried in New Haven. I shall collect and digest the memoirs of these three judges; whose history being partly combined, and partly disconnected, may sometimes involve repetitions.

The era is now arrived, when tribunals for the trial of delinquent majesty, of kings and sovereign rulers, will be provided for, in the future policies and constitutions of sovereignties, empires and republics: when this heroic and high example of doing justice to criminal royalty, of the adjudication of a king, will be recurred to and contemplated with justice and impartiality. And however it has been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, will hereafter be approved, admired and imitated; and the memoirs of these suffering exiles will be immortalized with honour.

lected, as part of their history lies still con- early distinguished himself in the parliament cealed on the other side of the Atlantic. But service, in many sieges and battles; but in although time and future researches may am- none more than in the battle of Naisby, in plify the information concerning them, it is however presumed so much may be now collected, as may enable posterity and the world though supported by Prince Rupert, who to form a just and true idea of the principles, designs and characters of these illustrious worthies.

GENERAL WHALLEY.

"The Whalleys are of great antiquity," says the reverend Mark Noble, in his memoirs of the family of Cromwell. The general descended from the family of Whalley, which figured in England in the reign of Henry VI. Richard Whalley, Esq. of Kirkton, in the opulence; a member of parliament for Scar-borough, 1 Edward VI. He died 1583, aged 84. His eldest son and heir, Thomas Whal-by the marquis for a small part of its value. ley, Esq. by his wife Elizabeth, had several children; and among others, first, Richard, he committed the person of the king to his who married the Protector Oliver Cromwell's care. The loyalists have charged him with aunt. Second, Walter Whalley, D. D. educated at Pembroke Hall. Third, Thomas, himself, in a letter he left behind him, when educated in Trinity College, both of Cam- he made his escape, fully exculpates him from bridge. Richard Whalley, Esq. uncle to the that charge." protector, succeeded his grandfather, of his name. He was a member of parliament, 43. Elizabeth. He had three wives. His second well, Hinckinbrooke, Knight, grandfather of amenable, and which had the intrepidity and the Protector, Oliver. He had issue only by fortitude to pass judgment on the life of a the second, the protector's aunt, who were, Thomas, Edward, one of King Charles' I. judges, and Henry, the judge advocate. is Edward, the second son of Richard by he, with Monk, commanded the foot, and Frances, aunt to Oliver Cromwell, of whom I am now writing.

Edward Whalley, Esq. the judge, being a second son, " was brought up to merchandize. No sooner did the contest between King Charles and his parliament blaze out, than he tions, that gained him great honour." (though in the middle age of life) took up arms in defence of the liberties of the subject: and this in opposition to the sentiments of his sovereignty; and was intrusted by him with nearest relations. Probably his religious opinions determined him as much or more Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leices than any other consideration. And though the ter, by the name of major-general. He was

1645; in which he charged and entirely defeated two divisions of Langdale's horse, commanded the reserve: for which parliament, January 21, 1645-6, voted him to be a colonel of horse; and May 9, the following year, they gave him the thanks of the house, and 100l. to purchase two horses, for his brilliant action at Banbury, which he took by storm; and afterwards marched to Worcester; which city surrendered to him July 23, following."

"February 3, 1747, the commons granted him for his arrears, at the rate of fifteen years purchase, the manor of Flawborough, part of county of Nottingham, was a man of great the estate of the marquis of Newcastle, the annual rent of which was 400l." This was redceming part of his father's estate purchased

"Cromwell confided so much in him, that

He was one of the commissioners appointed and authorized by parliament, as the high court of justice, and sat in that august and awwas Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Crom- ful tribunal, to which majesty was rendered king; one of whose judges he thus was, and the warrant for whose execution he signed.

At the battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, greatly contributed to the complete defeat of the Scotch army. "Cromwell left him in Scotland with the rank of commissary-general, and gave him the command of four regiments of horse, with which he performed many ac-

He continued a steady friend to his cousin Oliver, after he had raised himself to the A full account of them cannot yet be col- usage of arms must be new to him, yet he one of the representatives of Nottinghamshire,

protector made him commissary-general for Scotland, and called him up to his other house.

"He was looked upon with jealousy by parliament after the resignation of Richard the protector, especially as he leaned so much to the interests of the army. For this reason they took from him his commission. This still endeared him the more to the army, who when Monk's conduct began to be problematical, deputed him one of their commissioners to agree to terms of peace and amity with that in Scotland. But Monk, who knew his hatred to the royal family, and how much reason he had to dread their return, absolutely refused to treat with him."

"The restoration of monarchy soon after becoming visible, he saw the danger of the situation. For besides the loss of the estate he possessed of the duke of Newcastle, and the manors of West-Walton and Torrington, in the county of Norfolk, part of Queen Henrietta Maria's jointure, which he had purchased, and whatever else estate he had, he knew even his life would be offered up to the shrine of the king, whom he had condemned to death: he therefore prudently retired. September, 22, 1660, a proclamation was published, setting forth, that he had left the kingdom, but as there was great reason to suppose he was returned, 100% was offered to any who should discover him in any of the British dominions, and cause him to be brought in alive, or dead, if he made any resistance. Colonel Goffe was included in this proclamation."

Here the European historians are lost. They represent that these two exiles escaped to the continent, and were at Lucerne, in Switzerland, in 1664; where some say that they died; others, that leaving that place, they privately wandered about for some years, and died in a foreign-clime, but when or where unknown. But truly their remaining history, after they left England, 1660, is to be traced only in

Mr. Noble gives this character of General Whalley: "His valour and military knowledge were confessedly great; his religious sentiments wild and enthusiastic. From a merchant's counter to rise to so many and so high offices in the state, and to conduct himself with propriety in them, sufficiently evinces that he had good abilities: nor is his honesty questioned by any, which, as one of the king's judges, and a major-general, would lay him

open to a very narrow scrutiny."

General Edward Whalley married the sister of Sir George Middleton, knight, who was as great an enemy to King Charles I. as he was a friend to King Charles II. "By her he had several children, and one born so late as 1656. What became of them is unknown, except John, his eldest son and heir, who was a cornet of horse, and who was returned member of parliament for the town of Nottingham, 1658-9, and also for the borough of Shorcham. He married the daughter of Sir Herbert Springer, knight, by whom he had Herbert Whalley, Esq. his eldest son and heir; who, though King Charles II. granted the manor, the parliament had given to the major-general, once belonging to the earl, then marquis, then duke of Newcastle, with

Whalley's which had been purchased by his cause, while there were many mad enthusi

but John. But he had a daughter who was among the most vigorous and active characmarried to General Goffe; whom Goffe left ters of that era. Among these Whalley ought in England, and with whom he kept up a to be ranked; and to be considered as a man constant correspondence, by the name of Mother Goldsmith, while in exile in New at the court of Persia, of a religion of which England. The last of his letters to her was he was not ashamed; of an open, but unosdated at Hadley, 1679. Goffe had several tentatious zeal, of real rational and manly virchildren by her, whom he left in England.

don. From the regard his cousin Henry dissembled piety. kirk and Peebles in the British parliament: and was one of those who signed the order for proclaiming his cousin Richard, lord pro-

family and connections of Whalley, I add an extract from the Fasti Oxonienses, p. 90. "Oliver Cromwell had several uncles, whose descendants taking not part with him, only one or two, they were not preferred by him. He ling, he repaired to the parliament army; had also five aunts, the eldest of which, named where his merit raised him to be a quarter-Joane, was married to Francis Barrington, master, and then a colonel of foot, and afterwhose son Robert was countenanced by Oliver. The second named Elizabeth, was wife liament; and one of those who took up accuof John Hamden, of Hamden in Bucks, father sation against the eleven members, and who of John Hamden, one of the five members of sentenced the king, and signed the warrant parliament, excepted against by Charles I. for his execution. He rendered the protecand a colonel for the parliament in the begin- tor great service, in assisting Colonel White ning of the rebellion. Which John lost his in purging the parliament. For this and his life in their service in June 1643. By this other services he received Lambert's post of match Oliver Cromwell came to be related to major-general of foot. He was returned for the Ingoldeshies, and Goodwins, of Bucks. Great Yarmouth in the parliament of 1654; The third, named Frances, was the second and for the county of Southampton in 1656. wife of Richard Whalley, of Kirton, in Not-tinghamshire, father to Edward Whalley, a tor's house of lords. He was grateful to the colonel in the parliament army, one of the Cromwell interest, and signed the order for king's judges, commissary-general in Scot-proclaiming the Protector Richard. This atland, one of Oliver's lords, and a major-gene-ral. He fled from justice upon the approach parliament, as well as army, with jealousy, of the return of King Charles II. and lived after they began to be disposed to a return of and died in a strange land."

The heroic acts and achievements of General Whalley are to be found in all the histories of those times, in the records of parlia- English army. At the restoration he left the ment, and the other original memoirs of Whit- kingdom with Whalley, whose daughter he lock, Wellwood, Rushworth, and the periodical publications of that day, now before New England, 1660. me. From all which it appears, that he was a man of true and real greatness of mind, and religious sentiments in the family of Goffe. of abilities equal to any enterprize, and to the The father, the reverend Stephen Goffe was highest councils of the state, civil, political, a serious, pious and learned puritan divine; and military: that he was a very active char- and paid greater attention to the education of acter in the national events, for twenty years his children. He gave an university educa-in the great period from 1640 to 1660. He tion to two of his sons, John and Stephen: was a man of religion. It has been the man- and although his son William was not liberally ner of all the court historians, ever since the or academically educated, yet such were his licentions era of Charles II. to confound all abilities, and so well were they cultivated and

in the parliament held in 1654 and 1656. The of some of the paternal inheritance of the the cause of liberty, in the parliamentary grace's ancestors from them, but by mortgage asts both in religion and politics, the great which the duke, when earl, made to Sir Ar- and noble transactions of that day, show there nold Waring some years before, through as- was also great wisdom, great abilities, great signments or heirships, became vested in this generalship, great learning, great knowledge Herbert."

of law and justice, great integrity, and ration-Of Whalley's children, Noble knew none al, sincere religion, to be found conversant tue, a determined servant and worshipper of Henry Whalley, brother of the major-gen- the most high God; of exemplary holiness of eral, is said to have been an alderman of Lon-life; of fervent indeed, but sincere and un-The commissioners of Cromwell, lord-deputy, had for him, he was Nottinghamshire give this testimony: "They promoted to the office of judge-advocate of think themselves happy in having a person of the armies of England and Scotland before so high merit sent down to them as Major-1655. He continued in Scotland during the General Whalley, who is their native counremainder of the protectorate of Oliver; and tryman, a gentleman of an honourable family, in 1656, represented the sheriffdom of Sel- and of singular justice, ability, and piety."

GENERAL GOFFE.

William Goffe, Esq. was a son of the In verification of Noble's account of the reverend Stephen Goffe, a puritan divine, rector of Stanmer, in Sussex. He lived with Mr. Vaughan, a dry salter in London, a great partizan of the parliament, and a zealous presbyterian. Disliking trade, and the war openwards a general. He was a member of parmonarchy. And Monk, who knew he was an enemy to the king's return, refused to admit him to treat with him, though sent by the married, and came with him to Boston in

There happened a remarkable diversity of then marquis, then duke of Newcastle, with the characters of religion with the irrational all the rest of his own lands, forfeited to the crown by any of the purchasers, yet this Herbert Whalley, Esq. was, 1672, in possession at least to believe, and even to know, that in Oxford conferred upon him the honorary de-

was unhappily divided into presbyterians and some to have the protectorship settled on him, congregationalists, both unanimously agreeing in future time. He being thus made so conin doctrines, and differing only on forms of siderable a person, was taken out of the house church government, and yet generally very to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in amicably differing, as knowing they were har-moniously agreed in all the great, essential, and most important things in religion. If any thing, the independents, or congregationalists, son, or a negative voice, but only to pull down were then the most catholic and fraternal of Charles and set up Oliver, &c., in which he the two. Oliver Cromwell, and these two obtained his end. In 1660, a little before the judges, were congregationalists. While General Goffe's father was a puritan, his brother self to his heels to save his neck, without any John was a clergyman of the established regard had to his majesty's proclamation, wanchurch: his brother Stephen became agent for dered about, fearing every one that he met Charles II. in France, Flanders, and Holland, should slay him; and was living at Lausanna turned Roman Catholic, and became a priest in 1664, with Edmond Ludlow, Edward among the oratorians in Paris, and afterwards Whalley, and other regicides, when John a chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria: while L'isle, another of that number, was there by William himself was the pious congregational certain generous revalists dispatched. He afpuritan, exactly agreeing in religious senti-terwards lived several years in vagabondship, ments with the first settlers of Boston and but when he died, or where his carcass was New Haven.

I subjoin some extracts from the Fasti Ox-

onienses, p. 79.

"May 19. Colonel William Goffe, was then also presented by Zanchy, and created son of the rector of Stanmer, in Sussex, was M. A. He was the son of Stephen Goffe, born in that country, began to be conversant rector of Stanmore in Sussex, and younger with the muses in Merton college, 1624; made brother to John Goffe, mentioned among the Demi of that of S. Mar. Magd. 1627, aged writers, 1661, and to Stephen Goffe, men-seventeen years, or more, perpetual fellow tioned in the Fasti, 1636. While this Wil- 29 July, 1630, being then bachelor of arts. liam was a youth, and averse to all kind of learning, he was bound an apprentice to one tered into orders, and became a preacher in Vaughao, a salter in London, brother to Co- these parts. In 1642, September 26, he was lonel Joseph Vaughan, a parliamentarian, and inducted into the vicarage of Hackington, alias a zealous presbyterian; whose time being S. Stephen, near to the city of Canterbury, in near, or newly out, he betook himself to be a the place of James Hirst, deceased. From soldier for the righteous cause, instead of set- whence being ejected soon after for refusing ting up his trade, went out a quarter-master the covenant, was, with other loyal clergyof foot, and continued in the wars till he for- men, cast into the county prison in S. Dunsgot what he had fought for. At length, through tan's parish, in the suburbs of the said city. In stroke for the abolition of this and the restoraseveral military grades, he became a colonel, 1652, he, by the endeavours of his brother tion of the former government; and at the a frequent prayer maker, preacher, and presser William, whom I shall anon mention, was infor righteousness and freedom, which in out- ducted into the rectory of Norton, near Sitward show, was expressed very zealously, tingbourne, in Kent, on the thirteenth day of in the very critical moment of the parturition and therefore in high esteem in the parliament March, and in the year 1660, he being restored of empire, when indeed had they been sensiarmy. In 1648, he was one of the judges of to the vicarage of S. Stephen, was actually King Charles I. sate in judgment when he created doctor of divinity in the beginning of was brought before the high court of justice, December in the same year, and inducted tion, I say, becoming prepared for a revolustood up as consenting when sentence passed again according to the ceremonies of the tion, it was obvious that great havoc would upon him for his decollation, and afterwards church of England, into the rectory of Norset his hand and seal to the warrant for his ton, on the fourth of March following, which execution. Afterwards, having, like his Gen-were all the spiritualities he enjoyed. eral (Cromwell) an evil tineture of that spirit that loved and sought after the favour and Anglicana Threenodia in qua perturbatissipraise of man, more than that of God, as by mus regni & ecclesiae status, sub Anabaptiswoful experience in both of them it did after- tica tyrannide lugetur, London, 1661. Oct. wards appear, he could not further believe, or Also a large Latin Epistle written to Doctor persevere upon that account, by degrees fell Edward Simson, set before a book written by off from the anti-monarchical principles of the him, entitled, Chronicon Catholicum, &c. Lonchief part of the army, and was the man, with dop, 1652. Fol. He concluded his last day Colonel William White, who brought mus- in the parish of Norton before mentioned, and queteers, and turned out the anabaptistical was buried in the chancel of the church of necessary to escape from England, exile themmembers that were left behind of the Little, S. Alphage in Canterbury, on the 26th day of selves from their native country, and evanish or Barchone's parliament, out of the house, November, in sixteen hundred sixty and one. into oblivion. Accordingly, seeing the com-1654. Complying thus kindly with the de- This person, who was a zealous son of the plexion of parliament, and that the restoration sign and interest of the said general, he was church of England, had an elder brother was in effect determined and settled, just be-by him, when made protector, constituted named Stephen Goffe, originally of Mert. Coll. fore it actually took place, they secretly with-

gree of master of arts. In religion and piety major-general of Hampshire, Sussex and afterwards of S. Alb. Hall, and a bigot of the he was very similar to his father-in-law, Berks, a place of great profit, and afterwards church of Rome; and another brother named Whalley. Indeed, both Goffe and Whalley was of one, if not of two parliaments; did ad- William, whether elder or younger I know were exactly of the same religious sentiments wance his interest greatly, and was in so great with that eminent puritan divine, Dr. Owens, esteem and favour in Oliver's court, that he vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, was judged the only fit man to have Majorwho was a congregationalist. The pædobap- General John Lambert's place and command, tist part of the dissenting interest in England, as major-general of the army of foot, and by lodged, is as yet unknown to me."

The following is extracted from Athena

Oxonienses, p. 261.

"John Goughe, commonly called Goffe,

"He hath written a book entitled, Exclesia

not, who was originally a trader in London, afterwards a presbyterian, independent, one of the judges of King Charles I. and one of Oliver's lords; who, to save his neck from the gallows, did, upon a foresight of the king's return, 1660, leave the nation, and died obscurely in a strange land. The father of the said Goffe, was Stephen Goffe, some time bachelor of arts of Magd. college, a good logician and disputant, but a very severe puritan, eminent for his training up, while a tutor, several that had proved afterwards very noted scholars; among whom must not be forgotten, Robert Harris, D. D. some time president of trinity college, in Oxon."

Further accounts of General Goffe, and his share and activity in the national administration, especially during the protectorate, are to be found in the memoirs and histories of those times. Thus we have given a summary account of General Whalley and General Goffe, the parts they acted and the characters they sustained on the European theatre of life, and antecedent to their coming over to New England. And certainly they were among the personages of the first eminence for great and noble actions in their day. They were both of Oliver's house of lords; and when we consider his singular penetration and sagacious judgment in discerning characters, and the abundance of great and meritorious characters strongly attached to his cause, from among which he had to select his counsellors, being in no necessity of selecting inferior abilities, the presumption is strong and just, that in themselves they were very distinguished and

meritorious characters.

They had moved in a great sphere; they had acted in a great cause, which might have been carried through, had national instability permitted it. But Monk, ever of dubious principles, and who had never been at heart a friend to the cause, turning up at the head of the army in the course of events by a certain easualty and fatality; and resolving on a bold same time the nation, unhappily wearied out of the convulsions and struggles of civil war, ble of it the die was east, the difficulty was over, and the policy already formed; the nabe made among the most distinguished and active characters, and that these two judges must fall among the rest. It is very dangerous and unwise to trust supremacy into the hands of those who are not cordial in a great cause, be that cause just or unjust, and especially in a just and glorious cause. If opportunity presents, instead of its conservation and defence, it will certainly be betrayed and given up. It was so by Monk. The great cause of liberty was lost, overwhelmed and gone. The judges therefore seeing their fate inevitable, found it

together.

CHAPTER II.

VARIOUS LODGMENTS IN NEW-ENGLAND, TO THEIR DEATH.

two Judges, in their exile and pilgrimages after their arrival together in New-England : many had fled, they did not think it safe to Goffe to be secured. This greatly alarmed and trace them to their concealments at New-Haven, Milford, Guilford and Hadley, to the their persons or characters when they arrived court were now in earnest in their endeavours last notices of them. This shall be arranged in two sections.

1. Their history for the first vernor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very cion, they gave commission and instruction to eleven months after their arrival, while they courteously. They were visited by the prin- two young merchants from England, Thomas appeared publicly here; and especially the cipal persons of the town; and among others Kellend and Thomas Kirk, zealous royalists, dangerous period of the two last months of they take notice of Colonel Crown's coming to go through the colonies, as far as Manhathen public appearance, when they entirely to see them. He was a noted royalist. Aldos, in search of them. They had friends abdicated, and were ever after totally lost from all knowledge of the public. 2. Their they chose to reside at Cambridge, a village removed from Mr. Davenport's to the house

appearance, after their arrival at Boston.

The most authentic account is taken from Goffe's journal or diary, for seven years from their departure from London, 1660, to 1667. It consisted of several pocket volumes in Goffe's own hand-writing; received from the Russel family, and preserved in Dr. Cotton Mather's library in Boston. The doctor's only son, Dr. Samuel Mather, married Governor Hutchinson's sister; by which means the Governor obtained Goffe's manuscript, and himself showed me, in 1766, one of these little manuscript books in Goffe's own hand. It consisted of 55 leaves, or 110 pages, in small 12mo. It began the first month of the year 1662, and was a diary of one whole year and a little more. It was written in characters, though not altogether in short hand, being a mixture of inverted alphabet and characters, easily decyphered: and contained news frem Europe, and private occurrences with them at New Haven and Milford. From this I then made some extracts. Mr. Hutchinson, from this and the other volumes, as well as from their manuscript letters, sundry original copies of which he showed me, formed the summary abstract, which he published as a marginal note in the first volume of his history of Massachusetts, p. 215, first printed 1764. This may be depended upon as genuine information, and is as follows:

Governor Hutchinson's account of Whalley and Goffe.

"In the ship which arrived at Boston from London, the 27th of July, 1660, there came passengers, Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the late king's judges. Colonel Goffe brought testimonials from Mr. John

drew themselves, and abdicated into New from the day he left Westininster, May 4, England in 1660. Here they lived secreted until the year 1667; which together with "They were well treated at New Haven by together until they finished life: and therefore several other papers belonging to him, I have the ministers, and some of the magistrates, their remaining history must be considered in my possession. Almost the whole is in and for some days seemed to apprehend themcharacters, or short hand, not difficult to decy- selves out of danger. But the news of the pher. The story of these persons has never king's proclamation being brought to New yet been published to the world. It has never been known in New England. Their papers, after their death, were collected, and have and appeared there in the day time, and made THEIR EXILE, AND LIVING TOGETHER IN THEIR in Boston. It must give some entertainment vately to New Haven, and lay concealed in to the curious. They left London before the Mr. Davenport the minister's house, until the I shall now proceed to the History of the the judges: but as it was expected vengeance and the governor received a royal mandate, would be taken of some of them, and a great dated March 5, 1660, to cause Whalley and remain. They did not attempt to conceal the country, and there is no doubt that the though they did not disguise themselves, yet who informed them what was doing, and they various pilgrimages in total oblivion and concealment from the public.

about four miles distant from the town, where they have hid until the they went the first day they arrived. They went publicly to meetings on the Lord's day, and then removed to a mill, and to occasional lectures, fasts, and thanks-where they met Jones and two of his com-They were known to have been two of the regicides had been seen at Mr. Davenport's, king's judges; but Charles II. was not pro- and offered great rewards to English and Inclaimed, when the ship that brought them left dians who should give information, that they Barbadoes, were that all the judges would be pardoned but seven. The act of indemnity was not brought over till the last of No-forting traitors, and might well be alarmed. in the government were alarmed; pity and suffer upon their account: and upon intima-compassion prevailed with others. They had tion of Mr. Davenport's danger, they genehad seen them at Boston, gave information next day some persons came to them to adthereof upon his arrival in England. A few vise them not to surrender. Having publicly days after their removal, a hue and cry, as shown themselves at New-Haven, they had they term it in their diary, was brought by the cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of to secure them issued, the 8th of March, from Row and Mr. Seth Wood, two ministers of a the governor and assistants, which was sent to They continued there, sometimes venturing to church in Westminster. Colonel Whalley had been a member of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's church. Goffe kept a journal or diary, reach of it."

Springfield and other towns in the western part of the colony; but they were beyond the win's church. Goffe kept a journal or diary,

remained near an hundred years in a library themselves known; but at night returned pri-King was proclaimed. It does not appear 30th of April. About this time news came to that they were among the most obnoxious of Boston, that ten of the judges were executed, givings, and were admitted to the sacarment, panions, Sperry and Burril, who first conand attended private meetings for devotion, ducted them to a place called Hatchet-Harvisited many of the principal towns, and were bour, where they lay two nights, until a cave frequently at Boston; and once when in- or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to sulted there, the person who insulted them conceal them. This hill they called Proviwas bound to his good behaviour. They ap-dence Hill: and there they continued from peared grave, serious and devout; and the the 15th of May to the 11th of June, somerank they had sustained commanded respect. times in the cave, and in very tempestuous Whalley had been one of Cromwell's lieu-weather, in a house near to it. During this tenant-generals, and Goffe a major-general. It time the messengers went through New is not strange that they should meet with this Haven to the Dutch settlement, from whence favourable reception, nor was this reception they returned to Boston by water. They made any contempt of the authority in England. diligent search, and had full proof that the London. They had the news of it in the might be taken; but by the fidelity of their channel. The reports afterwards, by way of three friends they remained undiscovered. vember. When it appeared that they were They had engaged to surrender, rather than not excepted, some of the principal persons the country or any particular persons should assurances from some that belonged to the rously resolved to go New Haven, and degeneral court, that they would stand by them, liver themselves up to the authority there. but were advised by others to think of re- The miseries they had suffered, and were moving. The 22d of February, 1661, the still exposed to, and the little chance they governor summoned a court of assistants, to had of finally escaping, in a country where consult about securing them, but the court did every stranger is immediately known to be not agree to it. Finding it unsafe to remain such, would not have been sufficient to have any longer, they left Cambridge the 26th fol-induced them. They left the deputy-goverlowing, and arrived at New Haven the 7th nor, Mr. Leete, know where they were; but of March, 1661. One Captain Breedan, who he took no measures to secure them; and the way of Barbadoes; and thereupon a warrant still concealing them, and the 24th of June went into the woods again to their cave.

Tomkins, near Milford meeting-house, where ser, the name they gave their several places of abode, April 2, 1679. Whalley had been March 18th, in the 82d year of his age, dead some time before. The tradition at 1688." Halley is, that two persons unknown, were buried in the minister's cellar. The minister cipal persons in the colony greatly esteemed was no sufferer by his boarders. They re- these persons for their professions of piety, ceived more or less remittances every year, and their grave deportment, who did not ap-for many years together, from their wives in prove of their political conduct. Mr. Mitch-England. Those few persons who knew el, the minister of Cambridge, who showed where they were, made them frequent pre-sents. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. who was in says in a manuscript which he wrote in his the secret, when he left the country and went own vindication, "Since I have had opportuto England in 1672, made them a present of nity, by reading and discourse, to look a little fifty pounds at his departure; and they take into that action for which these men suffer, I notice of donations from several other friends. could never see that it was justifiable." Af-They were in constant terror, though they ter they were declared traitors, they certainhad reason to hope, after some years, that the ly would have been sent to England, if they enquiry for them was over. They read with could have been taken. It was generally pleasure the news of their heing killed, with thought that they had left the country; and other judges, in Switzerland. Their diary even the consequence of their escape was for six or seven years, contains every little dreaded, lest when they were taken, those occurrent in the town, church, and particular families in the neighbourhood. They had indeed, for five years of their lives, been of Manchester, that he supposes they went dotes, together with the description and delinamong the principal actors in the great affairs towards the Dutch at Manhados, and took of the nation: Goffe especially, who turned shipping for Holland: and Mr. Bradstreet, the members of the little parliament out of the then governor, in December 1684, writes to house, and who was attached to Oliver and to Edward Randolph, "that after their being at Richard to the last; but they were both of low birth and education. They had very constant and exact intelligence of every thing which passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their than that they had been in the country, and greatest expectations were from the fulfilment respect had been shewn them by some of the of the prophecies. They had no doubt, that magistrates. I am loth to omit an aneedote the execution of the judges was the slaving handed down through Governor Leverett's of the witnesses. They were much disap-family. I find Goffe takes notice in his jourpointed, when the year 1666 had passed with nal of Leverett's being at Hadley. The town out any remarkable event, but flattered them- of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in selves that the christian era might be errone- 1675, in the time of public worship, and the ous. Their lives were miserable and constant people were in the utmost confusion.—Sudburdens. They complain of being banished denly, a grave elderly person appeared in the from all human society. A letter from Goffe's midst of them.—In his mien and dress he difwife, who was Whalley's daughter, I think fered from the rest of the people.-He not worth preserving. After the second year, only encouraged them to defend themselves; Goffe writes by the name of Walter Gold- but put himself at their head, rallied, instructemith, and she of Frances Goldsmith, and the ed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, mother and son. There is too much religion denly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. in their letters for the taste of the present day: —The people were left in consternation, utbut the distresses of two persons, under these terly unable to account for this strange phæpeculiar circumstances, who appear to have nomenon. It is not probable they were ever and lodged at Mr. Jones's. All this, tradition lived very happily together, are very strongly able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowness, to show that the magistrates at New

they remained two years, without so much as 1664-5, Dixwell, another of the judges, going into the orchard. After that, they took came to them; but from whence, or in what him." a little more liberty, and made themselves part of America he first landed, is not known. known to several persons in whom they could The first mention of him in their journal, is confide, and each of them frequently prayed, by the name of Colonel Dixwell; but ever more valuable, as being extracted from their and also exercised, as they termed it, or after they call him Mr. Davids. He continpreached at private meetings in their cham-ber. In 1664, the commissioners from King ed to New-Haven.—He was generally sup-Charles arrived at Boston-Upon the news posed to have been one of those who were of it, they retired to their cave, where they obnoxious in England; but he never discotarried eight or ten days. Soon after, some vered who he was, until he was on his death-lindians in their hunting, discovered the cave bed. I have one of his letters signed James with the bed; and the report being spread Davids, dated March 23, 1683. He married abroad, it was not safe to remain near it. On at New Haven, and left several children. Af- 1765. But that we may collect all he says the 13th of October, 1664, they removed to ter his death his son, who before had been in other parts of his history respecting these Hadley, near a hundred miles distant, travel-called Davids, took the name of Dixwell, ing only by night; where Mr. Russell, the min-came to Boston, and lived in good repute; ister of the place, had previously agreed to was a ruling elder of one of the churches receive them. Here they remained conceal- there, and died 1725, of the small-pox by ined fifteen or sixteen years, very few persons in the colony being privy to it. The last account of Goffe, is from a letter, dated Ebene
New Haven. Some of his grand-children are duction of Manhados, they returned to Boston, which is grave-stone still remains exhibited a number of articles to the general

It cannot be denied, that many of the prin-

Whilst they were at Hadley, February 10, ledge of those persons, who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of

Thus far Governor Hutchinson's narrative concerning these two persons; which is the journal, it must contain the most accurate information we can ever obtain. To this extract posterity must ever have recourse, since it is out of our power again to recur to the original journal, which with Goffe's other papers, in the governor's hands, were irrecoverably lost when the governor's house was de-molished in the tumults of the Stamp Act, judges, I shall subjoin another extract.

In 1664, four commissioners were appointed by the king, Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, Esq. Sir Robert Carr. assembly of Massachusetts, on which they were charged by the king to make inquiry; and to which the assembly, in May, 1665, make their answers. In answer to the tenth instruction they say, "That they knew of no persons attainted of high treason, who had arrived here, except Mr. Whalley and Mr. Goffe, and they before the act of parliament, and they departed this jurisdiction the February following, and a proclamation against them coming soon after by way of Barbadoes, the court sent two gentlemen, Mr. Kellond and Mr. Kirk, after them to Connecticut and New-Haven, to apprehend them."

Hitherto we have proceeded upon accurate and authentic documents. I shall now collect and exhibit other scattered lights and traditionary information, preserved partly in the public fame which such an event would be likely to produce at New-Haven and Hadley, and partly in families whose ancestors were eation of their places of abode, may illustrate the history of these fugitive pilgrims.

Among the traditionary aneedotes and stories concerning the events, which took place at and about the time the pursuers were at New Haven, are the following.

1. The day they were expected, the judges walked out towards the neck bridge, the road the pursuers must enter the town. At some distance, the sheriff or marshal, who then was Mr. Kimberly, overtook them with a warrant to apprehend them, and endeavoured to take them. But the judges stood upon their defence, and placing themselves behind a tree, and being expert at fencing, defended themselves with their cudgels, and repelled the officer; who went back to town to command help, and returned with aid, but found the judges had escaped, having absconded into the woods, with which the town was then surrounded.

2. That immediately after this, on the same day, the judges hid themselves under the correspondence is carried on, as between a who by this means were repulsed.—As sud- bridge one mile from town; and lay there concealed under the bridge, while the pursuivants rode over it and passed into town: and that the judges returned that night into towr,

their situations, happened, by accident or de-hiding under the bridge at high water. From But a summary view of the pollity and spirit ble and comely lady: she seeing the pursui- on the 13th May, 1661, the sun was in the sevants coming, ushered her guests out at the cond degree of gemini, and the moon in the back door, who walking out a little ways, in- first of aries, or about sixty degrees apart, stantly returned to the house, and were hid and so about two days and half after the last and concealed by her in her apartments. The quarter; when it is always high water at pursuers coming in, enquired whether the re- New Haven about, or a little aftersix o'clock, gicides were at her house? She answered, and low water about noon, the only time they had been there, but were just gone when they could have secreted themselves away, and pointed out the way they went under the bridge, agreeable to tradition. into the fields and woods, and by her artful 6. To show the dexterity of the judges at and polite address, she diverted them, put them fencing, this story is told: That while at Boson a false seent, and secured her friends. It ton, there appeared a gallant person there, is rather probable that this happened the next some say a fencing master, who on a stage day after their coming to town: and that they then left the town, having shewn themselves not to be concealed in Mr. Davenport's, and went into the woods to the mill, two miles off, whither they had retired on the 11th of

4. The family of the Sperrys always tell this story: that while the judges were at the house of their ancestor, Mr. Richard Sperry, they were surprised with an unexpected visit from the pursuers, whom they espied at a distance coming up a long causeway to the house, lying through a morass, and on each side an impassible swamp, so that they were seen perhaps fifty or sixty rods before they came up to the house. But the judges escaped into the woods and mountains, and eluded their search. This story is current at New Haven, and is always told, as what took place after the return of the pursuers from and held in the cheese, till the broom was New York, and so was unexpected to Sperry and the judges. Governor Hutchinson says, the pursuivants returned from Manhados to Boston by water; but the constant tradition at New Haven is otherwise, and that they were here a second time, and that it was thought they got their information of their being at Sperry's, in consequence of the bribes they had scattered here, at their former visit, among servants.

5. About the time the pursuers came to New Haven, and perhaps a little before, and to prepare the minds of the people for their reception, the Rev. Mr. Davenport preached publicly from this text, Isai. xvi. 3. 4. Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon day; hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee; Moab, be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler. This doubtless had its effect, and put the whole town on their guard, and united champion at athletic and other exercises, to and acceptance with which he discharged them in caution and concealment.

As Kellond and Kirk, besides the royal mandate, received a warrant from Governor Endicot at Boston, to make search through the colony of Massachusetts: so passing out of that jurisdiction into the jurisdiction of Connecticut, they obtained a similar warrant from the governor, Winthrop, at New London, and upon entering into the colony of New Haven, they applied to Governor Leet. at Guilford, for a like warrant to search this jurisdiction also. They lodged at Guilford, ing, you are my master, Colonel Goffe, who May 12th, and next day rode eighteen miles taught me fencing.—You, sir, and no other to New Haven, and might enter the town man can beat me. about noon. The banks of the river at Neck- I shall now consider more particularly their

Haven had used their endeavours to appre-Bridge are low, and salt marsh on both sides, evitical situation at New Haven, during the

erected for the purpose, walked it for several days, challenging and defying any to play with him at swords; at length one of the judges, disguised in a rustic dress, holding in one hand a cheese wrapped in a napkin, for a shield, with a broom-stick, whose mop he had besmeared with dirty puddle water as he passed along: thus equipped, he mounted the stage:-The fencing master railed at him for there, and bid him be gone. - The judge stood settled their towns, and formed into a sehis ground-upon which the gladiator made a pass at him with his sword, to drive him off their polity for themselves, one of the wisest the sword into the cheese, and held it till he fect republic was conceived by the concurrent drew the mop of the broom over his mouth wisdom of Governor Eaton, Goodyear, Newand gave the gentleman a pair of whiskers .-The gentleman made another pass, and plunging his sword a second time, it was caught drawn over his eyes .- At a third lunge, the sword was caught again, till the mop of the broom was rubbed gently all over his face .-Upon this the gentleman let fall, or laid aside his small sword, and took up the broadsword, and came at him with that-upon which the judge said, stop sir, hitherto you see I have only played with you, and not attempted to hurt you; but if you come at me now with the broadsword, know, that I will certainly take your life. The firmness and determinateness with which he spake, struck the gentleman, who desisting, exclaimed, who can you be? You are either Goffe, Whalley, or the devil, for there was no other man in England that could beat me. And so the disguised judge retired into obscurity, leaving the spectators to enjoy the diversion of the scene, and the vanquishment of the boasting protector Richard.*"—This shows him a man champion. Hence it is proverbial in some of political abilities to sustain so many and parts of New England, in speaking of a such high betrustments with the reputation say that none can beat him but Goffe, Whal-them. ley, or the devil.

ting this story—as that some say the scene even of our present policy, admitting an unwas at New-York, where the fencer staked folding of itself into an enlargement and apand offered a hat crown full of silver to the plication even to the efficacious dominion of man that should beat him—the place certainly the largest republic. Their idea was to found were out of New England; and that the fengeneral jurisdiction, for legislation and docer discerned and recognized his master in minion over all the towns, and a regulation of

hend them before the arrival of the pursuers. so that the bridge is low, being only high dangerous period of the last two months of 3. That on a time when the pursuers were enough to avoid high water, which is here their public appearance, and especially of the searching the town, the judges, in shifting six to eight feet tide; so there could be no last month previous to their final abdication. sign, at the house of a Mrs. Eyers, a respecta- the astronomical or lunar tables we find, that of the little republic of New Haven colony, will be necessary to throw light upon these transactions; and without it these events will not be perfectly intelligible.

The colony of New Haven jurisdiction, was begun 1637 and 1638. The settlers came over from England together, chiefly from London and its vicinities. They came three distinct congregations with their ministers; from the beginning intending to settle down in three distinct and separate townships; and to form and coalesce into one body politic, distinct from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and the other colonizations. They planted down together at and about New Haven, with these original views, which they carried into immediate execution. They therefore at their first coming to Boston, went beyond Massachusetts, and Connecticut then just settling also, to Quinipioke, with the view of settling, somewhere by themselves, within the earl of Warwick's patent assigned to lord Say and Seal, who held in trust his impudence, asked what business he had for Puritan exiles. Here they pitched and parate independent government; and framed a rencounter ensued-the judge received ever devised by man. This embryo of a perman, Leet, Desborough, and other sensible and patriotic civilians, and the three learned ministers, Davenport, Whitefield and Prudden.

Samuel Desborough, Esq. afterwards lord keeper of Scotland, was related to Major-General John Desborough, one of Oliver's lords. He came over with the reverend Mr. Whitefield, was a magistrate, and at the head of the settlement of Guilford. He returned to England 1651; became "one of the commissioners of the revenues; the same year represented the city of Edinburgh in parliament: at a council held at Whitehall, May 4, 1655, he was appointed one of the nine counsellors for the kingdom of Scotland : and the same year keeper of the great scal of that nation, and allowed 20007, annually:—The year following he was returned a member of the British parliament for the

Upon amicable consultation, they devised I say nothing on a few variations in parrathis little system of policy, the miniature was Boston, if any where, for they never and institute a general assembly, or a court of

^{*} Noble, Vol. 2, 254.

pendently as far as respected themselves:-In as far as respected the common public interest of all the towns, to institute an authoritative governmental and judicial council, to which all should submit and be subordinated, so far as respected the common interest of the

republic.

and consist of two branches; both elective in different modes by the people: The one to consist of deputies of the towns, elected twice a year by each town respectively; the other, by the name of magistrates, consisting of a governor, deputy-governor, and three or and at the same time nominated in each town, one or more persons for the magistracy : but each of the three towns nominated two per-belonged to the governor in his double capasons; and their names were sent by the governor to all the towns; which, on the day of election, were limited and confined to make their choice of magistrates (not governor nor to execute the king's warrant for the appredeputy-governor) out of these perhaps half a hension of the judges, had he received it in dozen nominated persons, electing three usually, sometimes more, out of the whole, for magistrates. On the day of election a sermon was preached by one of the ministers, It was originally designed that, however Moses and Aaron should walk together in cooperative harmony, yet the ministers should not be eligible into the magistracy. When all the freemen of all the towns were assembled on the day of election, they first chose a governor and deputy-governor, not herein confined to the nomination; then out of the nomination a magistrate for each town, not as a representative for that town only, for they differed from the deputies, stood on general election, and were thereby become charged with the general interest of all the towns. They at the same time chose a secretary, treasurer and marshal, out of a previous nomination of the towns as general officers. The choice thus annually finished upon the election day; the general officers and town deputies formed themselves into an organized assembly, or general court, for the juris liction. This for the legislature and general government.

For the executive administration, whether judicial or governmental, they established this system: Each town annually chose four deputies, or judges, for town courts, distinct from deputies of the general court: these sat in their respective towns, and acted judicially in all civil matters and lower felonies, much like the justices for keeping the peace, and local for the town, or rather similar to our county court judges for the counties. These four deputies, chosen by the towns, were reported or presented to the assembly, who approved, empowered and established them: so and comets in their vast extended orbits, their colony of Hartford, or Connecticut, 1664; that they became within the town districts lofty and magnificent revolutions. In 1656 when New Haven colony terminated, and judiciary officers of the law, vested with civil they printed their little code of laws, and was absorbed in the joint union of the two

to govern themselves absolutely and inde-|authority and legal jurisdiction. There were dispersed five hundred copies among all the then no justices of peace in the colony. In freemen through the whole jurisdiction. If each town was a marshal and a military com-their laws and adjudications have been in The general court was to be constituted the governor, deputy-governor and the three laws and adjudged cases, which justly merit deconsist of two branches; both elective in or more magistrates. These had the cognimore others of abilities and patriotism, electbeing brought before them in the first instance.

being brought before them in the first instance.

town, to be supported by the inhabitants; from
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branches made a public act or law. The supreme administration, both civil and military, tice with great firmness, impartiality, and and a colony grammar school to prepare youth to be with the governor or deputy-governor; dignity. It was in the constitution that this for college. By 1654 Mr. Davenport brought the judiciary was in the governor and magis- judiciary power should vest in the magistracy, forward the institution of a college, to which trates. The mode of election was thus: In and not be the effect of an annual investiture the town of New Haven made a donation of April, preceding the election and session of by the assembly. In the public records this lands and meadows, distinguished to this day assembly, which was the last week of May, judiciary court was stiled the court of magis- by the name of College land. Upon a donaannually, the towns elected two deputies each; tracy; and the meetings of the general astion to the college in New Haven, of perhaps sembly, are stiled general courts, and were solely legislatorial and governmental, while the this was not election. In the first instance, former were only executive and judicial. It was procured by the correspondence of Gocity of governor of the colony, and chief judge or head of the magistrates or supreme judiciary, to take cognizance of treason, and season, which he did not, and which as soon as he received it, he executed, so as to save himself and the colony from imputations.

Here we see a distinction between deputies of the town courts, and deputies of the general court .- The former were the civil authority of the town, and on occasion were frequently consulted by the governor and court of magistrates. These, not those of the general assembly, were the deputies which Governor Leet plication of Kellond and Kirk for a warrant because they had as yet received no orders

from the king's majesty.

Thus have I given a general and summary and governmental. Their laws and decisions were excellent, founded in justice and wisdom. The history of their laws and transactional councils. As to their initial jurisaccumulation of ages; a simplification as that respected the well ordering of society, of letters was the Newtonian discovery of the

pany whose chief officer was a lieutenant, some instances justly ridiculed and condemunder the governor, who was commander in ned; let it be rememberedthat there is no chief. The supreme judiciary was a court of magistrates, first at New Haven, to which and liberal minds, and especially for a satyrical the whole colony was amenable; consisting of and malicious Zoilus, to select at least a few zance and trial of all causes civil and cri-their jurisprudence and law proceedings may minal being held to proceed according to the be wise, just, and excellent. Besides taking principles and spirit of the laws of England. care for civil policy; they took care of re-It was a court of original as well as appellate ligion and learning. From the beginning jurisdiction, but chiefly original, causes usually they by law established a ministry in each 100l or 500l sterling, by Governor Hopkins, who died in London 1656, which donation vernor Eaton and Mr. Davenport with Mr. Hopkins, the general assembly crected the colony school into a college for teaching "the three learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew;" and for "the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public service in church and commonwealth;" and settled 407 a year out of the colony treasury upon the preceptor or rector, besides the salary from New Haven school, with 100l for a library. Mr. Davenport took the care of the colony school for several years; until the trustees, with the magistrates and ministers, in 1660, established the reverend Mr. Peck in it, according to act of the assembly; who undertook and proceeded in it, teaching the learned called in to advise with, when he and the languages and the sciences. But the convul-magistrates meet at New Haven, on the ap-sions of the times, the dissolution of the colony in 1664, the discouragements Mr. Peck of search; which application they refused, met with for want of proper support, and the removal of Mr. Davenport from New Haven to Boston in 1667, broke up the college-and left this well begun literary institution to go idea of the initial polity, legislatorial, judicial out and terminate in a public grammar school, upheld in this town, and holding the Hopkins' funds, and the other endowments of college estate, to this day. Yale college is a different tions, with a very few exceptions of undue, institution, and not at all built upon the foun-though conscientious rigidity, and yet far less dation of this first college, which became exoppressive than any other policy on earth, tinct in 1664, and especially long before 1700, ancient or modern, would do honour to any nature the present college was founded at Saybrook, and before 1717, when it was removed prudence, it was a singular and judicious and settled in New Haven. By this it apsimplication of law, and recovery and eman- pears what early attention was paid to literacipation of it, from the confused colluvies of ture by New Haven colony, from its founda-European jurisprudence, involved and em- tion and first settlement. Our ancestors seem barrassed with contradictory decisions in the to have paid an early attention to every thing honorable to the jural world, as to the republic as to laws, government, religion and literature.

Never was dominion and government more simple energetic laws of nature which operate justly and firmly administered than in the with diffusive efficacy through the system, the colony of New Haven, during the first simple principle of gravity, which commands twenty-five years from the original plantation the moon and the satellites, governs the planets of the colony to its consolidation with the

colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, under the polity of the charter procured by Governor Winthrop in 1662; a polity very Matthew Gilbert, deputy-governor. similar to that which had obtained at New Benjamin Fenn, Haven from its original. Though it began Robert Treat with the three towns of New Haven Milford Jasper Crane, and Guildford, as did Connecticut at the same John Wakeman, time, with the three towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield; yet it was joined so early as 1642 by Stamford, while Stratford man and Mr. Gibbard, who resigned. Mr. and Fairfield, about the same time, joined Fenn took the oath "with this explanation with Hartford: and 1648 New Haven was (before the oath was administered) that he joined by Southold, on the east end of Long would take the oath to act in his place accord-Island, and was in negociation to be joined by ing to the laws of this jurisdiction. But in Oyster-Bay. Before this, 1644, Totoket, or case any business from without should pre-Branford, had sprung from New Haven and sent, he conceived he should give no offence Guilford, as had Paugasset, or Derby, from it he did not attend it: who desired that so Milford and New Haven, by 1658 or 1660, or it might be understood." about the time of the judges, who sometimes, lodged there. At first, as I said, only three towns consociated: from 1643 to 1653, they were five; by the union of Southold, in the year ensuing, 1654, they became six: and so continued a confederacy of six towns to the time of the judges, and to the dissolution of the colony in 1664. So that here was the basis for a house of twelve deputies; which, with a governor, deputy-governor, and three or four, and sometimes five magistrates, formed the senate of this little sovereignty.

The state of the magistracy was thus:-Theophilus Eaton had been annually elected governor, and Stephen Goodyear deputygovernor, from the beginning till 1657, when this was the magistracy:

Election, 27th 3d. m. 1657. Theophilus Eaton, governor. Stephen Goodycar, deputy-governor. Francis Newman, Mr. Leet, magistrates. Mr. Fenn. Francis Newman, secretary. Mr. Wakeman, treasurer. Thomas Kimberly, marshal.

· Governor Eaton died in New-Haven 1657; and Deputy-Governor Goodyear died in London the year 1658. At the election, May 1658, Mr. Newman came in governor, and Mr. Leet in their way first called upon, and been hosdeputy-governor. Matthew Gilbert, Benjamin Fenn, and Jasper Crane, magistrates: Wakeman, treasurer, William Gibbard, secretary, and Kimberly, marshal. In 1659, the same, only Robert Treat, of Milford, instead of Mr. Fenn. In 1660, the same. Governor the night, and were secreted at Mr. Daven-Newman died November 18, 1660: and at the accession of the judges. March 1661, till 11th of May. they stood thus;

William Leet, of Guilford, deputy-governor. Matthew Gilbert, of N. Haven, Robert Treat, of Milford, magistrates. Jasper Crane, of Branford, John Wakeman, treasurer, All of William Gibbard, secretary, N. Haven Thomas Kimberly, marshall,

These, with the four deputies of New Haven town court, were the principal men concerned in the transactions about the judges. At the election, May 29, 1661, the critical time, the freemen concluded to augment the they had but three, besides the two gover- first at the bridge, again at Mrs. Eyers's. nors; and accordingly the election, 1561 stood thus:

Court of Election, 29th May, 1661.* William Leet, was chosen governor. chosen magistrates.

William Gibbard, All took the oath of office but Mr. Wake-

> Roger Alling, treasurer. James Bishop, secretary.

Thomas Kimberly, marshal.-All for

General Court, May 29, 1661. PRESENT. The Governor. Deputy-governor. Mr. Fenn, Mr. Treat, Mr. Cranc. Deputies. Lieutenant Nash, New-Haven. John Cooper, John Fletcher, Milford. Thomas Welch, Mr. Robert Kitchell, Guilford. John Fowler, Richard Law, Stamford. Francis Bell, Barnabas Horton, Southold. William Purrier, Lieutenant Swaine, Lawrence Ward, Branford.

Having exhibited this synoptical view of the polity and government, I shall next make a chronological statement of events and occur-

1660-1. March 7. The judges arrived at New-Haven and appeared publicly, having pitably received by Governor Winthrop; and been in like manner received by Governor Haven.

Manhados, or New-York; but returned in edly. port's till the 30th of April, and at Mr. Jones's

through Massachusetts. mills, two miles from town. On the same Milford for two years. At times the places day Kellond and Kirk arrived at Governor of their lodgments were secretly made known Lect's, with only the copy of the king's or- to the governor, to whom they ever stood reader, sent by the governor of Boston; on which dy to surrender themselves. Governor Leet did not act decidedly: yet sent a letter to magistrate Gilbert, with advice Massachusetts colony were greatly agitated of the town deputies, to search and apprehend. both for themselves and for New Haven. The judges had notice, and left Jones's for the They wrote a fraternal but reprehensory letwoods; yet designedly appeared twice after-ler to New Haven. Upon which Governor magistracy to five, though for several years wards, while the pursuivants were in town- Leet convened the general assembly.

* New Haven College Records.

The pursuivants arrived in New-Haven. The governor and magistrates convene there the same day, and under great pressure and perplexity, the pursuivants demanding a warrant in the king's name for a general search-which was refused. On this day it is supposed the singular and dangerous events happened, partly before the governor arrived in town, by the marshals attempting to take the judges near the bridge, which must have been by a warrant from Mr. Gilbert, though not at first to be found-partly afterwards at Mrs. Eyers's. The judges this day retired and went to Hatchet-Harbour, and thence to the cave prepared by Sperry, con ducted by Jones and Burral. After the pursuivants were gone, and before the session of assembly, a thorough but illusory search was made by order of the magistrates. The pressure so great and dangerous, that several declined serving in office the next assembly and town court.

The assembly convened speed-May 17. ily in four days after the pursuivants arrived in town, and perhaps in two days after their departure. To whom the governor stating, that upon receiving the king's real order, he had issued a warrant, and had caused search to be made; every requisite seemed to have been already done, and so the assembly had nothing further to do in the case.

29. Came on the general election; when the court found no necessity of doing any thing further about the judges. Yet as the governor and Mr. Gilbert were in danger, it was concluded that the judges should surrender, which they stood ready to do.

June 11. The judges left the cave, and went over to Guilford to surrender themselves to the governor: who, though he never saw them, yet lodged them several nights in his stone cellar, and sent them food, or they were fed from his table. Here and at Mr. Rosseter's they spent above a week, while it was rences to be afterwards verified and enlarged deliberated whether the surrendery could or could not be put off, or at least deferred. Finally, their friends would not suffer them to surrender at this time; and it was concluded that they should retire again to their conceal-ment. Upon which they returned to Nev-

June 20. They appeared publicly at New Went to Milford, as if departing for Haven; and though cautieusly, yet design-

24. They retired into the woods to their cave, and never more came into open life, or out of concealment. But wandering about April. The King's warrant arrived at and shifting their several harbours, were some Boston;—where they had previously, upon times at Hatchet-Harbour, sometimes at Toseeing the king's proclamation from Barba-toket, sometimes at Paugasset, and at three does, in March, made a fictitious search different places or lodgments behind the West Rock, until the 19th of August, 1661, May 11. Removed from Jones's to the when they removed and settled in secreey at

July 4. The governor and magistrates of

Aug. 1. The general court met at New Haven, and wrote an answer to Boston.

Sep. 5. Declaration of the commissioners

been made in all the colonies without success, and enjoining and ordering further search and apprehension. This very much ended the business, and the judges left at rest, at least no further molested.

The New Haven politicians of that day judged more justly and with deeper discernment, and acted with more ultimate firmness, on this great and trying occasion, than their brethren at Boston. While Boston trembled for them; they knew and felt themselves, from circumstances then unknown to Boston, to have conducted with safety and security in this dangerous situation. Having made this statement of facts, I proceed to adduce extracts from the public records, and traditionary elucidations upon them.

"At a meeting of the general court for the jurisdiction, May 17, 1661.

"The deputy governor declared to the court the cause of the meeting, viz., that he had received a copy of a letter from his majesty with another letter from the governor of the Massachusetts, for the apprehending of Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, which letters he showed to the court, acquainted them that forthwith upon the receipt of them, granted his letters to the magistrate of New Haven, by the advice and concurrence of the deputies, there to make present and diligent search throughout their town for the said persons accordingly; which letters the messengers carried, but found not the magistrate at home; and that he himself followed after the messengers, and came into New Haven soon after them, the 13th May, 1661, bringing with him Mr. Crane, magistrate at Branford, who when they were come sent presently for the magiswates of New Haven and Milford, and the deputies of New Haven court. The magistrates thus sent for not being yet come, they advised with the deputies about the matter, and after a short debate with the deputies, was writing a warrant for search of the above said colonels, but the magistrates before spoken of being come, upon further consideration (the case being weighty) it was resolved to call the general court, for the effectual carrying on of the work. The deputy governor further informed the court that himself and the magistrates told the messengers, that they were far from hindering the search, and they were sorry that it so fell out, and were resolved to pursue the matter, that an answer should be prepared against their return from the Dutch. The court being met, when they heard the matter declared, and had heard his majesty's letter, and the letter from the governor of the Massachusetts, they all declared they did not know that they were in the colony, or had been for divers weeks past, and both magistrates and deputies wished a search had been sooner made, and did now order that the magistrates take care and send forth the warrant, that a speedy diligent search be made throughout the jurisdiction, in pursuance of his majesty's commands, according to the letters received, and that from the several plantations a return be made, and that it may be recordreports, and for any that doth appear, are but with yourselves and the other neighbouring

proaches.'

Those in administration at this critical time the public records.

"At a general court held at New Haven for the jurisdiction, August 1st, 1661.

PRESENT. The governor, Deputy-governor, Mr. Benjamin Sterne, Mr. Robert Treat, magistrates. Mr. Jasper Crane,

Deputies. John Cooper, New Haven. James Bishop, John Fletcher, Milford. Thomas Welch, Mr. Robert Kitchill, Guilford. George Hubbard. Stamford. Richard Law, Lieutenant Swaine, Branford. Lawrence Ward,

"The governor informed the court of the occasion of calling them together at this time; being like to be rendered worse to the king than the other colonies, they seeing it an in-cumbent duty so to do. The governor informed the court also, that he had received a read, wherein was intimated of sundry complaints in England made against New Engnotice of the neglect of the other colonies in their non application to the king.

Now the court taking the matter into serious consideration, after much debate and advice, concluded that the writing should be sent to the council in the bay, the copy whereof is as follows:

" Honorable Gentlemen,

with a postscript of the 15th, we received July 30th, which was communicated to our general court, August 1st. We have considered what you please to relate of those complaints made against New-England, and ed. And whereas there have been rumours of their late being known at New Haven, it lath been enquired into, and several persons ingly, with profession of the same ends in examined but could find no truth it this our letter or otherwise, together with this our letter or otherwise, together with the petition and acknowledgment herewithall sent, we shall yet look up to our God that examined but could find no truth it the profession of the same ends in examined, but could find no truth in those coming with like permission and combining deliverance may arise another way resting. reports, and for any that doth appear, are but with yourselves and the other neighbouring [Extr. New Haven Records.]

of the united colonies, that search had actually unjust suspicions, and groundless reports colonies, as by the preface of our articles against the place, to raise ill surmises and re- may appear, upon which grounds we both [N. H. Records. supplicate and hope to find a like protection, privileges, immunities, and favours, from his will appear by the following extracts from royal majesty. And as for that you note of our not so diligent attention to his majesty's warrant, we have given you an account of before, that it was not done out of any mind to slight or disown his majesty's authority, &c., in the least, nor out of favour to the colonels, nor did it hinder the effect of their apprehending, they being gone before the warrant came into our colony, as is since fully proved; but only there was a gainsaying of the gentlemen's earnestness who retarded their own business to wait upon ours without commission, and also out of scruple of conscience and fear of non-faithfulness to our people, who committed all our authority to us under oath by owning a general governor, unto whom the warrant was directed, as such, implicitly, and that upon misinformation to his majesty given, though other magistrates were mentioned, yet, (as some thought,) it was in or under him, which oversight (if so it shall be apprehended) we hope upon our humble acknowledgment, his majesty will pardon, and also that other and greater bewailed remission in one, in not securing them and among the rest, the main thing insisted till we came and knew their place out of upon was, to consider what application to overmuch belief of their pretended reality make to the king in the case we now stood, to resume upon themselves according to their promise to save their country harmless, which failing is so much the more to be lamented, by how much the more we had used all diligence to press for such a delivery upon some letter from the council in the bay, which was of those that had showed them former kindness, as had been done other where, when, as none of the magistrates could otherwise land, and that the committee in England take do any thing in it, they being altogether ignorant where they were, or how to come at them, nor truly do they now, nor can we be-lieve that they are hid any where in this colony, since that departure or defeatment. But, however the consequence prove, we must wholly rely on the mercy of God and the king, with promise to do our endeavour to regain them if opportunity serve. Where-"Yours, dated the 4th of July, (61,) fore in this our great distress, we earnestly a postscript of the 15th, we received desire your aid to present us to his majesty in our cordially owning and complying with your address, as if it had been done and said by our very selves, who had begun to draw up something that way, but were disheartenof what spirit they are represented to be of, ed through sense of feebleness and incapacity upon occasion of that false report against to procure a meet agent to present it in our Captain Leveret, who we believe to have disadvantaged state, by these providences ocmore wisdom and honesty than so to report; curring, hoping you will favor us in this latter and we are assured that New England is not and better pleasing manner of doing, which of that spirit. And as for the other colonies' we shall take thankfully from you, and be neglect in non-application with yourselves, to willing to join in the proportionate share of his majesty the last year, it hath not been charge for a common agent to solicit New forborne upon any such account, as we for ourselves profess and believe for our neighbors. But only in such new and accustomed indemnity, grace, or favour, on all our behalfs, matters, were in the dark to hit it in way of as well as in other respects to prevent the agreement, as to a former satisfaction that mischiefs of such as malign and seek to mismight be acceptable; but, since that of your inform against us, of which sort there be colonies hath come to our view, it is much to many to complet now-a-days with great sednour content, and we solemnly profess from lity. If you shall desert us in this affliction our hearts to own and say the same to his to present us as before by the transcript or

looking into Governor Hutchinson's supplement, or collection of original papers, edited by him, 1769, to see if I could collect some scattered lights. Upon this I found what I had read many years ago, but which was out there is an elucidation of some dates and transactions already alluded to, and wherein there are some omissions, as respecting Mr. Davenport and the thorough examination of his house, and the search of other houses in town and the vicinity, the memoir of which is preserved in the uniform and constant tradition in New Haven.

I shall proceed to give the copies of authentic documents, as well to illustrate the history, as to show the pressing danger in which these hunted exiles were involved; and also to show the distresses with which Mr. Davenport, and Governor Leet, and the magistrates of New Haven colony were incompassed, by their perseverance in protecting and concealing these meritorious exilesmeritorious, if the cause in which they suffered was just.

Copy of a Report to Governor Endicott, by Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk.

" Honourable Sir, "We according to your honour's order departed in search after Colonels Goffe and Whalley (persons declared traitors to his majesty) from Boston May the 7th, 1661, about six o'clock at night, and arrived at Hartford the 10th day, and repaired to Governor Winthrop, and gave him your honour's letter and his majesty's order for the apprehending of fore we got to horse, so he got there before first know whether his majesty would ever Colonels Whalley and Goffe, who gave us us. Upon our suspicion we required the dewent directly for New Haven, but informed us that one Symon Lobden guided them to the town. The honourable governor earried Limself very nobly to us, and was very diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniences for the prosecution of them, and promised all diligent search should be made after them in that jurisdiction, which was afterwards performed. The 11th day we arrived at Guilford, and repaired to the deputy-governor, William Leet, and delivered him your honour's letter and the copy of his majesty's order for the apprehending of the aforesaid persons, with whom at that time were several persons. After the perusal of them, he began to read them audibly, whereupon we told him it was convenient to be more private in such concernments as that was; upon which withdrawing to a chamber, he told us he had not seen the two colonels in nino weeks. We acquainted him with the information we desired him to furnish us with horses, &c. which was prepared with some delays, which we took notice of to him, and after our parting with him out of his house and in the way to the ordinary, came to us one Dennis Seran-

ton, and told us he would warrant that Co-

lonels Goffe and Whalley at the time of his

speaking were harboured at the house of one

Mr. Davenport, a minister at New Haven,

and that one Goodman Bishop, of the town

of Guilford, was able to give us the like ac-

tainment of them.

horses, with aid, and a power to search and but we have tender consciences. apprehend them; horses were provided for To which we replied, that we believed that information, there was an Indian of the town office, since he found it so weighty an account that they did not stay there, but puty that the said John Megges might be examined what his business was that might there was other circumstantial expressions occasion his so early going; to which the deputy answered, that he did not know any withal, and which we have given your herour such thing, and refused to examine him; and a verbal account of, and conceive it needless being at New Haven, which was the to insist any further; and so finding them obthirteenth day, the deputy arrived within two hours or thereabouts after us, and came to us his majesty, we came away the next day in to the court chamber, where we again ac-prosecution after them, according to instrucquainted him with the information we had re-tions, to the governor of Manhados, from ceived, and that we had cause to believe they whom we received civil respects, and a pro-were concealed in New Haven, and there-upon we required his assistance and aid for should command what aid we pleased, but for their apprehension: To which he answered sending of them according to your honour's rethat he did not believe they were there: quest, he could not answer it to his masters at Whereupon we desired him to empower us, home, but if they came there he should give or order others for it: To which he gave us your honour timely notice: Whereupon we rethis answer, That he could not, nor would not quested his honour the governor of Manhados make us magistrates: We replied, we our- to lay a restraint upon all shipping from transselves would personally adventure in the porting them, which he promised should be search and apprehension of them in two done, and also to give order to his fiscal or houses where we had reason to imagine they chief officer to make private search in all yeshad received that they were at New Haven lay hid, if they would give way to it and en-sels for them that were going thence. since that time he mentioned, and thereupon able us: To which he replied, he neither would nor could do any thing until the freemen met together. To which we set before him the danger of that delay, and their and to which (when your honour shall require inevitable escape, and how much the service it) are ready to depose to the truth of it, and of his country was despised and trampled on remain, -Sir, by him, and that we supposed by his unwillingness to assist in the apprehension, he was willing they should escape; after which he left us and went to several of the magistrates, Boston, May 29th, 1661. and were together five or six hours in consultation, and upon breaking up of their councounts, and that, without all question, Deputy cil, they would not nor could not do any thing Leet knew as much, and that Mr. Davenport until they had called a general court of the Kirk having delivered this paper to the go-

Thus far had I written, when I thought of had put in ten pounds worth of fresh pro- freemen; whereupon we represented to him visions at one time into his house, and that it your honour's and Governor Winthrop's warwas imagined it was purposely for the enter- rants as precedents, who upon the receipt of his majesty's pleasure, and order concerning And the said Scranton said further, that said persons, stood not upon such niceties and Goffe and Whalley should say, that if they formalities, but endeavoured to make all exof my mind, the pursuivant's report, in which had but two hundred friends that would stand pedition in seizing on them, if to be found in by them, they would not care for Old or New their government, and also how your honour England: Whereupon we asked if he would had recommended the grand affair to him, and depose to that: He replied he would, that it how much the honour and justice of his mawas openly spoken by them in the head of a jesty was concerned, and how ill his sacred company in the field a training. Which majesty would resent such horrid and detestwords were also confirmed by several others, able concealments and abettings of such as also information that Goffe and Whalley traitors and regicides as they were, and asked were seen very lately betwixt the houses him whether he would honour and obey the king of Mr. Davenport and one Jones, and it was or no in this affair, and set before him the danimagined that one lay at one of their houses, ger which by law is incurred by any one that and the other at the other's. Upon which we conceals or abets traitors; to which the dewent back to the Deputy's and required our puty, Leet answered, we honour his majesty.

> us, but he refused to give us any power to he knew where he were, and only pretended search and apprehend them, nor order any tenderness of conscience for a refusal: up n other, and he said he could do nothing until which they drew into consultation again, and he had snoken with one Mr. Gilbert and the after two or three hours spent, in the evening rest of the magistrates; upon which we told the deputy and magistrates came to us at the him we should go to New Haven, and stay head of the stairs in the ordinary, and takes until we heard from him, but before we took one of us by the hand, and wished he had horse the aforesaid Dennis Scranton gave us been a ploughman and had never been in the

> waiting, which he told us was to give notice To which we told him, that for their respect of our coming. But to our certain know-ledge one John Megges was sent a horse-jury and possibly ruin themselves and the back before us, and by his speedy and unex- whole colony of New Haven, and still conpected going so early before day was to give tinning to press them to their duty and loyalty them information, and the rather because by to his majesty, and whether they would own the delay, was used it was break of day be- his majesty or no, it was answered, they would

> > This was the substance of our proceedings,

Upon which we finding any other means

Your honour's humble servants, THOMAS KELLOND, THOMAS KIRK.

30th May, 1661. Mr. Thomas Kellond and Mr. Thomas

vernor as their return, in answer to what they | fare of your neighbours, bespeak your un- | that they forthwith make known the same to were employed, deposed before the governor and magistrates, that what is there expressed is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Per Edward Rawson, Secretary."

Copy of a letter from Secretary Rawson to William Leet, Esq. Governor of New Haven jurisdiction.

" Honoured Sir,

" The Council of our jurisdiction being assembled the 4th instant at Boston, ordered me to signify to you what lately they have received from England by Captain Leveret, his letter being dated 12th April, 1661, who tells us that however our address to his majesty came seasonably, and had a gracious answer, yet many complaints and claims are multiplied against us, and that we are like to hear from his majesty's committee, what those complaints are, and what is expected from us; that an oath was produced against him for saying that rather than we should or would admit of appeals here, we would or should sell the country to the Spaniards: which though he absolutely denied that ever he so said, and that if he should have so said he had wronged his country very much, some of the said committee said the words if spoken they were pardoned, but they looked at the words not so much his as the spirit of the country, and though again he desired that the country might not suffer in their minds for what he knew was so much and so far from them, as to think ought in any such respect, yet one of them proceeded to question him, whether if we dared we would not east off our allegiance and subjection to his majesty: He answered. he did apprehend we were honest men and had declared in our application to his majesty the contrary, and therefore could not have such thoughts of us without the breach of charity; that it is no less than necessary we had some able persons to appear for us, well furnished to carry on our business, which will not be without money: that the council for plantations demanded of him whether we had proclaimed the king, and whether there was not much opposition to the agreeing of our application. He answered he knew not, Copy of the Declaration of the Commis-only had heard Captain Breden say so, but sioners of the United Colonies concerning humbly submitted to their consideration, that neither we nor any other were to be concluded by debates, but by our conclusions, which were sent and presented to his majesty in our names. They took notice, from enquiry, that it was only from one colony, namely, Massachusetts, and have their considerations of the other colonies neglects, to speak most favorably thereof. Thus far as to the letter. Further, I am required to signify to you as from them, that the non attendance with diligence to execute the king's warrant for the apprehending of Colonels Whalley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these colonies and your own particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflictive to them. And that in their understanding there remains no way to expiate the offence and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard but by apprehending the said persons, who as we are informed are yet remaining in the colony and not above a fortnight since were seen there, all which will be against you. Sir, your own welfare, the wel-

wearied pains to free yourself and neighbours. I shall not add, having so lately by a few lines from our governor and myself looking much this way communicated our sense and thoughts of your and our troubles, and have as yet received no return, but commend you to God, and his grace, for your guidance and direction in matter of such moment, as his majesty may receive full and just satisfaction, the mouths of all opposers stopped, and the profession of the truth that is in you and us may not in the least suffer by your acting, is the prayer of, Sir,

Your assured loving friend, EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary. In the name and by order of the council. Boston, 4th July, 1661.

Sir, since what I wrote, news and certain intelligence is come hither of the two colonels being at New Haven, from Saturday to Monday and publicly known, and however it is given out that they came to surrender themselves and pretended by Mr. Gilbert that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house nor endeavouring to secure them, but when it was too late to send to Totoket, &c. Sir how this will be taken is not difficult to imagine, to be sure not well; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends? I am not willing to meddle with your hopes, but if it be a duty to obey such lawful warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir, it's my desire you may regain your peace (and if you please to give me notice when you will send the two colonels) though Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence wthin a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of their coming I shall not only endeavour but do hereby engage to cause his stay a fortnight, nay three weeks, rather than they should not be sent, expecting your answer, remain,

Sir, your assured loving friend and servant, EDWARD RAWSON."

Whalley and Goffe.

"Whereas it appeareth by his majesty's order directed to John Endicott, Esq., governor of the Massachusetts, and to all other governors and magistrates in New England, and by him communicated to the respective governors of the United Colonics, for the appreliending of Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who stand convicted of high treason for the horrid murder of his royal father, as is expressed in the said order, and exempted from pardon by the act of indemnity; in obedience whereunto diligent search hath been made for the said persons in the several colonies (as we are informed) and whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable that the said persons may remain hid in some parts of New England, these are therefore seriously to advise and forewarn all persons whatsoever within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them, but that, as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, in the family tradition that the surprizal of the

some of the governers or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time do their utmost endeavour for their apprehending and securing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. And we do hereby further declare that all such person or persons, that since the publication of his majesty's order have wittingly and willingly entertained or harboured the aforesaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall do the like, have and will incur his majesty's highest displeasure, as is intimated in the said order, and will be accounted enemies to the public peace and welfare of the United Colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

By the commissioners of the United Colonies, at their meeting at Hartford, Sept. 5, 1661.

JOHN MASON, SAMUEL WILLIS, WILLIAM LEET, THOMAS PRINCE. SYMON BRADSTREET. DANIEL DENISON, THOS. SOUTHWORTH,"

The king's commissioners, who were Colonel Nichols, Cartwright, Carr, and Maverick, in their narrative about New England, 1667, speaking of these judges, say, among other accusations, "Colonels Whalley and Goffe were entertained by the magistrates with great solemnity and feasted in every place, after they were told they were traitors, and ought to be apprehended; they made their abode at Cambridge until they were furnished with horses and a guide and sent away to New Haven: for their more security, Captain Daniel Gookin is reported to have brought over and to manage their estates; and the commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the king's province, which were supposed to be Whalley's or Goffe's, caused them to be seized for his majesty's use, till further order, but Captain Gookin, standing upon the privilege of their charter, and refusing to answer before the commissioners, as so there was no more done in it : Captain Pierce who transported Whalley and Goffe into New England, may probably say something to their estate."

By the pursuivants' report to Governor Endicot it appears, that they arrived at New Haven 13th May; and it should seem that they left the town the next day, and this without any search at all; and particularly no mention is made of their interview with Mr. Davenport. But the constant tradition in New Haven is, that they diligently searched the town, and particularly the house of Mr. Davenport, whom they treated with asperity and reprehension. Goffe's journal says, the judges left the town the 11th May and went to the Mills, and on the 13th went into the woods to Sperry's. It should seem that they were not in town while the pursuivants were here. But although the nights of the 11th and 12th they lodged at the mills, and on the 13th at Sperry's, they might purposely in the day time show themselves at the bridge when the pursuivants passed it, and at Mrs. Eyer's in town the same or next day, in order to clear Mr. Davenport, and return at night to their concealment. The Sperrys are uniform judges at their ancestor's house was by the pursners from England, known and distinguishable, as they said, from our own people by their red coats; which could not have been if they staid in town but one day. Perhaps "the next day" in the report, might not be that immediately following the 13th, but the next day after they found they could do nothing to purpose. On the one hand, it is improbable they would spend but one day in a town where they did not doubt the regicides, they came three thousand miles in quest of, were; and on the other, 'tis doubtful whether they would do much at actual searching themselves without the governor's warrant, which was refused. They might however go into a few houses, as Mr. Davenport's, Mr. Jones's, and Mrs. Eyers's, and finding it in vain, give over further search. Governor Hutchinson says, "they made diligent search." And this has always been the tradition in New Haven. But of this nothing is mentioned in the report, unless it may be alluded to in the "verbal account" given to Governor Endi-cott. The tradition is, that the pursuivants went to Sperry's house after their return from Manhados; but this could not be if they went from thence by water to Boston; unless returning again through New Haven to Governor Winthrop at New London, they might go from thence to Boston by water. But of this they take no notice in the report.

After the pursuivants were gone, and before 17th of May, the magistrates caused a thorough though fictitious search to be made through the jurisdiction .- They sent to Totoket, or Branford. I have thought these pursuits, and these pursuers, might be the basis of the tradition respecting Mrs. Eyers, the bridge and Sperrys. But most that tell the story from ancient tradition, persist in it, that they were the pursuers from Boston, or the king's pursuers, and not our own people, which visited and searched both Sperrys and Eyers. But enough of this matter, which can never be satisfactorily cleared and ascertained: While it is certain the pursuivants came here, had an interview with the magistrates to no purpose: and that the judges ceased to lodge in town on the 11th of May, two days before they came; and so Governor Leet might say very truly on the 13th, that he did not believe they were in town, and indeed might have every reason to think at that time, that they were absconded into the environs or the woods beyond the West-Rock. All tradition agrees that they stood ready to surrender rather than that Mr. Davenport should come into trouble on their account; and they doubtless came into town with this intention about 20th June, and tarried in town from Saturday till Monday for this end, and Mr. Gilbert expected their surrendery. But in this trying time their friends, for their sakes adventured to take the danger upon themselves, and risk events. A great, a noble, a trying act of friendship! For a good man, one would even dare to die! Great was the peril especially of Leet, Davenport, and Gilbert! Inveterate the resentment of Kellond and Kirk! and pointed and pressing the remonstrances of the governor and secretary of Boston. The magistrates of New Haven colony were truly brought into great straits—

Cooke (Mrs. Sherman's father) used familiar-down Mrs. Eyers's house.

Judge Bishop, now mayor of the city of

was repeatedly searched for them. It is necessary to observe that this house was twice searched, and the circumstances are a little was by the pursuivants, when the judges went out at the back door, and returned and were secreted in the closet while the pursuivants ately after the pursuivants left the town, and between the 14th and 17th of May, when the search was made by Governor Leet's orders: when the doors were all set open, and Mrs. Eyers left the house for the searchers to come in and examine every room: this was by our people. In narrating these circumstances they are sometimes varied. Mrs. Sherman considers and speaks of the search, not as once only, but at several or different times. She says Mrs. Eyers had on one side of the room a large wainscotted closet, which she has often viewof pewter and brass, and a wainscot door, which, when shut, could not be distinguished work. Here she hid the judges .- It seems to true. her as if it were more than once.- That they used to frequent the house on Saturday afternoon, when sometimes she shut them up, and then opened all the doors, and walked abroad, leaving all open for the pursuivants to search. pursuers were foreigners or New Haven people? She said, she took it they were not foreigners, but our own officers. Here she seems a little to blend the circumstances .-Which may be easily explained, by considering the first search, made by the pursuivants, whom she might throw open all the doors but Prout, who married his sister. the closet door.

daughter, lived together all to great old ageber 17, 1740, when she must have been Davenport's, which he also knew, and all of above an hundred years old; and her son and oak and the best of joiner's work. There was The fidelity of their friendship heroic and ly to enquire, how the good old folks of that Judge Bishop, now mayor of the city of glorious! Davenport's fort and saved them! house did, where death did not enter? So New Haven, aged 70, tells me he received

Here follows a collection of scattered infor- much has been said of Mrs. Eyers, that I will add this characteristic description of her:

Mrs. Sherman described Mrs. Eyers, though Mrs. Sherman, relict of Mr. James Sher- not without imperfections, yet an excellent man, aged 86, a descendent from Governor person; as a small woman, of a sweet and Leet, whose daughter married a Trowbridge, pleasant temper, and of the greatest propriety from whom Mrs. Sherman. She tells me she of manners, to use her expressions, very gen-was born in Governor Jones's or in Governor teel and respectable, universally esteemed and Eaton's house, which had nineteen fire-places beloved, never did any thing wrong, but aland many apartments; where Goffe and ways with propriety and gracefulness, wast Whalley used to reside; that Mr. Davenport's much of a gentlewoman, neat, elegant, beautihouse also had many apartments, and thirteen ful, comely and graceful, admired by all genfire-places, which indeed I myself well re-tlemen of character, and her acquaintance member, having frequently, when a boy, been from abroad, who coming to town, would get all over the house. She says she knew John some of the genteelest people in town to go Dixwell, son of the regicide. She has the with them to pay her a visit—And every one, whole family history of the three judges as in high or low, always profited by her, were imthe families of Mansfield, Prout, and Trow- proved, instructed, and edified by her converbridge. She was, as I said, of the Trow-sation, and pleased when they could visit and bridge family. She was intimately acquainted spend an hour at her house. That she was bridge family. She was intimately acquainted spend an hour at her house. That she was with Mrs. Eyers, and is full of the story of rather reduced the latter part of her life, yet the judges being secreted at her house, which had the richest of apparel and furniture-Used to keep shop, but left off several years. That her intellectual powers were clear to the last -An excellent christian. I use Mrs. Sherblended in the different narratives. The first man's words in this description, writing them from her lips. She adds, that her father was Mr. Isaac Allerton, of Boston, a sea captain, who came early and settled in New Haven, were in the house. The other was immediand built a grand house on the creek with four porches, and this with Governor Eaton's, Mr. Davenport's, and Mr. Gregson's, were the grandest houses in town. The house highly finished: he had a fine garden with all sorts of flowers, and fruit trees, and in the best cultivation. Mr. Eyers was also a sea captain, pursuing foreign voyages up the Mediterranean and to the wine islands, and always had his cellar stored with wines and good liquors, and used to bring home much produce and foreign manufactures, and elegant, nuns' work. Both went long voyages, and both died abroad ed and admired: it had cut lights at top, full at sea near together, leaving her a young widow, who never marrried again. She possessed her father's brother's and husband's esfrom the wainscot, and all over the door, and tates. This respecting Mrs. Eyers. It is the on the outside of the closet, was hung braize- strong and concurrent tradition that the judges ry and elegant kitchen furniture, that no one were secreted at her house, some say in a would think of entering the closet on that breast chamber, some in a closet, probably both

Mr. Joseph Howell, merchant, tells me his grandfather Howell died here about 1772, aged 88. That he came from Long Island to live at New Haven, Æt. 13. That he has often heard him tell about the judges, and that In this connexion I asked her, whether the his grandfather used to say he knew two men that helped in laying out Dixwell, and he shewed this grandson Dixwell's grave. He told him the story of Goffe and Whalley's hiding themselves under the Neck bridge, and being under it while the pursuivants rode over it; and that they were the pursuers from and the last two days after by our officers, to Boston. Mr. Howell was intimate with Mr.

Captain Wilmot, aged 82, remembers the She says Mrs. Eyers, and her son and story of their being hid in Mrs. Eyers's house aughter, lived together all to great old age— when the pursuers came there. He rememthat she died about the hard winter, Novem- bers the old house, that it was grand, like Mr.

from his aged grandfather Bishop, with whom three assistants. Governor Leet, who follow-lical juncture. At length, August 1, 1661. he lived from his youth up, son of the governor, and who died 1748, aged 82, the tradition concerning the judges being hid under the bridge, and that the pursuivants were those who were sent from England. The judge remembers Mrs. Eyers. She was a small, plump, round woman, a worthy character. He remembers her old house, which he says was one of the grandest in town, like Mr. Davenport's and fit for a nobleman. She left three children, Simon, Lydia, and Benjamin. Simon was a considerable reader, and a great historian, and used often to spend the evening at his grandfather's, and converse upon old affairs. He has listened to their conversation many an hour. Benjamin settled on Long

General Ward, of Guilford, tells me it is the constant tradition at Guilford, that the two judges, Goffe and Whalley, were secreted three or four days, or more, in Governor Leet's stone cellar; and that the governor and all the family of the Leets were resolute and courageous. The reverend Mr. Fowler, and Henry Hill, Esq., of Guilford, concur in this and the general history of the judges, and particularly the Angel story, that of hiding under the bridge, and the humorous story of playing with the sword, or the fencing story. The same had been told me by Major Davenport, of Stumford, descended from the venerable patriarch at New Haven; by the reverend Mr. Whitney, of Brooklyn, in the eastern part of the government, and the reverend Mr. Bray, and others; indeed these stories are to be found scattered and circulating all over New England to this day.

Stephen Ball, Esq., tells me, that when the pursuers were here, one of the houses in which Whalley and Goffe absconded was Mrs. Evers's, who seeing them coming, sent the judges out the back door towards the fields, who returning immediately, she hid them in

Mrs. Evers.

Upon having recourse to the records, we have seen that in May, 1660, Francis Newman was elected governor, and William Leet deputygovernor: That Governor Newman died November 18, 1660: whereupon the administration devolved on Deputy-Governor Leet till May 29, 1661, when he was chosen governor, and Matthew Gilbert, deputy-governor; and Fenn, Treat and Crane, magistrates. But a fortnight before, when the pursuivants were here, those in office were, Leet, deputygovernor.-Gilbert, Treat and Crane, assistants. The town government of New Haven was in the hands of six townsmen, or select men, for the ordinary secular affairs, and four deputies or judges for New Haven court, all annually elective in the spring by the town, and the four judges confirmed and authorized hy the assembly. The six select men then in office were, Roger Alling, John Harriman, John Cooper, - Andrew, Henry Glover, Nicholas Elsey, and William Gibbard. Thomas Kimberly was marshal, who attempted with a warrant to take the judges, towards the Neck bridge, the morning of the arrival of the pursuivants. The matter however did not lie with these town officers, but with the officers of the general jurisdiction: These clined serving. They made no choice, such lect and apply illucidations at our own discrewere, as I said, the deputy governor and was the reluctance in all to serve at this crit-

Mr. Crane, from Branford, and then sent for and convened the magistrates of Milford and New Haven, and the four judges of New Haven court, who at this time were John Wakeman, John Nash, William Gibbard, secretary, and John Davenport jun, of whom Wakeman and Nash were also deputies to the jurisdiction court, or members of the legislature. These eight persons were all that were in the authoritative consultation, and that afternoon in great distress, were for a few hours on the point of issuing the warrant, which was actually begun to be written; and which was stayed upon their conceiving the expedient of referring it to the assembly, which they instantly called, and actually convened within four days, or the 17th of May. In this deliberation on the trying 13th, besides these eight persons, the governor, assistants, and four judges, who sat ostensibly in council, it is not to be doubted, but that they advised with the select men, and particularly with the reverend Mr. Davenport, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Jones, and others; and that their opinions had full weight, especially Mr. Davenport's and Mr. Jones's, who were most exposed and most deeply concerned. My idea of them is this, that the governor, though naturally firm. was in this pressure timid; Gilbert was bold and courageous, and resolute for saving the judges at all hazards, though a month after, upon the letters from Boston, he rather gave up. He and Treat coming in at the time of drawing the warrant, stopt it, Jones was enterprising, and had it been known, had really and knowingly done what would have been assuredly adjudged treason, which the others had not: Bishop was firm; he with Jones stood their ground: none were disposed to give up the judges at this time, if possible to save them; all saw and felt the danger, but that it would come upon Leet, Gilbert and her chamber. The least that can be made of Davenport, whom they were equally engaged all this is, that they were actually secreted by to save. Jones's activity was unknown to the pursuivants. The pressure was so great the afternoon of the consultation on 12th May, as that then, I believe, they would all have unanimously concurred in surrendering Goffe and Whalley, as Boston had done, had it not been for the wisdom, discernment, and firmness of Davenport. If he had shaken and failed, all would have been over and lost. It was Davenport's intrepidity that saved the

Mr. Jones was a new comer, having married Governor Eaton's daughter, an heiress, in London, 1659, he came over with his wife in the fall of 1660 to take possession of Governor Eaton's estate, and lived in his house opposite Mr. Davenport's. I presume it was his and Mr. Bishop's distinguishing themselves with firmness upon this occasion, that brought them immediately forward to civil improve-ment, and into the magistracy. Timidity seized the people of New Haven on this occasion of the judges, and made them cool to office. In less than ten days after the departure of the pursuivants, on May 23, 1661, John Nash and John Cooper, being chosen deputies to the general court, declined; and the same day, at a second choice, John Davenport, jun and John Nash, being elected, de-

ed the pursuivants, brought along with him John Cooper and James Bishop were elected, and they dared to accept. Mr. Jones had not been an inhahitant a year. However, the year following, May 23, 1662, William Jones was admitted a freeman, and nominated for magistrate; he soon came into the magistracy; and both he and Mr. Bishop became govern ors of Connecticut. They were well informed, firm and decided characters.

Further consideration brought New Haven almost to a conclusion of the necessity of surrendering the judges. Even the courageous Mr. Gilbert seemed to judge this expedient. It was undoubtedly the perseverance of Davenport, and his fidelity and heroism, that decided at this crisis also. And the judges retired to their cave. This was the last public appearance they ever made. From this time to their death they were buried in obscurity, neither was it safe for their numerous friends to know the places of their concealment and shifting residences. None wished to betray them; none wished to know where they were; all wished to be totally ignorant. A few however adventured to secure their retreat, and as guardians of a holy deposit to watch secure and protect them, although at the known risk of their lives, as protectors of traitors. Among these we may enumerate Mr. Jones, Mr. Burrill, and Mr. Sperry, at New Haven; Mr. Tomkins, and others, at Milford; and Mr. Russell and Mr. Tilton, at Hadley.-These perhaps were almost the only, at least the principal persons, with whom they had immediate communication, and through whose hands they received all their supplies. A few other persons might be knowing of their places of concealment, and might secretly and occasionally visit them, as Mr. Davenport and Mr. Bishop, at New Haven; Mr. Treat, at Milford; and Mr. Riehard Saltonstal and Governor Leverett, at Hadley. The rest of the country, it is probable, not only wished not to know any thing of them, but were ever in actual ignorance. Thus they were shut out and secluded from the world to their deaths.

Seet. 2.—Their secreted pilgrimages after their final abdication and evanescence from the world, June 24, 1661, to the last notice of them, in 1679.

This section will necessarily involve some repetitions, which may however be an illustration of the preceding period. It may be best to deliver the traditionary information collectively and promiscuously, just as it is received, respecting either the whole or part of their residence in New England. Every one will be able to select what falls within one period or another.—When we shall have selected what applies to one, there will be much left to illustrate the other. It is difficult to separate from the promiscuous mass of information, what belongs only to one, without losing some of the force of probability as to each. We must take narratives as they come to us, with all their attendant circumstances, and make the proper use, selection and appropriation ourselves. Some relate one thing, some another; some more, some less; some of one period, some of another; most deliver scattered notices of both collectively. We can se-

stances, as they lie or arise in their own minds, though much may be repetitions and superflu- four months. The harbours, lodgments, or extemporaneous lodgments in the woods, at ous, that we may more accurately discern and places, of their residence there, at different Mr. Riggs's and at St. George's cave. I have select that which is in point or to purpose. Often the same thing narrated simply and without circumstances, will yield a different to and shown them by the family of the Speraspect and force or weight, with from what it ry's still dwelling on that tract. The descripably persist in their feeling and ancestorial would without the circumstances and super- tion of them is as follows: fluous matter. And we easily select that which we need, and find different matter applicable to different subjects, even unthought of in the course of enquiry, and which the This might extend near half a mile westward sometimes the Harbour only, sometimes the narrators would not discern themselves, and if from the central square of the town. All be- Lodge near a spring. Within a few rods adthey did, would not disclose, or would be diffident and uncertain. And this may excuse and justify me, in bringing the same things repeatedly up to view in the course of this history, under different references, and for different purposes, as it may be with profitable retrospective application in variation of subjects already considered. Nor is it in the power of an historian always to bring together in one view the whole illustration of a subject. especially when such illustration may arise from subsequent events; which is peculiarly the case in developing secret history, which often requires a generation, or the period of many years, for a full, intelligible, and satisfactory investigation; and wherein, after the most diligent and assiduous search and enquiry, many things will remain obscure and dubious. and many things remain to be lost in irrecoverable oblivion.

Let us now trace out these exiled pilgrims in their several retreats, migrations, and secret residences.-To begin at New Haven where they first evanished into obscurity and oblivion. They retired from town to the west side of a rock or mountain, about 300 feet perpendicular, commonly called the West Rock, to distinguish it from the Neck Rock, to the N. E. of the town. The southern extremity of the Lodge at the spring, back in the wilder-only, and then went to the cave on the sum-West Rock lies about two and a half miles ness, and three miles N. W. from Sperrys. mit of the West Rock. And after perhaps a N. w. from the town. Between this, west- On this tract west of the mountain, there is month's residence, being affrighted from the ward, and a ridge of mountainous or rocky elevation, ranging N. and s. parrallel with the West Rock, lies an interjacent bottom, or plain, three miles long, containing a thousand or twelve hundred acres of excellent land, which Mr. Goodyear, a rich settler, had bought of judges and the places of their concealments; further westward into the wilderness, to Hatthe town, and on which he had planted his So that any and all of them point out the chet Harbour, their first transient place; which farmer, Richard Sperry, which farm Richard places with as much facility and precision from becoming thenceforth their more settled Sperry afterwards became possessed of, and as a New Haven man will point out Dixwell's residence, was called the Lodge. So that the now for above a century it has gone by the grave, or a Saybrook man point out Lady same place goes by the name of the Lodge name of Sperry's Farm. In the records I Butler's tomb now standing. Until Mr. W. self an opulent merchant, and always fol year had built Sperry an house; and in the stood the house of Ralph Lines. These were the only two houses in 1661 westward from at Derby or Paugasset. All was an immense

they secreted themselves between three and about in the wilderness, and made transient times, are known and shown to this day. often observed this to the inhabitants, and

or 410 acres westward of the town was clear- Newton's farm, and at a place called indiffered in a common field, called the ox pasture, ently by them all, sometimes Hatchet Harbour, yond was woods and wilderness. At two jacent to which is an eminence, called by the miles N. W. from the town was a mill. To this judges, the Fort or Lookout: as from thence mill the judges repaired 11th of May, 1661, and they commanded the view of New Haven, here they lodged two nights. On the 13th, seven miles off. Forty years ago, and many Jones, Burrill and Sperry, came to them in the years before the publishing of Hutchinson's woods near the south end of the mountain, and History, the very boys of a certain family and conducted them to Sperrys, about three miles neighbourhood three miles off, which cultifrom town. They provided for them "a vated a farm there, when asked where they place called Hatchet Harbour, where they were going to work that day, would answer, of a hill was prepared to conceal them. The but rather more commonly, to the Harbour, hill they called Providence hill: and there meaning this very place. This I have from they continued from the 15th of May to the some of the persons themselves now living. 11th of June; sometimes in the cave, and in This having been so constantly the undervery tempestuous weather in a house near standing and language of the inhabitants, of it."-Hutch. from Goffe's Journal. It is the Sperrys, and all the people to this day; somewhat to ascertain where Hatchet Har- and their never having heard of any other bour was. I have taken much pains to inquire place for Hatchet Harbour, had led me to conout this place from the Sperrys, and other inhabitants; and for a long time without satisfiles into the woods, determining to place them faction. Upon Gov. Hutchinson's History in absolute security and safety for a few days, coming out in 1764, the rev. Mr. Wood till the cave could be prepared, he carried bridge, the minister of that parish, made dili- them out into the wilderness to this recess; and gent inquiry for Hatchet Harbour: but he carrying a hatchet with them, or as constant told me he could not satisfy himself. Not but tradition says, finding one there at the spring, that upon enquiry he readily found that the lost there perhaps by some hunters, they cut people knew the story, and uniformly pointed down boughs of trees, and made a temporary out the place to be that, which was also called coverture, where they lodged a few nights now the large and well settled parish of Wood-cave by wild and ferocious animals, they bridge, of 150 or 200 families, chiefly peopled sought another place a mile or two northward, from New Haven and Milford, thoroughly on the rivulet at the foot of the same mountransfused and impregnated with the stories of the Sperrys and Lines, concerning the dogs in hunting, they removed three miles find, April 23, 1660, "Mrs. Goodyear and her expressed his doubts, they never were more farmer Sperry." Mr. Goodyear brought at a loss to point out Hatchet Harbour, than chet Harbour, they went to the cave. From farmers with him out of England, being him- the cave or clump of rocks called the cow and Sperrys they ascended the west side of Procalves; and as uniformly made that and the vidence hill to this cave. But why this cave lowed commerce. On this tract Mr. Good- lodge the same. And now ask a Sperry or should be spoken of as being in "the side of any Woodbridge man, where was Hatchet the hill," I cannot conceive, unless it might so woods about one mile S. W. from Sperry's, Harbour? and they constantly say, at the appear to the judges, for the cave is high up Spring or Lodge, to this day: and never the hill, even on the very summit; although heard of any other place. Mr. Woodbridge's being enveloped in woods, they might not es-New Haven, between this West Rock and difficulty lay here: Governor Hutchinson pecially at first consider it as on the summit: Hudson's river, unless we except a few houses places it in the side of a hill, called Providence it is however on the very top of the West hill, which was doubtless the West Rock; Rock, and about half or three quarters of a wilderness. Indeed all the environs of New and says that their concealment here was only mile from the southern extremity. This cave Haven was wilderness, except the cleared two nights, and this at the beginning of their then I shall consider as their first station or tract about half a mile or a mile around the exile from New Haven. Now tradition here harbour, as they called all their residences town, which was laid out and built with 100 makes it a place three miles off, of a longer, lodges, harbours, or Ebenezers, without acor 120 houses on a square half mile, divided and for a time a settled residence, and their counting their short lodgments of two nights into nine squares. Behind the West Rock last abode before they went and settled at each at the mill and at Hatchet Harbour,

a court of law, it is best to suffer them freely therefore was, in 1661, a very secure retreat to narrate their testimony and knowledge, each in his own way, with the attendant circum-for these exiles. At and about this mountain for three months, they at times wandered tradition, that Hatchet Harbour is three or Let it be observed that at this time, about 3 four miles off of the West Rock, on Mr. lay two nights; until a cave or hole in the side to the Harbour, or to the Lodge indifferently,

tain: but being discovered by the Indian's or Harbour, to this day.

To return: after lodging two nights at Hat-

south end of Sperry's farm, in which Joseph now lives, not half a mile west from the ave, which Joseph shewed me. There is a noteh which I ascended along a very steep acclivity up to the cave. From the south end of the mountain for three or four miles northward, there is no possible ascent or descent on the west side, but at this notch, so steep is the precipice of the rock. I found the cave to be formed, on a base of perhaps forty feet square, by an irregular, clump or pile of rocks, or huge broad pillars of stone, fiteen and twenty feet high, standing erect and elevated above the surrounding superfices of the mountain, and enveloped with trees and forest. These rocks coalescing or contiguous at top, furnished hollows or vacuities below, big enough to contain bedding and two or three persons. The apertures being closed with boughs of trees or otherwise, there might be found a well covered and convenient lodgment. Here, Mr. Sperry told ne, was the first lodgment of the judges, and it has ever since gone and been known bythe name of the judges' cave to this day. Coffe's Journal says, they entered this cave ne 15th of May, and continued in it till the 11th of June following. Richard Sperry daily supplied them with victuals from his house, about a mile off; sometimes carrying it himself, at other times sending it by one of his boys, tied up in a cloth, ordering him to lay iron a certain stump and leave it; and when ne boy went for it at night he always found the basons emptied of the provisions, and frought them home. The boy wondered at it and used to ask his father the design of it, and he saw no body. His father only told hin there was somebody at work in the goods that wanted it. The sons always repembered it, and oftentold it to persons now living, and to Mr. Joseph Sperry particularly.

They continued here till 11th of June. Mr. Joseph Sperry told me that the incident which broke them up from this cave was this, that this mountain being a haunt for wild animals, one night as the judges lay in bed, a panther, or eatomount, putting his head into the door or aperture of the cave, blazed his eye-balls in such a hideous manner upon them, as greatly affrighted them. One of them was so terrified by this grim and ferocious monster, her eyes and her squawling, that he took to his heels, and fled down the mountain to Sperry's house for safety. They thereupon considered this situation too dangerous, and quitted it. All the Sperry families have this tradition.

Mr. Joseph Sperry also told me another anecdote. That one day the judges being at Mr. Richard Sperry's house, some persons appeared riding up towards the housethrough a causey over the meadows, so that they could be seen fifty or sixty rods off; who by their apparel, and particularly their red coats, were by the family immediately taken to be, not our own people, but enemies. They were the English pursuivants unexpectedly returned from New York, or Manhados.-Upon which the guests absconded into the woods salubrious. The whole on both sides of the of the adjoining hill, and concealed themselves river was, in 1785, enveloped in trees and fo-

In 1785 I visited aged Mr. Joseph Sperry, behind Savin rock, twenty rods west of Sperthen living, aged 76, a grandson of the first ry's house. When the pursuivants came to Richard, a son of Daniel Sperry, who died the house, and enquired of the family for the Richard, a son of Daniel Sperry, who is the said they knew not where the whole family tradition. Daniel was the but had gone into the woods. I have long but had gone into the woods. I have long ago often heard this story of the pursuivants' actually surprising the judges at Sperry's house, and that it was unexpectedly and when in the mountain against Joseph's house, through they were off their guard, and upon their unexpected return from New York. Yet by Hutchinson they returned to Boston by water. But it has always been the tradition at New Haven that they returned here, and by corruption of servants learned this retreat at Sperry's, and made this sudden irruption to surprise and take them. That they came there, and came unexpectedly, whether on 14th May, before they went out of town, or afterwards upon a return, I think there can be no doubt.

I have described their first residence in the cave on the rock. Mr. Sperry told me of two others, one about two miles north, and the third at the Lodge and Fort, so called, about four miles north-west in the wilderness. These I afterwards visited.

The second residence is a little more dubious than the first and last, which are unquestionably certain. It was about two miles and a half north of the first, on the west bank of a rivulet running along at the foot of the west side of the West Rock, and about half a mile north of the house of Thomas Darling Esq. This gentleman was a man of literature and solid judgment, and the most inapt to credulity, especially of fables, of any man. Retiring from town many years ago, he settled on a paternal estate at the upper end of Sperry's house. He had been conversant with the Sperrys and their traditions for many years, and was fully convinced that this place was one of the residences of the judges. In August 1786, he went with me and shewed me the spnt of their little domicile, when some of the wall or stone ruins were then remaining. I examined it with close attention, and made a drawing of it on the spot, one of the Sperrys being with us, and affirming the immemorial tradition, and herein concurring with Mr. Joseph Sperry, who referred me to the same

It was, as has been said, at the foot of the mountain on the western bank of a small rivulet, which runs along the west side of the West Rock; the spot just five miles and a half from Yale College. Descending a steep bank, or brow of the hill of upland, sixteen feet, we came to a bottom, or level, forty feet wide, four or five feet above the water of the rivulet or brook, which I measured thirty-four feet wide at that place. This bottom, or level, extended along the bank, on the edge of the river, fifty-four rods, under the brow of the hill, being two to three rods wide. It was a beautiful, shady and pleasant ambulaerum. or walk. The upland on the west side is a level of twenty feet above the river. From under the western brow issues a perpetual spring about the middle of the ambulacrum, running in a perpetual pleasant brook or stream along under the western brow, and discharging into the rivulet. The rest of the bottom is not wet and marshy, but dry and

rest, and yet the bottom was not so charged with trees as to be impassible, being only a pleasant shady retreat, in which a philosopher might walk with delight. Near the upper end of this walk, closed in at each end by the curve brow of the hill coming down to the very brink of the rivulet, which situate the hut of the judges, under the side or brow of the hill. Evident traces of it remained in 1785. It was partly dug out of the side of the hill, and built with stone wall, about eight feet one way and seven the other. The western wall was yet standing perhaps three feet high, and a remnant of the north wall .-The site, when I saw it, was filled with weeds and vegetables, and bushes, in the manner of old cellars, for it seemed to have been dug out a little lower than the surrounding surface of the bottom. The remainder of the stone work evidently showed that it had been built with design: and unvaried tradition say it was one of the abodes of the judges. They could not have chosen a more secret, hidden, and pleasant concealment. They probably came to it next after they fled from the first cave, which they left 11th of June. In the twelve days succeeding they were in great uncertainty whether to surrender or not. It is not improbable that in this space of time they resided in Sperry's house, or perhaps in the adjacent woods part of the time, and part of it shewing themselves at New Haven, as well as at Governor Leet's in Guilford. But concluding not to surrender as yet, they, on 24th of June, went into their wilderness retirement. Let us suppose they now went into this second cave lodgment, or residence by the rivulet. For some reason however they do not seem to have sojourned here long: The Sperry's farm tradition says, because the Indian dogs in hunting discovered them. They therefore sought another lodgment. If Governor Hutchinson had made more copious extracts from Goffe's Journal, we doubtless should have had more particular descriptions. He speaks of The Cave, whereas there were undoubtedly three residences in three different places, although all three at and behind the West Rock.

The third place of their abode in the vicinity of New Haven, was at a place called to this day, The Lodge. It was situated at a spring in a valley, or excavation in a declivity, about three miles west, or a little northwest, from the last mentioned residence. A little northward of it was an eminence called the Fort to this day, from whence there was an extensive and commanding prospect, and a full view of New Haven harbour to the s. E. seven miles off. From this they could see the vessels passing in and out of the harbour. When they came to this abode is uncertain; it was in the summer. And they left it and removed to Milford August 1661; after having resided in and about New Haven for near half a year. from 7th of March, to 19th of August, 1661. During this time they had two other occasional lodgments in the woods; one at the house of Mr. Riggs, newly set up in the wilderness, at Paugasset or Derby; another between that and Milford. They were sometimes also at Tokoket or Branford. Thus they shifted about, secretly changing their

I have never been able to determine with precision the true place of Hatchet Harbour. whither Sperry earried the two judges and lodged them for the first two or three nights after the 13th of May, until he had prepared another lodge for them on the top of West Rock. I had thought it was near his house, at a hole on the side or precipice of that rock. Afterwards I became satisfied it was not there but some miles N. w. from his house. The territory from this mountain westward, as indeed that of all New England, is like the hill country of Judea, a land of hills and vallies. On a tract about a mile square, and lying four miles N. w. from Sperry's, there are four hills, or eminences, between which there are vallies and intercurrent brooks. The boundary line between Milford and New Haven passing here, its frequent perambulation has given notoriety and continued memorial of the names of several places in this territory; names taken from the residence of the judges there. And these are entered in the public records both of those towns and of the colony.

On the northern declivity of one of these hills issues a small perennial spring, between two trees, a walnut and chesnut, now three and four feet in diameter, and judged to be two hundred years old, standing twenty feet apart. This fountain is stoned as if with design, and probably remaining as the judges left it. Tradition says that when they came to this spring, one of them said, " Would to God we had a hatchet' -- and immediately finding a hatchet, left there probably by the Indian hunters, they cut down boughs and built a temporary harbour, from this circumstance called Hatchet Harbour to this day. Not indeed that all agree in indigitating this particular spring, though most do; while all agree in placing Hatchet Harbour somewhere on this mile square territory, to which they also universally gave the name of "the Lodge," and "the Harbour," "the Spring,"
"Hatchet Harbour," "the Fort," "the Look Out," "Homes's fort," and "Providence hill." For different parts of this little territory go by these names, which are frequently used promiscuously and indifferently for any and all parts of it. But I believe that this spring was Hatchet Harbour. On an eminence west of this, by the side of a ledge of rocks twenty feet high, was built a cave, or convenient lodgment, ten feet long and seven feet wide, regularly stoned. I find the walls now remaining, though somewhat broken down. It was covered with trunks of trees, which remained, though much rotten and decayed, till within forty years ago: indeed 1 saw some of the rudera, rafters, or broken relics, limbs and trunks of trees, still lying in the cavity. This was undoubtedly their great and principal lodge, and in a very recluse and secreted place. There is a beautiful spring six rods from it. A most convenient and secure situation for exile and oblivion. This lodgment is fifty rods cast of deacon Peck's, on whose farm it is situated, and about one hundred rods west from Milford line: as Hatchet Harbor, or spring (at which I found an Indian stone god) is situate about as far east of that line, on Mr. Newton's farm. Between these two hills, and directly in this line, is a valley immemorially and to this day called "Hatchet Valley," lying nearly in equal proximity to both springs. The true spot of Hatchet Harbour is lost, while all agree Clarke in 1616, of land on the hill below, to 1639, was then seventeen years old. He in referring it to this small territory, and most his son, he describes it as being at a place married the only daughter and child of Mr. speak of Mr. Newton's spring as the place. called the lodge, or Morocco. Betwixt these Edmund Tapp one of the first and principal

1675, "Homes's fort"-perhaps a name ac- from what it had its name I cannot learn, quired before the judges' coming there. It little east of Providence hill, on the New Haresidence, but for a look out and prospect into the fort, and I think used to be called the lodge New Haven town and harbour, seven miles too, when I was a lad.—There is a tract of off. From hence it was called indifferently land lying on Milford side, beginning as far " Homes's fort."

north of the great or convenient lodgment, on that in perambulating the lines betweet Newdeacon Peck's farm, lies another hillock or Haven and Milford, early in Governor Law's eminence, called to this day, and in the re-day, they say they fixed bounds on Homes's cords so early as 1675, "Providence bill:" race: that they went northward and set up between which and fort rock's hill is a valley another on the lodge; and further on, and fixand brook. Between these two bills runs the ed another at Baden's brook, at the mouth of dividend line of the towns of Milford and Station brook, a small run of water coming New Haven. Milford tradition is that it acout from Homes's fort. Why these are called quired that name thus: While the judges re- Homes's race and fort, I cannot learn. 'Squire sided at the lodge on the southern hill, they Strong says he always supposed it was from apprehended themselves discovered and purthe judges assuming hat name; but does not sued, while walking upon the tops of hills, recollect he ever heard so. There never and the Indians always burned rings on tracts was any person in this town of that name as on those summits, to give a clear view for I can find. I have enclosed you a plan reprehunting deer: supposing themselves dis-senting those places, which may make them covered they took to the bush, and to deceive more intelligible to you. The lodge is just their pursuers ranged a north course between twelve miles from Milford, and I judge about the hills, and giving them a false scent, turned seven from New Haven, Leacon Peck, who off to the westward, and came round the hill has lived on the lodge about fifty years, and to their old place in security. On account of has heard many things from its ancestors on this deliverance they called this northwestern this subject, particularly from the aforesaid hill Providence hill. It is said there are still Mr, Clarke, his father-in-law; but does not the remains of another cave at the south-east seem now to recollect much about them; but declivity of fort rocks, supposed and tra- this he seems to fully recollect, that while the ditioned to have also been one of the judges' judges lived here they had their provisions burrows. However, all these several lodg-[from one Sperry's house, in Spery's farm,

and another in the woods half way between probably at the Beaver ponds; thence they Derby and Milford, give, I believe, all their lodgments at and about New Haven: and these inclusive of one at Totoket and Guilford, give all their lodgments in Connecticut, the lodge. I hear a Mr. Clarke, now 80 years for three years and an half, and until their old, son to George, and lives near the lodge, final removal and absorption in Hadley, where says it was so called from the circumstance of

they ended their days.

Letter from Dr. Carrington. "Reverend and dear Sir,

deacon Peck. Near an hundred years ago tradition is, that a person by the name of transfer. To the northward of this about a town have heard their ancestors tell about the mile, and on the north side of the road to Ox- judges, but seem not to recollect any thing ford, is an hill at this day called Providence particular about them, except they all agree hill. 'Squire Strong, who is now above of their living at Tomkins's house. The first eighty years old, tells me that full sixty years law book of New Haven colony, you enquired ago he was on this hill in company with a Mr. of me about, published in Governor Eaton's George Clarke, then an old man, and who day, 'Squire Strong tells me he has seen in then lived a little east of the hill; he told Mr. Edward's library at Hartford. The them that was Providence hill, and that it had judges were probably known to Governor its name from the judges residing there. He Treat, for he was at that time a man of great adds, this Mr. Clarke was an intelligent note in this town. He was born in 1622, man .- And in a deed excuted by this Mr. came here from Hartford with the planters in

Across a valley, and fifty or sixty rods north two hills there is a brook of water running of this spring, lies a very rocky hill, called to this day "the fort," and in the town patents was so by the records, as early as 1700, but was however a place they frequented, not for ven side, is an hill which is commonly called "the fort rocks," "the fort," "the look out," north as Amity meeting-house, and running south three or four miles, which has always West of this, and about one hundred rods been called the race. I find in the records, ments hereabouts, may be properly compre-hended under the general name, "the lodge." ling's land. Hutchinson says they let New-These, with one at Paugasset or Derby, Haven, and lodged in a mill; this mil was their finding a hatchet there the first night they came there; but I have not seen him to to make the enquiry myself .- 'Squire Strong "Milford, September 1st, 1794 tells me he has heard his mother tell of their living in Tomkins's stone cellar; that a num-"I find by examining the town records of ber of girls spinning above, sung a royal song, Milford, that the place called the lodge is the counting on the regicides, not knowing they high lands a little to the westward of Captain were below and heard them-the place called Enoch Newton's house, the now farm of George's cellar. 'Squire Strong tells me the this land is described to be at a place called the lodge, above the head of Mill river, and was, or from whence he came, there is none is so described ever since in the deeds of can give any account. The old people in this

planters. He intended to have returned to Hartford, but his wife's parents, and the planters, persuaded him to tarry in the plantation, and they made him grants of lands to induce him to tarry with them; he lived with Mr. Tapp, at least his house was on Mr. Tapp's lot. Mr. Tapp's great grandson, and Governor Treat's grandson, Mr. Edmund Treat, now eighty years old, lives on and owns the farm lot, together with many other pieces of land, that was Mr. Tapp's and Governor Treat's The first lands taken up by the first planters, are in many instances yet in the same families, as the Pruddens, Clarkes, Fenns, Fowlers, &c. Governor Treat appears by the records to have had the principal direction of the plantation very early, as in building of the ineeting house, which was 30 feet square, and stood where the steeple of the present stands. He is often mentioned in the records, and appears as deputy-governor first in 1678-as governor in 1682, and until 1699—from that time until 1708 he again appears as deputygovernor. 'Squire Strong tells me that on the return of General Winthrop from England, as agent, in 1698, Governor Treat requested Mr. Winthrop might have the chair, and he was accordingly chosen governor, and Colonel Treat deputy-governor. Mr. Winthrop died, it appears by our records, in 1707, and upon the 17th of December, 1707, Deputy-governor Treat convened the assembly at New Haven, informed them of the death of the governor, that he had convened them that they might make choice of one, agreeable to charter. Governor Treat was at this time 86 years old, and probably declined public business any more, for I do not find any further mention of him after this in the records. He died July 12th, 1710. It is recorded also on his tomb-stone, that he served in the post of governor and deputy-governor nigh thirty years. The assembly, in 1707, made choice of Governor Saltonstall, but as he was not in the nomination, and by law they could not choose any one out of the nomination, before they gave him the qualifying oaths, which was on the first of January, 1708, they repealed the law so far as respects the choice of governor and deputy-governor, and left them to the choice out of the freemen at large, which has continued ever since. This transaction is on our town records.

"I am inclined to believe that Bladens brook, Homes's fort and Race, the Lodge, or Morocco, all had their names from the judges, as well as Providence hill; but at this day there is none can inform, Goffe's Diary, which Hutchinson mentions he had, might refer to these places, and point them out as it did Providence hill, where they lodged. Hutchinson says their letters are dated at places not known, to prevent their discovery. Morocco I should suppose it likely for them to write from, as Ebenezer. When I found these places in the records I expected to have got further information from the aged people; but they in general do not recollect with sufficient certainty to establish facts .- Your information may explain these records, or they may possibly help to explain some matters you have doubted of. There is a Mr. Valentine Wilmot now living in Bethany, an old man, whom I have not seen many years; he knew all the ancient people at Sperry's farm,

He intended to have returned to can recollect of the man, is likely to have heard and retained some anecdotes about the judges. I am, Sir,—with respect,

Your most humble servant, EDWARD CARRINGTON.

Reverend Doctor Styles.

"P. S. There is a tradition of a very eurious sepulchre found many years ago, about two miles northwest of the Lodge; that it was in the side of some rocks, that it was made of stones laid by hands in a very regular manner; and when opened a corpse was found in it, at least the bones of a man supposed to be six feet and a half high. It was accidentally found by removing the stones for a building."

From their lodgments in the woods the judges removed and took up an asylum in the house of Mr. Tomkins, in the centre of Milford, thirty or forty rods from the meetinghouse. Governor Law afterwards bought this house and lot, and built his scat within a rod or two of it. I have frequently been in this house of Tomkins's in the governor's life time, who died 1750, aged 73: it was standing since 1750, and perhaps to 1770. In this house the judges resided in the most absolute concealment, not so much as walking out into the orchard for two years. I have not learned who were privy to the concealment here. The minister at this time was the reverend Roger Newton. He with Mr. Treat and Mr. Fenn, and a few others here were in the secret, and held interviews with them in this secret retirement. But it is strange that the very memory of their residence there is almost totally obliterated from Milford. I do not find a single person of Milford, or of Milford extract, except judge Law, now of New London, born at Milford, the governor's son, and Gideon Buckingham, Esq. of Milford, now living, who is possessed of any idea or tradition of the judges having ever lived there at all. Judge Law is fully possessed of the matter, and corrects Governor Hutchinson's account, who places Tomkins's house between New Haven and Milford, whereas he informs me it stood in the very centre of the town of Milford, and on his father's home lot. This house. it is said, was built for the judges on Tomkins's lot, a few rods from his house. It was a building, say twenty feet square, and two stories. The lower room built with stone wall, and considered as a store. The room over it with timber and wood, and used by Tomkins's family as a work or spinning room. The family used to spin in the room above. igno rant of the judges being below, where they resided two years, without going abroad so much as into the orchard. Judge Buckingham tells me this story, the only anecdote or notice I could ever learn from a Milford man now living. While they sojourned at Milford, there came over from England a ludicrous cavalier ballad, satarizing Charles's judges, and Goffe and Whalley among the rest. A spinstress at Milford had learned to sing it, and used sometimes to sing it, in the chamber over the judges; and the judges used to get Tomkins to set the girls to singing that song for their diversion, being humoured and pleased with it, though at their own expense, as they were the subjects of the ridicule. The girls knew nothing of the matter, being ignorant of the innocent device, and little was a great hunter, and I believe from what I thought that they were serenading angels.

But however the memory of the judges is obliterated at Milford, not so at Guilford, New Haven and Hadley. Here I resume their situation before their final abdication. It is in constant tradition at Guilford, not only that they actually were here, but were for some time, at least for several days, secreted at Governor Leet's. They speak of two circumstances: 1st That the governor, though a cordial friend to them, was filled with great anxiety and distress lest he should be brought into danger and trouble by their being there, and took the utmost precaution concerning their concealment, that he might be safe and secure from incurring blame. And to this end, 2d. He would not suffer them to be lodged in his house, but made them lodge in his stone cellar. Now it is difficult to account for this tradition, on the supposition of only their transient visit and calling upon him, and even lodging with him, in their way from Governor Winthrop's in New London, to New Haven, which they certainly did on 7th of March: for there really was no danger of impeachment for the harbouring and concealing traitors, till after he had, on 10th May, reeeived a copy of the royal mandate. Governor Winthrop felt no danger, nor did Governor Leet, till the 10th of May. He might be tenderly anxious and solicitous for the regieides themselves, and for the manner he must be called to conduct in the affair, but not for his incurring any penalty by this act of hospitality even to travelling traitors, whom he had no orders, nor by office as chief magistrate was then holden or obliged to apprehend. Nor would he at that time have lodged them in his cellar. But the case was much altered after the 10th of May, and every body was put into terror and caution after that. judges certainly were not at Guilford after they went to New Haven, during the space of from 7th of March to 10th of May, when the governor told Kellond and Kirk that he had not seen them for nine weeks. Although it is probable that he immediately, or in a few days after 7th March, followed the judges to New Haven, there to take counsel and concert measures how to act concerning them, of which there is a flying tradition; yet if so, he saw them no more till after the 10th of May. After this, it became really dangerous for the governor to be concerned in the concealment. From their first coming in March, to 11th June, they certainly were not seen by the governor. Between this and 20th of June was the only space in which they could be at the governor's, for they were exposed three days in New Haven, and retired to their cave June 24th. These eight or nine days it was in deliberations to deliver them up, and Mr. Gilbert gave out that he expected it. Let us conceive that they had concluded to surrender. and went over with their friends, doubtless Jones, if not Davenport, to the governor, to surrender. Deliberating when they came there, they might consider that the only person in real danger was Mr. Davenport, and if he would risk the matter, the concealment might go on. The formal and actual surrendery they might hold in suspense. But this took up time, and perhaps they must lodge in Guilford a night or two. How should this be ordered so as to save the governor? Here might be room for the appearance of the governor's timidity and caution; which might

nor safe that they should lodge in the go-mands. For these and other reasons, it was vernor's house; and to avoid this they should, concluded not to insist on their surrendery; during these few days secretion, take up their and accordingly they were left to retire from abode in the stone cellar, and perhaps in Mr. this concealment in the governor's cellar, and Rossseter's house.

they went over to Guilford with the bona fide and actual view of surrendering themselves to Governor Leet. The governor's house was situated on the eastern bank of the rivulet that passes through Guilford. He had a store on the bank a few rads from his house, and under it a cellar remaining to this day, and which I lately (1793) visited and viewed with 7, 1662. attention. It is, as I have said, still in the general and concurrent tradition at Guilford, an) Rosseter, of Guilford, and his son, John that the judges were concealed and lodged in Rosseter: The marshal of Guilford had this cellar several nights, most say three days and three nights, when the governor was afraid to see them. A daughter of Governor Leet afterwards married in New Haven to Mr. Trowbridge. It is an anecdote still preserved in that family, that she used often to say that, when she was a little girl, these good not in being in New England; there being men lay concealed some time in this cellar of only majors and no colonels in Massachusetts, her father's store; but that she did not know it till afterwards: that she well remembered that at the time of it, she and the rest of the children were strictly prohibited from going near that store for some days, and that she and the children wondered at it and could not conceive the reason of it at that time, though they knew it afterwards. Tradition says that they were however constantly supplied with ernor now having demonstration by the actual victuals from the governor's table, sent to them by the maid, who long after was wont to all times stand ready to surrender, and it being glory in it, that she had fed these heavenly men. Now this caution could not be at their always be known to him, so that they could be first interview with the governor, at their passing at Governor Winthrop's from New London to New Haven, in March. On the 12th of May, Leet told the pursuivants that he had not seen them in nine weeks, nor was it dangerous, as I have said, for any one to see them till that time, when he first received the king's proclamation. He doubtless studiously avoided seeing them, ever after this .- This hiding in the cellar must therefore have been after 12th of May, and indeed after the 11th of June; and I conceive it to have been at the time when Mr. Gilbert gave out of good intelligence, tells me, 1793, that her that he looked when they should have come in and surrendered, as he might say with truth, if he knew they were gone to Guilford with lins (formerly Mrs. Trowbridge) was Goverit would not have been proper for the gover- her say, that she remembered the children of nor to see them until they actually surrendered, it was natural so to contrive the matter, cellar, but could not then conceive for what that they should lie concealed in this cellar, reason. But she was afterwards informed, during the two or three days' consultation and ever after supposed the two judges were and deliberation on what was necessary and concealed there. Mrs. Collins might be four best to be done. This therefore was a proper time, and here was sufficient reason for all the caution and injunctions upon the family, to former, although of the same fact, and conavoid and not go near that store, a thing long current with other information. after remembered by the governor's daughter, and narrated in her very old age, within the memory of persons now living.—Perhaps Mr. Davenport himself was in this consultation, as being conceived to be the principal person in danger. Upon revolving and discussing the matter, they must have perceived the solidity the governor were safe if they had never any the only man in danger, and if he felt his danger in 1664.

thing more to do with the judges after the rethen to surrender. And this would bring the

returned to New Haven; and after shewing There is, as I have said, reason to think that themselves openly there from 20th to 24th of June, retired to their cave at Providence hill. This was undoubtedly the time, the dangerous time, when they were so cantiously concealed

> Connected with this is another anecdote, which I extract from the records;

At a General Court at New Haven, May

Considering the case of Mr. Brayton (Brywaited upon them for colony rates, the father not at home. In conversation with the son, the marshal " told him, his father should bring in an account of his charges about the colo-NELS, &c.

Now at that day, that military office was Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth or Rhode Island. Were not these Colonels Goffe and Whalley? and don't this concur in evidencing that they resided some time at least in Guilford in 1661? Doubtless they resided in the governor's cellar, and at Mr. Rosseter's from the 11th to 20th of June. Mr. Davenport standing firm, and the govsurrendery of the judges, that they would at agreed that the places of their retreat should given up in case of extremeties, he felt himself safe, and could agree to postpone the actual acceptance of their surrendery to a future time, if it should be absolutely necessary.

Madam Dexter, of Dedham, originally of Boston, whom I saw 1793, aged 92, tells me she had formerly been acquainted with a pious woman at Dedham, who used often to glory that she had lived with, served and ministered to these holy men; but when asked would never say where it was.

An aged woman now living in New Haven, grandmother Collins died about 1744, aged S7, when she was aged 17 or 18. Mrs. Colthe family were for a time forbid the stone or five years old in 1661. This is a distinct branch of traditionary information from the

It is difficult to conceive how any thing less than this should be sufficient for the tradition at Guilford .- If this scene really took place, what commanded the ultimate determination? Suppose it was this, that they should return to New Haven, appear openly, and not only clear Mr. Davenport from then still concealof Mr. Davenport's reasons, that both he and ing them, but confer with Mr. Davenport,

terminate in a conclusion that it was not best | ceipt of the king's proclamation and com- | whole matter upon Mr. Davenport. If he gave out, all was gone. Mr. Davenport was a great man in every respect, a great civilian, a great and deep politician, as well as divine, and of intrepid resolution and firmness: and was a much deeper man, of greater discernment in public affairs, and every way superior in abilities to the governor and all concerned. He saw they all gave up. He, like mount Atlas, stood firm, and alone resolutely took the whole upon himself. Better than any of the counsellors, he knew that the secreting he had done to the 30th of April, and whatever could have been done before the arrival of the royal mandate, could be vindicated by the laws of hospitality to unconvicted criminals, and could not a court of law be construed into even a misprison of treason. It might subject him to some inconveniences, perhaps prosecutions, but could not be fatal: a thing which perhaps the others doubted. Supported by his good sense and deep discernment, he therefore felt himself secure, and stood firm; not out of obstinacy, which was indeed natural to him, but with an enlightened and judicious stability. What staggered Governor Endicott, a man of heroic fertitude, and other hearts of oak at Boston, never staggered Mr. Davenport. He alone was firm, unshaken. unawed. Great minds display themselves on trying and great occasions. He was the man for this trying occasion. Davenport's enlightened greatness, fidelity and intrepidity, saved the judges.

They having shewn themselves three days

at New Haven, though doubtless cautiously, on the 24th of June, as I have said, retired to their cave, and closed their last open intercourse with the world. Here they continued about two months longer, and then, on the 19th of August, 1661, removed to the house of a Mr. Tomkins in Milford. Here they lived secreted two years without going into the orchard. Afterwards their religious meetings and exercises, as it is said, gave them too much notoriety to continue there any longer; and they were obliged to meditate a removal to a more secret asylum. This was undoubtedly accelerated by the news of the arrival of the commisioners at Boston, 1664, one of whose instructions from the king was, to make enquiry for Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe. They sought for the most remote frontier settlement; and the friends provided for their reception at the house of the express design of surrendering. And as nor Leet's daughter. She has often heard the reverend John Russel, minister of the new settled town of Hadley, one hundred miles off, upon Connecticut river, in Massa-chusetts. They removed from Milford to Hadley on the 13th of October, 1664, after a residence and pilgrimage of three years and seven months, at New Haven and Milford. They travelled only in the night, and lay hy in the day time, making little stations or arbours, which they called harbours, when in the woods on their journey. One of the little rests or harbours of these pilgrims, was near the ford of a large brook or rivulet, which we pass in the way to Hartford, just twenty miles from New Haven, or half way to Hartford, and one mile west of Meriden meeting-house: which circumstance has given the name of Pilgrims harbour to this place or pass, to this day. From thence they proceeded to Hadley

They kept a diary or journal of occurences

for the first seven years of their exile, after they left London, at Boston, New Haven, and Milford, and then at Hadley. These with their letters, and perhaps other writings, were left in the hands of Mr Russel, of Hadley, till his death, 1692; and passed down to his son, who died 1711, having removed them to Barnstable; and thence to his grandson, the succeeding minister of Barnstable, where they were preserved to his death, 1758. About this time, or perhaps 1759, or 1760, Mrs Otis, of Barnstable, an aged widow lady, removed from Barnstable, and came to live with her son, Major Jonathan Otis of Newport, and became for many years a communi-cant in my church there. This brought me into an intimate acquaintance with her. She was a Russel, a granddaughter of the reverend John Russel, of Hadley, daughter of the reverend Jonathan Russel, of Barnstable, and sister of the reverend Jonathan Russel, successor of his father in the pastoral charge of the church at Barnstable, who died 1758. She was every way a woman of merit and excellence. Of exceeding good natural abilities, very inquisitive, possessed a natural decency, dignity and respetability, and was a person of considerable reading, and extensive observation. She had all along in life been much conversant among ministers, gentlemen of the court, and persons of the first respectability. She was ever learning and imbibing something profitable and improving, and took singular delight in the conversation of instructive characters. She was perfectly versed in the Russel history of the judges, for whose memory she had the family veneration. So much I think necessary to observe of her personal character. Among other conversations, she often brought up the story of the judges She considered it an honour to have descended from an ancestor who had concealed and protected them. She often told me of a trunk of Whalley's and Goffe's manuscripts which which had come down to her brother, the second Mr. Russel, of Barnstable, and were preserved there in his library to his death. She said she had spent much time in reading them, and spake much of what she found contained in them. What was given to the Mather library, was but a very small part of the collection of the judges' manuscripts in this trunk, some of which, though dispersed, may possibly yet be found, and afford light and information.

When I read Governor Hutchinson's history, published in 1764, and particularly his marginal notes about the regicides, I instantly recollected this information of Mrs. Otis respecting this collection of manuscripts, and at first judged that this was the source from whence the governor derived his documents. Lieutenant-governor Hatchinson was then chief justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts. I at once considered, that in riding the circuit, when holding the court in the county of Barnstable, he came across this trunk of the judges' manuscripts, and selected from thence the accurate and authentic infor- S. T. Malevern, mation which he published. But afterwards the governor told me, that he had never heard of this collection of manuscripts in the hands of Mr. Russel, of Barnstable; and that his J. Moore, information was derived from original auto- I. Alured, graphical writings, which he had found among | H. Edwards, the papers and manuscripts preserved in the S. G. Norton,

Mather horary, in Boston, and which the rev erend Samuel Mather, of Boston, had obliged him with the perusal of. The reverend Samnel Mather married Governor Hutchinson's sister. He was the only son of the reverend Doctor Cotton Mather, author of the Magnalia Americana, who had been long assiduous in collecting original information from all parts of the country for that work. A most valuable collection of manuscripts from the reverend Richard Mather, of Dorchester, Doctor Increase Mather, and Doctor Cotton Mather, descended and came into the hands of Mr. Samuel Mather, brother-in-law to Governor Hutchinson. This family connexion opened all this treasury of historical information to the governor. Here he found Goffe's original diary, or journal, for seven years, written in several pocket volumes, and also a number of Goffe's letters to his wife. But neither the governor nor the possessor knew how they came into the Mather library.

That they came from the Russel family, and from the Barnstable collection, I do not doubt; as the library of the Hadley Russel had been removed to his son's at Barnstable, soon after 1692, before Doctor Cotton Mather began to write his history, and ten years hefore the publication of the Magnalia. 1 do not believe the Hadley Russel would have suffered them out of his hands in his life time. If Cotton Mather came across them while writing, he for some reasons never made use of them, as hothing of them appears in his works. Doctor Cotton Mather, as well as his father, Doctor Increase Mather, was intimately acquainted with all the Russels, and doubtless from them received the manuscripts. But I am inclined to think that they never disclosed these manuscripts to Mather, till death had put every one out of danger. Probably Mr. Russel lent them to one of the Mathers, about 1715 or 1720, for Governor Hutchinson speaks of them as of the collection of Doctor Increase Mather, who died, 1724, as did Doctor Cotton in 1627, when they came into his son Samuel's hands, and lay unnoticed till Hutchinson delivered an extract from them to the public, 1764. But it seems they were but few, and a very small part of a larger collection, which may possibly be yet remaining in the trunk at Barnstable. Those which the governor had, I have before observed, were lost when his house was destroyed at the time of the stamp act. Thus far the history of the judges' manuscripts I thought best to insert.

When I once saw one of the pocket volumes of Goffe's journal for 1662, which Hutchinson shewed me in 1766, I little thought of the use I could now have made of it. As the original is lost, I regret that I did not extract and copy more of it, while in my possession, than this little relict. In the beginning of it was the following list of names, which I then copied.

J. Hewson,

W. G----

W. Puresoy,
S. F. Banners,
S. T. Malevern,
R. Deane'
F. Alleyne,
P. Peckham,
J. Moore,
I. Alured,
W. Puresoy,
I. Blackstone,
S. W. Constable
E. W——,
F. Alleyne,
J. Barksd.*
E. Luidlow,
J. Moore,
J. Okey*

T, Andrews, C. Holland, A. Stapley, T. Chattr. T. Horton, M. Corbett,* W. Cawley, I. Fry, T. Hammond, N. Love, S. I. Bourchier, all de-J. Dixwell, D.Blasgrave, ceased. A. Brougton, A. Dendy .- Fled. O. Cromwell, -Ireton, -Bradshaw, J. Pennington, * Pride. R. Tichbourne, O. Row,* Wm. Ld. Monsun, A. Garland, E. Harvie, Ja. Challoner, H. Smith, Sr. H. Mildmay,

V. Walton.

H. Martin,

l. Venn.

S. J. Harrington,

I. Phelps, H. Walter,
Robert Wale, G. Fleetwood,
Sr. A. Haslerig.—I J. Temple,
Challoner and Sr. A. P. Temple,
Haslerig, dead; the J. Waite,
other five are degraded, and when taken W. Henninghum,
to be drawn from R. Lileburne,
Tower to Tiburne with
G. Millington,
ropes, &c. and imprisoned during life.
T. Morgan,

J. Downes. — Condemned and in the W. Say,

J. Downes. — Condemned and in the Tower."

Here are given the names of sixty-nine persons; twenty-six of whom are dead; five degraded; nineteen fled, and nineteen in the Tower. Most of these were King Charles's judges, as the following ordinance and warrant for his execution, with the signatures, will show. In the above, probably Peckham should be Pelham.—Barsksd. Okey, and Corbet were afterwards taken and executed, 1662. Morgan was not in the Tower.—Phelps is Philips.

Ordinance for trying the king, made Janu-

ary 6, 1649. "WHEREAS it is notorious that CHARLES STUART now king of England, not content with these many encroachments which his predecessors had made on the people in their rights and freedoms, has had a wicked design to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and in their stead to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this design to pass, he has prosecuted it with fire and sword, levying and maintaining a cruel war against the parliament and kingdom, whereby the country has been miserably wasted, the public treasure exhausted, trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; for all which high and treasonable offences the said Charles Stuart might long since justly been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: whereas also the parliament, well hoping that the imprisonment of his person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the kingdom, forbore to proceed judicially against him, but found by sad experience that their remissness served only to encourage him and his accomplices in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising new commotions, rebellions and invasions. For preventing therefore the like or greater inconveniences, and to the end no chief officer or magistrate court, or major part thereof, shall hold fit: A. Garland, whatever may hereafter presume traitorously and to take order for charging him, the said and maliciously to imagine or contrive the en. Charles Stuart, with the crimes and treasons slaving or destroying the English Nation, and above mentioned: and for receiving his perto expect impunity for so doing; It it hereby sonal answer thereto; and for examining witordained and enacted by the commons in par- nesses upon oath, which the court has hereby liament, that Thomas Ld. Fairfax, O. Crom- authority to administer, and taking any other well, Plenry Ireton, Esqrs. Sir H. Waller, evidence concerning the same and thereupen, Philip Skippon, Val. Walton, Thomas Harri- or in default of such answer, to proceed to son, Edward Whalley, Thomas Pride, Isaac to final sentence, according to justice and Ewer. R. Ingoldsby, Milmay, Esqrs. Tho-mas Honeywood, Thomas Ld. Grey of Groo-by, Philip Ld. Lisle, William Ld. Mounson, speedily and impartially. And the said court Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, is hereby authorized and required to appoint Bart. Sir John Bourchier, Sir James Harring- and direct all such officers, attendants, and ton, Sir William Alenson, Sir Henry Mild-may, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knts. Sir William part of them, shall in any sort judge necessary Masham, Sir J. Barrington, Sir William Bre- or useful for the orderly and good managing reton, Barts. Robert Wallop, William Have- the premises. And Thomas Ld. Fairfax, the ningham, Esqrs. Isaac Pennington, Thomas general, and all officers and soldiers under his Atkins, Bowl Wilson, aldermen of London, Sir command; and all officers of justice, and other P. Wentworth, Knt. of the Bath, Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Godfrey Rosvil, John and required to be aiding and assisting to the Trenchard, H. Morley, John Barkstead, Mat. said court, in the due execution of the trust Thomlinson, John Blackiston, Gilb, Millington, hereby committed. Provided that this act, Esqrs. Sir William Constable, Bart. Edmond and the authority hereby granted, continue in Ludlow, John Lambert, John Hutchinson, force one month from the making hereof, and Esqrs. Sir A. Haslerig, Sir Michael Livesey, Bart. Richard Salway, H. Salvay, Robert Titchburn, Owen Roe, Robert Manwaring, Robert Silburn, Adr. Scroop, Richard Dean, At the High Court of Justice for the trying John Okey, Robert Overton, John Hewson, John Desborow, William Goffe, Robert Duckenfield, Cornelius Holland, John Caren, Esqrs. Sir William Armyn, Bart. John Jones, Miles Corbet, F. Allen, Thomas Lister, Ben- is and standeth convicted, attainted, and conjamin Weston, P. Pelham, J. Gourdon. Esgrs. Fr. Throp, sergeant at law, John Nut, Thomas Chaloner, Algernon Sidney, John Anlaby. John Mare, R. Darley, William Say, John of his head from his body, of which sentence Alured, John Flagg, James Nelthorp, Esqrs. execution yet remaineth to be done: These Sir William Roberts, F. Lassels, Alexander are therefore to will and require you to see the Rigby, Henry Smith, Edmund Wild, James Chaloner, Josias Berners, D. Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Greg. Clement, John Fry, eth day of this instant, month of January, be-Thomas Wogan, Esq. Sir Greg. Norton, tween the hours of ten in the morning and Bart. John Bradshaw, serjeant at law, Edm. five in the alternoon of the same day, with Hervey, J. Dove, J. Ven, Esq. J. Fowles, Thomas Andrews, aldermen of London, yeur sufficient warrant. And these are to re-Thomas Scott, William Cawley, Abr. Burrel, quire all officers and soldiers, and other the Ant. Stapeley, Ro. Gratwick, J. Downs, Tho-good people of this nation of England to be mas Horton, Thomas Hammond, Geo. Fen- assisting unto this service. Given under our wick, Esqrs. Robert Nicholas, serj. at law, hands and seals. Robert Reynolds, John Lisle, Nic. Love, Vinc. Potter, Esqrs. Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. John Weaver, Rog. Hill. John Lenthall, Esqrs Sir Edward Bainton, John Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boone, Aug. Garland, Aug. Skinner, John Dixwell, George Fleet-wood, Sim. Mayne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrove, Esqrs. Sir Peter Temple, Bart. Thomas Wayte, John Brown, John Lowry, Esqrs. are hereby appointed and required to be commissioners and judges for hearing, trying, and adjudging the said Charles Stuart. And the said commissioners, or any twenty or more of them, are authorized and constituted a high court of justice, to meet and sit at such convenient time and place, as by the said commissioners, or the major part of twenty or more of them, under their hands and seals shall be notified by public proclamation in the great hall, or palace yard at Westminster, and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said high

and required to be aiding and assisting to the no longer."

[Rushworth's Collection. Vol. 6. 562.

of Charles Stuart, king of England, January 29th A. D. 1648.

Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, demned of high treason and other high crimes, and sentence was pronounced against him by this court, to be put to death by the severing said sentence executed, in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtiyeur sufficient warrant. And these are to re-

John Bradshaw,	(L.S.)	John Okey,	(L.S.)
John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey,	(L.S.)	J. Dauers,	(L.S.)
			(L.S.)
Edward Whalley,	(L.s.)		(L.S.)
	(L.L.)		(L.s.)
Har. Waller,	(L.S.)	William Cawley,	(L.s.)
	(L.S.)		(L.s.)
John Hutchinson,	(L.S.)	Isaac Ewer,	
William Goffe,	(L.S.)	John Dixwell,	(L.S.)
Thomas Pride,	(L.s.)	Valt. Waughton,	(L.S.)
P. Temple.	(L.S.)	Symon Mayne	TEN
T. Harrison, J. Hewson,	(L.S.)	Thomas Horton,	(L.S.)
J. Hewson,	(L,s.)	J. Jones,	(L.S.)
Hen. Smith,	(L.S.)	John Penne,	(L.S.)
Hen. Smith, Pr. Pelham,	(L.s.).	Gilbert Millington,	L.S.)
Ri. Deane,	(L.S.)	G. Fleetwood, (L.s.)
Robert Tichborne,	(L.S.)	J. Alured,	L.S.)
H. Edwards,		Robert Lileburne,	
Daniel Blagtace,	(L.S.)	William Say, (L.S.)
Owen Rowe,	(L.S.)	Anthony Staplep, (L.s.)
William Purefoy, 🧃	(L.S.)	Gre. Nortoo,	L.S.)
Ad. Scrope,	(L.S.)	Thom. Challoner, (L.S.)
James Temple,	(L.S.)	Thomas Wegan,	L.S.)
		0	, ,

(n.s.) John Downes, Edm. Ludlow, (L.S.) Thomas Wayte, (L.S.) (L.S.) Thomas Scott, (1.5.) (L.s.) John Caren, Vinct. Potter, (L.S.) William Constable, (L.s.) Miles Corbet. (L S.) Richardlogoidesby.(L.s)

The original signatures are in seven colunins: Bradslow stands at the lead of the the first column; Linsey the second: Waller, Smith, Garland, Mayne, Wogan, at the head of the succeeding ones. Fifty-nine signed the warrant, out of seventy, who sat at the beginning of the trial, and afterwards withdrew before giving judgment. Some names in Goffe's list are not in this. - Others besides the judges were comprehended under the accusation and title of regicides,-" the number of whom, including the officers of the court, and others immediately concerned, amounted originally to four score. Of these, twentyfive were dead; twenty-nine or twenty-seven had escaped from the kingdom; seven were deemed proper objects of the king's mercy; twenty-nine received sentence of death, but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleasure, because they had surrendered themselves according to the proclamation. The ten devoted to immediate execution were, Harrison, Caren, Cook, Peters, Scott, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Ilaeker and Axtel."

Smollett, V. 5. 350.

This was 1660. In 1662, Barkestead. Corbet and Okey, and a little afterwards Vane and Lambert, were also condemned and executed. This was the state of information at the time of Goffe's entries in his journal of 1662, which contain some others beside judges signing the warrant, and not all those; as it contains judges who sat during part of the trial, but did not sign, and some that were not judges, but were accused and condemned, as Phelps and Wale. Goffe's list, however, shews that he had pretty just information, as to the number in 1662 dead; the number whose ashes were to be dishonoured; those adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, who were fled, and in the Tower. Enough to shew Whalley and Goffe what would be their fate if taken. This information they received while at Milford. Of the first ten executed, six only were judges, Coke was solicitor at the trial, Peters a clergyman, Hacker and Axtel colonels at the execution: neither were Vane or Lambert judges. The bodies of Bradshaw, Cromwell, Ireton and Pride, were taken up at the restoration, and hung and buried under the gallows .- These are in the second division. Of those in the third, two were dead; but the reason why separated from others dead is not obvious. It is to this day problematical, and can never be ascertained, whether the bodies of Bradshaw and Cromwell were actually taken up and dishonoured at the restoration. It is in secret tradition that Bradshaw was conveyed to Jamaica. His epitaph is descriptive of him, and full of spirit. In a public print of 1775, it was said "The following inscription was made out three years ago on the cannon near which the ashes of President Bradshaw were lodged, on the top of a high hill near Martha bay in Jamaica, to avoid the rage against the regicides exhibited at the restoration:

STRANGER

Ere thou pass, contemplate this Cannon. Nor regardless be told That near its base lies deposited the dust of

JOHN BRADSHAW,

Who, nobly superior to all selfish regards, Despising alike the pageantry of courtly Splendour, the blast of calumny, and the Terrors of royal vengeance, presided in the Illustrious band of Heroes and Patriots,

Who fairly and openly adjudged CHARLES STUART,

Tyrant of England, To a public and exemplary death, Thereby presenting to the amazed world. And transmitting down through applauding Ages, the most glorious example Of unshaken virtue, love of freedom, And impartial justice,

Ever exhibited on the blood-stained theatre Of human action.

O, Reader,

Pass not on till thou hast blessed his memory: And never, never forget

THAT REBELLION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

There are no other anecdotes worthy of preservation concerning these two persons during their residence at New Haven and Milford. We shall therefore now follow them

in their pilgrimage to Hadley.

On the 13th of October, 1664, they left Milford, and proceeded in this excursion. shall suppose that the first night they came over to New Haven to their friend Jones. though of this there is no tradition, as there is of their making a lodgment at Pilgrims harbour, so called from them, being twenty miles from New Haven, at a place since called Meriden, half way between New Haven and Hartford. Here they might rest and lodge one day, and the next night proceed to Hartford, and the night following at Springfield, and the succeeding night reach Hadley. But of this I find no tradition, saving only, that in their route to Hadley they made one station at Pilgrims harbour.

Being arrived at Hadley, they took up their abode at the house of the reverend Mr. Russel. At this house, and at the house of Peter Tilton, Esq. they spent the rest of their lives, for fourteen or sixteen years, in dreary solitude and seclusion from the society of the world. The almost only important anecdote that transpires concerning them in this secreted abode, was that of the angel appearance there, which is preserved to this day in the traditionat New Haven and Hadley, as well as in Governor Leverett's family : and also that one or both died at Hadley, and that Whalley was buried in Mr. Russel's cellar, or lot adjoining his house, also as current at New Haven as Had-

They came to Hadley October 1664, and Whalley died there about 1676, or 1678, and Goffe's last letter is April 2, 1679, and no more was heard of him after 1680. Soon after their arrival at Hadley, John Dixwell, Esq. another of Charles's judges, came to them, in February 1664-5, and sojourned with them in their secrecy for some time.

rent parts of New England, the true story of the angel is this :- During their abode at Hadley, the famous and most memorable Indiar war that ever was in New England, called king Philip's war, took place, and was attended with exciting an universal rising of the various Indian tribes, not only of Narraganset and the Sachemdom of Philip, at Mount Hope, or Bristol, but of the Indians through New England, except the Sachemdom of Uncas, at Mohegan, near New London.-Accordingly the Nipmug, Quanbaug, and northern tribes were in agitation, and attacked the new frontier towns along through New England, and Hadley among the rest, then an exposed frontier. That pious congregation were observing a fast at Hadley on the occasion of this war: and being at public worship in the meeting-house there on a fast day, September 1, 1675, were suddenly surrounded and surprized by a body of Indians. It was the usage in the frontier towns, and even at New Haven, in those Indian wars, for a select number of the congregation to go armed to public worship. It was so at Hadley at this time. The people immediately took to their arms, but were thrown into great consternation and confusion. Had Hadley been taken, the discovery of the judges had been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people there appeared a man of a venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arranged, and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance; and for some time after said and believed that they had been delivered and saved by an angel.-Nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after, when it at length became known at Hadley that the two judges had been secreted there; which probably they did not know till after Mr. Russel's death, in 1692. This story, however, of the angel at Hadley, was before this universally diffused through New England by means of the memorable Indian war of 1675. The mystery was unriddled after the revolution, when it became not so very dangerous to have it known that the judges had received an asylum here, and that Goffe was actually in Hadley at that time.—The angel was certainly General Goffe, for Whalley was superannuated in 1675.

Although they were secreted at Hadley, yet while there, they were in jeopardy. Public enquiry was made after them particularly at two different times, one in 1665, and the other by Randolph, who probably gained some suspicious notice of them before their death, as being secreted somewhere in Massachusetts. I have already shown that one of the instructions from the crown to Colonel Nichols and the other commissioners in May 1665, the year after the removal to Hadley, respected the concealment of these regicides to which the assembly replied, that they had departed from their jurisdiction before the proclamation arrived, and that they had sent Kellond and Kirk after them to New Haven. Edward Randolph, Esq. was sent from Eng-

Though told with some variation, in diffe- land with the most malicious purposes against the country, as preparatory to the resumption of charters, and the alteration of its whole civil and religious polity. He was a subtile, sensible and assiduous inquisitor-general over New England, and most indefatigable and industrious in procuring and collecting information of every thing in the public affairs here, which might be wrought up into a system of accusation against the colonies, as a ground and reason to justify the intended abolition of charters, and for shewing the necessity of erecting the arbitrary general government of Sir Edmund Andross. Randolph undertook the dirty and invidious business of acting the spy and informer upon all New England-and such was his indefatigable industry and researches, that it was next to impossible that any thing should escape his detection. Randolph was the messenger of death to New England, being sent to Massachusetts with his majesty's letter of March

10, 1675—6.

Randolph came over first in 1676. He went home repeatedly, carrying accusations, and returned to New England in 1678, 1679, 1681, when he returned collector of the customs, surveyor and searcher for all New England; and in 1683, when he came with instructions to inquire for Goffe and Whalley, not knowing that they were both dead at that time. In 1684, the governor gave him such answer of his ignorance concerning them, and the probability of their having gone from Manhados to Holland, as silenced all further search and inquiry; especially as it may be probable the insidious Randolph now became well satisfied that both were dead. Thus the judges were in imminent danger from Randolph during the two or three last years of their lives: and they had reason to suppose, could the places of their deaths he known, their ashes would be dishonoured, as were those of Bradshaw and others: for Whalley especially was considered as obnoxious as any of the judges. It is true Whalley was past being affected with any such apprehensions, if alive at Randolph's accession; he was already superannuated in 1674, as appears by Goffe's letter of that date to his wife. But Goffe and Dixwell might justly entertain such apprehensions from the malevolence and virulence of Randolph, whose memory, with that of Sir Edmond Andress, has been accursed through New England to this day.

The judges led so recluse and concealed a life at Hadley, that we have but few anecdotes concerning them there. They were certainly well supplied with means of subsistence to the end; partly from Europe, and partly by secret friends here. Richard Saltonstall, Esq. when he went to England, 1672, presented them with 150. at his departure, and they received donations from several others, but doubtless very confidentially. Peter Tillton, Esq. was a member of assembly from Hadley, and a magistrate: he was often at Boston during the sessions of assembly, and through his hands donations might be safely and secretly made, as he was all along in the secret, and the judges sometimes resided at his house. His letter of 1672 will give some idea of his piety. In 1680, Richard Saltonstall, Esq. son of Sir Richard, returned from England, and was again chosen first assistant, and so the two succeeding years. He went back to England

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before 1683, and died there 1694. So that at as to other kingdoms, and when it is more well for her, and shall not cease to pray night council who were privy to their secretion, viz. men, both wise and others of more ordinary Governor Leverett, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. capacities, look on the effect or produce thereabsent in England 1672, but Mr. Tillton was on the ground, and kept the secret from Ranfall on the Hollanders, of which I wrote you dolph. Indeed all New England were their in my last, breaking their league, joining with at the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

the road to Derby, where an old cellar remains So prayeth still to this day, said to have been one of their recluses. This is called George's cellar, from one George who afterwards lived there. The other at Derby, on the eastern bank of Neugituck river, at a place then called Pawgasett, and near the church. Madam Humphreys, consort of the reverend Daniel Humand a descendant of Mr. Edward Riggs, one this time received mine of the 21st May last, of the first settlers of Derby, between 1655 which informs you how it was then with myand 1660. She often used to speak of it as self and your old friend Mr. R. [Whalley] the family tradition, that the judges who some- and that I wrote largely to yourself and dear times secreted themselves at the cave and in Mrs. Janes, in October last, which I perceive Sperry's farm, also for some time secreted you have not received, which I am very sorry er than half a dozen English families there in copies of them, and for your further satisfacthe woods, ten or a dozen miles from all other tion I have again transcribed, that you may pursuivants, and avoid discovery. This tradi- so far as you conceive you could, and I be they shall be added unto you so far as your families to this day.

General Whalley died at Hadley certainly after 1674, probably about 1678. And Genjoin here only Tillton's letter 1672, and along be unknown to me, I do believe he is the fitto the history of Judge Dixwell.

his Wife at Hadley.

" Dear Wife,

the period of Randolph's inquisition for the than probable many garments are tumbling in and day on their behalf, that the Lord will regicides, there were at least three in the blood. As to the news from England, all Tillton, and perhaps more. Indeed Governor of will be as black a day in the world, as the Leverett died 1678, and Mr. Saltonstall was world hath known. The late actions in Engknowing about them. They did not view of England, and with their principal harbours they shall make it their great work to love whelmed in a return and irresistible inundation both in England and here, by men of all sorts, of tyranny. They no more considered them- are looked upon as strange, horrid, and omi- love and pray, and act faith for them as selves as protectors of rebels, than England nous. There is another ship expected, one if they were my own children, being not did in protecting the exiles from Germany at Jonas Clarke, if not stopped by the embargo the reformation, and the refugees from France or otherwise, in which one Dr. Hoare, a minretreats and temporary lodgments: I have cannot forget you before the Father of Spirits heard of two more within ten miles round night and day. The good will of Him that New Haven, but not with so perfect certainty, dwelt in the bush be with you, cause his face The one about four miles from Milford, on to shine upon you all, and give you peace.

> Yours unfeignedly to love, PETER THATON."

Copy of a Letter from William Goffe to his Wife.

" Most dear and honoured Mother,

"On the 23d July I received yours of the phreys, and mother of the hononrable Colonel 29 March 1674, with the enclosed that should Humphreys, the ambassador, was a Riggs, have come last year, hoping you have also by summer of 1661, to disappoint and deceive riage you have now given me the account, things which Gentiles so carnestly pursue, tion is preserved in the Riggs and Humphrey lieve are longing to understand my thoughts heavenly father Father knoweth that you have eral Goffe is to be heard of no more after 1679. It is indeed the Lord who is her heavenly cur in the 4th chapter. I shall therefore sub- this husband for her, and therefore, though he letter of Goffe's to his wife, by the name of test person in the world for her, and that she mother Goldsmith, in 1674; and then proceed likewise is the most meet help for him. I remember in a former letter to yourself, when you desired my thoughts in a matter concern- be full of longings to hear how the Lord hath Copy of a Letter from Mr. Peter Tillton to ing her, I told you I was confident the Lord dealt with her in her lying in, but I doubt would take care of her and in due time pro-Boston, 183mo. 1672. vide a husband for her, and now he hath done it, shall I question whether he hath done it "This opportunity gives occasion of these well? No, I dare not do it. It is a great to child-bearing women, 1 Tim. 2. 15. lines; we have had a quiet and peaceable satisfaction to me that you sought the Lord, election, no alteration or addition. O what a and took advice of our dear and christian gratulating my new married sister, but I price doth divine patience yet betrust us with friends, and that my sister was guided in her when he is drawing out the sword and array-choice by yourself and them, and desire with the hearse of her that is deceased, whose loss ing himself with the garments of vengeance you to bless the Lord that hath provided so I cannot choose but lament with tears, and so

be pleased to make them great blessings to each other, and that this new condition may be every way and always comfortable to them both, for as you very truly say, it will be as the Lord shall be pleased to make it. I pray remember my most tender and affectionate love to them both, and tell them that I greatly long to see them; but since that cannot be at friends, although they did not wish to be too the French, assisting them with soldiers out present, you may assure them that whilst them as traitors, but as unfortunate sufferers to receive a numerous army, and shutting up the Lord Jesus in sincerity, and love one anin the noble cause of civil liberty, prostrathe exchequer, whereby many are outed of other dearly for Christ's sake, and to carry ted by the restoration, and again lost and over-their estates contrary to all law, are things that it with tender love and dutiful respect to yourself, I shall esteem it my duty to otherwise able at this distance to be helpful to them. Dear mother, that yourself and ister, is expected. Remember me to mine all friends did so well approve the match The judges might have some other secret and thine, with my love to all with you. I gives much content to my heart, and I beseech you not to give way to any recoilings that may arise in your own spirit; do not say, as to the world, my sister night have done much better, the Lord knows what is best for us and ours; it may be that which we may think would have been better might have proved much worse. These are dying times, wherein the Lord hath been and is breaking down what he hath built, and plucking up what he hath planted, and therefore it is not a time to be seeking great things for ourselves. Let us read the 45th chapter of Jeremiah, and apply to ourselves what the Lord speaks to Baruch, and account it a great mercy if he give us our lives for a pray, and bring us again to see the faces one of another with comfort. The things that Baruch is dehorted from seeking were worldly things, why then are they called great things? Surely the Lord speaks it only according to the esteem that we are themselves at Derby, in the house of her for; but it hath been a great mercy that all too apt to have of them, for the world's great grandfather, Mr. Edward Riggs; whose house my former letters came safely to your hands, things are indeed and in truth but poor little was forted or palisadoed in, to secure it from and as for those, knowing the hazard of their things, and the saints should look down upon the Indians; there being, 1660, perhaps few- miscarriage by reason of the wars, I kept the them with contempt, and shew themselves to be of high raised spirits, seeking things truly great, as our Lord himself doth exhort us, English settlements, and they all lodged in see that I was not unmindful in my duty in Mat. 6, 33. But seek you first the kingdom this forted house. Certainly this was a good and safe recluse. They might probably shift their residences, especially in the dangerous daughter Frances of whose disposal in martiness. Of God and his righteousness, as if he said, my advice concerning my sister Fr. [his for they are great things, worthy your affectionate endeavours, and as for all these little of it. Dear mother, you are pleased to say need of them. My poor sister begins her well, that you gave me an account how it housekeeping at a time when trading is low. hath pleased the Lord to dispose of her, &c. and all provisions dear, and I cannot but pity her in that respect. I hope she will not be Other circumstances concerning them will oc- father, that hath disposed of her and provided discouraged nor her husband neither, but for prevention I desire them to consider seriously and to act faith upon that most excellent counsel our Lord delivered with authority in his sermon on the mount, Mat. 6th, from the 24th ver. to the end of the chapter. I cannot but not you will take the first opportunity to inform us of it, in the mean time I shall endeavour to stay myself upon the promise made Dear mother, I have been hitherto con-

must now turn aside to drop a few tears upon

share with you in all the providences of God towards us; but my dear mother let me not be the occasion of renewing your grief, for I doubt not but you have grieved enough, if not too much already. Let us consider how graciously the Lord deals with us (as for our dear sister, she is got beyond our pity, we need not lament for her sake, but rather rejoice that she is at rest in the bosom of Christ) who whilst he is taking from us with one hand, gives double with the other. He hath added one to your family on whom I hope you may set that motherly affection as if he were your own soo, and I hope hath before this time also made you to rejoice in the fruit of my sister's womb; and shall not we say with Job, the Lord bath given, and the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord. But oh how apt are we to murmur, if the Lord do in any thing displease us, but what a shame it were that we should be displeased at any thing which God doth! Who are we that we should set our corrupt wills in opposition to his most holy and blessed will. It is blessed counsel that a reverend minister of the gospel gives, who has been in the school of affliction, that I lately met with in a printed book of his, I pray you (saith he) drink in that notion, viz. That the will of God being pure, holy, perfect, yea God himself, should not only be submitted to, or rested in, but loved and chosen above all creatures, yea above life itself, the best of creatures. Would we but once learn this lesson (which the Lord is, I hope, teaching of us by all his dealings with us) and help us (as you say sweetly in your letter) to see love in all his dispensations, there could nothing come amiss to us.

Dear mother, I perceive, when you wrote last, you were upon a remove from those dear friends with whom you then sojourned, I hope the Lord guided you to that motion, and shall long to hear where you settle: in the mean time it is my comfort that the Lord tells all your wanderings, and receives all your tears into his bottle, and will not fail to direct all your steps, till he hath given you a safe conduct through your wearisome pilgrimage, and at the end thereof open unto you an abundant entrance into those mansions that are prepared for you in our Father's house, where you shall be at rest in the bosom of

Christ for ever.

Your old friend, Mr. R. is vet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I formerly have given you account, and have not now much to add. He is scarce capable of any rational discourse, his understanding, memory and speech doth so much fail him, and seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either done or said, but patiently bears all things and never complains of any thing, though I fear it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter of a long time from his cousio Rich, but speaks not one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote of in your last, only after I had read your letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing is your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts, and indeed he scarce ever speaks any thing but in answer to questions when they are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them; the common and very frequent question is to know how he doth, your welcome letter of the Sth of May (Frank's strivo with all her might to be a comfort to

and his answer, for the most part, is, very well, I praise God, which he utters with a very low and weak voice; but sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill, and then if it he further said, do you feel any pain any where, to that he always answereth no; when he wants any thing he cannot well speak for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing when he means another, so that his eye or his finger is oftentimes a better interpreter of his mind than his tongue; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signs for them, and some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able of a long time, to dress or undress himself, nor to feed, or ease nature either way, orderly, without help, and it is a great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpful to him, and I bless the Lord that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a work; for though my help be but poor and weak, yet that ancient servant of Christ could not well submit without it, and I do believe, as you are pleased to say very well, that 1 do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered much at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue; the Lord help us to profit by all, and to wait with patience upon him, till we shall see what end he will make with us. Thus far I write of myself, I shall now ask him what he would have me to say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked, he saith, I am better than I was. And being asked what I should say more to his cousin R. or any other friends, after a long pause, he again said, the Lord hath visited me in much mercy, and hath answered his visitation upon me. (I give it you in his own words.) Being desirous to draw more from him, I proposed several questions, and the sum of his answers were, that he earnestly desires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all his friends for him, and desires to be remembered to his cousin Rich, and longs to receive a letter from her, and desires her to exhort her son and daughters, his dear cousins, to fear God, and to be remembered to her aunt at Chelsey, praying that the Lord will requite all her great love, as also to be remembered to Mrs. Janes and her good husband, to whom also he thinks himself greatly obliged for their great love, and in particular for Mrs. Janes her care of poor Nol. desiring her to continue the same; as also to be remembered to yourself, and wisheth Frank much comfort in her new condition, and saith he shall not cease to pray for you and all yours. This is written on the 6th of August, but I know not when I shall have opportunity to send to Boston, it may be therefore before I send away my letter I may have something more to add concerning him.

Thus far I proceeded yesterday, but night coming on and having something else to do, I could proceed no further, and so laid aside my paper, intending this morning to finish (if the Lord pleased) my answer to yours of the 29th March. But now my first work must be to tell you that, through the great goodness of 1 Chr. 18. 9. and leaving to grieve for her sis-God, I did also last night, after supper, receive

birthday) wherein you let me know that you have also received mine of the 2d of October last, at such a season, which made it more refreshing to you, which is a great satisfaction and comfort to me, for which I desire to bless the Lord; but it would have been the more full if you had but said, with the inclosed to dear Mrs. Jaines, which I have lately transcribed, together with your own, from the originals, with a purpose to have sent them with this, but I shall send neither, for I have good hopes that both were received, for I cannot but think when you complained that the door of your house was opened, if half of your goods had been taken away you would have made mention of it; for your own letter was both the house and inventory of all the goods contained in it.

Dear mother, it is also a great comfort to me to hear that the Lord was graciously pleased to appear on my dear sister's behalf in the needful hour, and desire with you to bless the Lord for that great mercy, and I heartily thank you for giving me so quick a notice of it. Dear mother, it was likewise a great mercy that the Lord was pleased so far to satisfy your desire as to shew you the fruit of her womb, and to make you the joyful grandmother of a son, and though it hath pleased the Lord so soon to transplant him from the militant to the triumphant church, yet it may be a great comfort to yourself and my dear sister, that from your wombs hath proceeded the increase to the mystical body of Jesus Christ, and reckon it a mercy that the Lord being purposed to take him from you in his infancy was pleased (that it might be the more easy to you) to do it before it had much time to take deep root in your affections, for 1 do believe the longer yourselves and his other relations had enjoyed him, the harder it would have been to us all to have parted with him: But what shall we say more? It may be such considerations as these are too selfish, it is enough to compose the hearts of the children of God under every providence, to say, it is the Lord that hath done it, our loving and tender hearted infinitely wise Father hath declared his royal pleasure, and it is our duty to submit to it, yea to rejoice in it (for it is most meet he should dispose of us and ours as shall seem good in his sight) and to apply ourselves to learn the lessons he would teach us thereby, and among the rest that is none of the least which you mention, to get our hearts weaned from creature comforts and to live upon himself as our all-sufficient soul-satisfying portion -and let my dear brother and sister remember what the H. G. saith, Lam. 3. 27. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. Dear mother, I pray, in your next, speak a little more fully concerning his godliness, for you say nothing to that, except by the phrase of a very honest man, you mean a very godly man, as I hope you do; for you give the same epithet to that good man (whose word you took concerning him) of whom another friend saith that he is a very godly man, aged and wise, &c. I pray, remember my dear love to sister Judith, and tell her from me she must now be a very good child, and labour to know the God of her father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, ter and nephew that are at rest with God,

sirous to supply my wants; and because you that if I should be angry, you had many to are pleased to lay your commands upon me, bear with you, &c. Rash anger, I confess, is after various wanderings and recluses, now I shall make bold, when I need your help in a burthen that needs more shoulders than one unknown, he at length came to New Haven; that kind, to write to you for it.—There is to bear it; for Solomon saith, a stone is heavy, where, though covered with a borrowed cruise. The greatest thing I need is a heart vier than them both. But oh, my dear mother, to abide patiently in this condition until it be expended. I cannot but account it a great Yourself knoweth I never yet spake an angry &c. It cannot be otherwise expected but belongs to yourself, or rather to the Lord, that as age comes on nature will decay; but who, blessed be his name, hath so united our I beseech you preserve it what you can, and hearts together in love, that it is a thing scarce deny but I feel, with you, the decays of nature, yet I have and do enjoy a competent you love and honour me as much as ever, measure of health and strength, and beg your which may well increase my longings after pardon if I have been too slow in acquainting I thank you for what you have written con- gift. 2. Cor. 9. 14. 15." cerning those relations I desired to hear of; and the rather because you say you cannot write much, through the weakness of your eyes, and I fear it may hurt them to read these long letters, for I desire you first to read and then seal and deliver the enclosed to my hon-oured and dear friend D. G. with my best respects to him and his dear wife. My dear mother, I recommend to you the counsel and promise given to the Philippians, chap. 4. 4, 5, 6, 7, and let me intreat you to rejoice in the county of Kent. He was a the Lord always, and again I say rejoice; and junior brother of Mark Dixwell of Broome, I beseech you to remember that weak eyes in the parish of Barham, in the county of are made weaker by too much weeping. Pray take heed you do not hurt yourself thereby.

But alas, I see my paper is almost done, and must yet reserve a little room for a postcript, therefore (hoping I have not forgotten any material thing I should write of) I am brother nor sister living. The colonel was a was early known to a very few others in forced here to break off abruptly, and with gentleman in good and easy circumstances, my most affectionate remembrance to all being possessed of a manor and sundry other friends, as if I named them, desiring the continuance of your and their fervent prayers, I wars, he became an officer in the army under the minister of New Haven, died 1674. In recommend you and my dear brother and sis- the parliament and protectorate; was nomiters to the tender watchful care of Him who nated sheriff of the county of Kent, and behath borne us from the womb, and will be came member of parliament for Kent in 1654. our God and our guide unto death, I am, He was one of the judges that signed the dear mother,

Your most affectionate and dutiful son,

posteript to be a little merry with you, and first ten or a dozen years of his abdication. may seem to imply more than a short acyet serious too. There is one word in one The first notice we have of him is in Goffe's quaintance, not less probably than five or six ot your letters that sounds so harshly, and journal, while the judges were at Hadley, years intimacy. Mr. Street was settled in looks so untowardly, that I cannot tell well wherein it is entered that Colonel Dixwell New Haven a colleague minister with Mr. how to read or look upon it, and I know not came to them there February 10, 1664—5: Davenport in 1658, and upon Mr. Davenport's how to write it, and yet I must, though I but ever after they call him Mr. Davids; and removing to Boston, 1667, contined sole minis-

with the difficulties and temptations of an evil but the matter is this, after you had given me said he assumed, being his mother's name. world. I humbly thank you for your mother a loving account of a business wherein you Governor Hutchinson says he lived at Hadley ly love and care for me, in your being so de- have done your best, you were pleased to say, some years: his grand-daughter, Mrs. Caruyet a little meal in the barrel and oil in the and the sand weighty, but a fool's wrath is hea- name, he however was generally supposed to mercy that in these hard times you should be word to you, nay I hope I may say (without able to be so helpful to your poor children; taking the name of God in vain) the Lord known.—Stephen Ball, Esq. of New Haven, but I beseech you let not your love to them knoweth I never conceived an angry thought make you to forget yourself, in parting with towards you, nor do I now, nor I hope never what is necessary for your own comfort in shall, and in so saying I do not commend myyour old age. Dear mother, you say you find self, for you never gave me the least cause, nature greatly decaying in you, and therefore neither have you now, and I believe never desire prayers that grace may be strengthened, will; therefore, dear mother, the whole praise take heed of immoderate griefs, or whatsoever possible to be angry one with another. But else may be prejudicial to your health, which I shall now conclude with a request that you you are able to avoid, and when you have will not be angry with yourself for writing done all you can, if you still perceive the out-that word I have spoken so much against, for ward man perishing, yet faint not, for I do be- I suppose all your meaning was, if I should lieve, through the faithfulness of God, your not altogether approve of what was done, &c. inward man shall be renewed day by day, 2 and I am abundantly satisfied that the root Cor. 4.16. I bless the Lord, though I cannot from which that fear sprung was tender love, you, for the exceeding grace of God in you. you with and giving you the comfort of it. Now thanks be unto God for his unspeakable

CHAP. III.

Charles's judges. He was of the priory of Kent; who died 1643, leaving in the hands and in the care of Colonel Dixwell all his estate and children, all minors, and among the rest his eldest son and principal heir, Basil, afterwards Sir Basil Dixwell. He came to New England a bachelor, then having neither warrant 1649. At the Restoration he abdica-W. G. came to New England is unknown. Very Now, my dear mother, give me leave in a little can be recovered concerning him for the cross it out again. I suppose you do by this afterwards he went by the name of James ister till his death, 1674. I believe Dixwell was

her poor afflicted mother, who is contesting time sufficiently wonder what will follow; Davids, Esq. till his death. This name it is have been one of those who were obvoxious in England. But he carefully concealed his true character from the public.

When he first came to New Haven is unaged 67, a descendant of the original inhabitants, tells me the tradition is, that when Mr. Davids first came here, he put up and lived with an aged family, two sedate old persons, Mr. Ling and his wife, who had no children. Mr. Ling at his death requested him to assist and take care of his wife, and recommended it to her to be kind to him. He left his house and whole estate to his wife.-Mr. Davids assisted in settling the estate. And afterwards he said he did not know any better way to show kindness and take care of her, than to marry her, and accordingly married her. She soon dying, he married another wife, and had children by her. Thus far deacon Ball. Mr. Ling's death was in 1673; his will and the inventory of his estate, £900, was then immediately entered and remain on the probate records to this day. So Mr. Davids must have been in New Haven before 1672: and probably several years before, as a short and transient acquaintance would not have been sufficieni to produce that trust and confidence, which Mr. Ling reposed in him at his death,

Mr. Ling's house was in a retired part of the town, at the north-west corner of what was afterwards called Mr. Pierpont's square. Here Mr. Davids lived in a retired indeed, but not secreted manner. For he constantly attended public worship, was openly conversant, though not very familiarly and intimately with Colonel John Dixwell was another of king the inhabitants, who considered him as a respectable and pious gentleman, who resided among them in a quiet and peaceable manner, without transacting any apparent business, and yet subsisting with decency, leading rather a recluse and private life. His countenance, but not his true name, was known to Mr. Jones at his first coming, who probably was soon after possessed of his true name and character, and proved his faithful friend till death. There is some reason to think he town, particularly to Mr. Street and Mr. his will dated April 14, 1674, he requests "his beloved friends, Mr. James Davids and Mr. Nicholas Augur, to be assistants" to his wife in the settlement of his estate. - Doctor Augur was an eminent and learned physician ted his country in 1660: but when he first of the town, and opulent, and of early accession, and long acquaintance with Mr. Street; whose confidence also reposed in Mr. Davids

unknown to Davenport, and probably did not come here till after his removal to Boston, which he lived in New Haven, nothing extraleast before Mr. Ling's death in 1673; while ter, with whom he might associate. The reyet it is more than probable he was here still verend Nicholas Street, the minister, at his earlier. From 1660 to 1665, we know no- first coming here, soon died. For above elething of him, he was perfectly out of sight: then he just appeared at Hadley and evanished, leaving no certain trace of himself from 1665 to 1672, where we must date the first certainty of his being at New Haven. While here he always conducted himself like a pious and exemplary christian. One says, "Mr. Dixwell was a very pious and religious man, and always fasted on Friday of every week constantly." Another says, "he had the reputation of a worthy old gentleman, a very pious and holy man, and lived very much by himself and retired." Another, aged 83, speaking of Dixwell and all the judges, says, that the good old people, when he was a boy, used to speak of these men, "as very good, and pious and holy persons, and they believed what they had done they did out of conscience, and that they themselves always thought they had done right."

In New Haven records I find these en-

"Mr. James Davids and Mrs. Joanna Ling were married by Mr. James Bishop the 3d of Nov. 1673,"

"Mrs. Joanna Davids wife of Mr. James Davids, died (between 15th and 26th in the entries) Nov. 1673."

"Mr. James Davids and Bathsheba How were married the 23d of October, before James Bishop, assistant, 1677."

"Mary, the daughter of Mr. James Davids, born 9th June, 1679."

"John, the son of Mr. James Davids and Bathsheba Davids, was born the 6th day of March, 1680-1."

"Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. James and Bathsheba Davids, was born the 14th of July, in New Haven, 1682."

were married September 1, 1708."

From New Haven church records, in the handwriting of the Rev. James Pierpont, who was ordained pastor of the church, July 1685, I extracted this. "December 29, 1685, Mr. James Davids, alias John Dixwell," admitted

into church fellowship. From hence it appears that Mr. Dixwell came to New Haven before 1672; that he was known here by the name of James Davids; that by his first wife he had no children; that he married his second wife 1677, and by her he had three children, one of which, his only son John, afterwards married Miss Prout; and that he was admitted a member in full communion with the church of New Haven in 1685, within half a year after Mr. Pierpont's ordination, and this by the name of Dixwell as well as Davids; which shows that his true character was known to Mr. Pierpont at his first coming to New Haven, though the tradition here is that Mr. Dixwell never revealed it till on his death bed, and then to Mr. Pierpont. In truth it was known to Governor Jones, and Governor Bishop, Mr. Ling and Mr. Street, from the beginning of his coming here, say 1672, and to Mr. Pierpoint 1685, and to a few others till his death, when it was promulgated to the town.

During the seventeen years or more in After all, I consider the first certainty of his ordinary occurred concerning him. From actually being here to be about 1672, and at 1674 to 1685, the church had no settled minisven years the church was destitute of a pastor, and supplied by occasional and, temporary preaching only, till Mr. Pierpont's settle-ment, 1685. With him the colonel entered immediately into an open and unreserved, but confidential communication; but this was only for the short space of the three or four last years of his exile. During this short time sult upon himself, and after meeting resented there was the greatest intimacy and friend- it as such, and reprehended the deacon for it. ship; which however seems for some time to have concealed from even his wife. For tradition says that Madam Pierpont observing and remarking the singular intimacy, and wondering at it, used to ask him, what could the general usage, yet in this instance a he the reason of this intimacy, and what he psalm was selected for Sir Edmund's consaw in that old man, who was so fond of lead-templation. ing an obscure unnoticed life, that they should be so very intimate and take such pleasure in being often together: for their house lots heing contiguous and cornering upon one ano-

After meeting he enquired who that person and condemnation. was, and was told that he was a merchant who Colonel Dixwell was notified of the inquisitiveness of this stranger concerning his per- His supplies for subsistence, and their chanson and character; for the colonel was not nels, are also unknown. Besides the monies seen at meeting in the afternoon.

kin's version, which begins thus:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad, Thy wicked works to praise?

Dost thou not know there is a God Whose mercies last always?

Why doth thy mind yet still devise Such wicked wiles to warp? Thy tongue untrue, in forging lies Is like a razor sharp.

Thou dost delight in fraud and guile,
In mischief, blood and wrong; Thy lips have learn'd the flattering stile, O false deceitful tongue!

Governor Andross felt it as an intended in-But being told it was the usage of this church to sing the psalms in course, he excused the deacon, and let the matter pass off. But it is not improbable that though this might be

Colonel Dixwell carried on no secular business, but employed his time in reading and rural walks into the neighbouring fields, groves and woods, adjacent to his house. Mr. ther, they had beaten a nath in walking across Pierpont had a large library, from whence their lots to meet and converse together at the as well as from his own collection, he could fence: and she often wondered why he should be supplied with a variety of books. He be so found of meeting and conversing with often spent his evenings at Mr. Pierpont's, that old gentleman at the fence? To whom and when they were by themselves retired he replied, that he was a very knowing and together in his study, they indulged themlearned man; that he understood more about selves with great familiarity and humour, rereligion and other things than any other man spect and honour, and free and unrestrained in town, and that if she knew the worth and conversation upon all matters, whether of revalue of that old man, she would not wonder ligion or politics. But otherwise when in company, Mr. Pierpont treated and behaved Among other traditionary anecdotes con-towards Colonel Dixwell with caution and cerning him, this is one: the English, and per- reserve. The colonel spent much of his rehaps Europeans in general, especially those tirement in reading history. As a token of who have been conversant in the variety of his friendship for Mr. Pierpont, he in his last tirement in reading history. As a token of business and employments in large cities and will presented him with Raleigh's History of populous towns, have a singular sagacity in the World. This book is now before me, judging from the external appearance and and in it I find inscribed by Mr. Pierpont, in mauner, a person's business and occupation his own hand writing, with which I am well "Mr. John Dixwell and Mrs. Mary Prout in life. Sir Edınınd Andross came to Ame- acquainted in the church records, "James rica, and became governor of New York in Pierpont's book, 1689, Ex Dono dom. John 1675 to 1684, and of Massachusetts from 1687 Dixwell, in testamento suo novissimo." What till 1689. In one of his tnurs through the Raleigh wrote for the use of the learned colony of Connecticut, perhaps about 1686, world, as well as for his own amusement, attending public worship at New Haven, he during a fourteen years imprisonment, under observed a venerable old gentleman at meet-condemnation for treason, became the entering, and noticing him closely, discerned some-tainment of Dixwell, during his twenty-eight thing singular in him, and suspected him, years exile, under the same high accusation

Whether Colonel Dixwell had any comresided in town. Sir Edmund replied, that munication with Whalley and Goffe after he he knew he was not a merchant, and became left them at Hadley, is not certainly known. particularly inquisitive about him Probably But intelligence was probably kept up between them by means of Jones and Tilton. he doubtless brought over with him from Eng-In connection with this, I may mention land, he acquired eight or nine hundred pounds another tradition, which I received from Ma-jor Lyon and others, indicating how obnox-phew, Sir Basil Dixwell, totally neglected ious Sir Edmund was at New Haven, as well and abandoned him. And it does not appear as through New England. Sir Edmund be that he received any thing from England, duing at meeting here, and probably on the same ring his exile, from any but his niece, Mrs. Lord's day as the above, the deacon gave out Elizabeth Westrow. And the tradition is, the 52d psalm to sing, in Sternhold and Hop- that in the latter part of his exile, though he was not needy, or in indigence, yet he was in straitened circumstances, for a gentleman formerly accustomed to affluence.

After having three children born to him in

restored. This he did in several indentures will doubt this removal was at the procure-copy. and writings in 1682; which he did secretly, ment of his friend Dixwell, or at least that "The last Will of James Davids, alias John but left them to be recorded and used after he was privy to it, and concerned in effecting his death. His wife procured them to be approved by the judges of the county court, Dixwell, Jones and Bishop, in New Haven, Haven, being in reasonable good health and of wills, and the jurisdiction of all testamen- Hadley, were privy to it; and yet probably make and ordain this my last will and testa-

tary matters, and settlements of estates. There is no reason to think that the three came dangerous, which was after 1680, when mis I give unto my loving wife, my house in judges were ever out of New England after Goffe was either dead or abdicated. At all New Haven aforesaid, with the home lot, the their arrival in America, though there were events, the five or six I have mentioned must orchard, and buildings, and also my lands at some loose flying stories that they were at have been the principal persons concerned in the Beaver Pond, and one acre of arable both died at Hadley, the former 1678, the have been deeply concerned in the affair; quarter, and likewise my land in the Neck, latter 1680, then Dixwell was left alone. It and this event and transaction, however sedoes not appear that Dixwell's residence in cretly performed, must become an important New England was ever suspected, either in anecdote in his life, as being the last care and wife, for and during her natural life, and after England by the ministry there, or by Ran-office of surviving friendship to the memory her decease, I give unto my son John, my dolph in New England. So that he who and to the security of the ashes of a venera- house and the lands aforesaid, unto him and really lived the most openly of any of them, ble fellow exile and brother judge. In this lived the most safely and securely. He well Governor Jones was unquestionably the effi-knew, however, and fully felt the danger that cacious agent. He and Mr. Tillton must division, being about four score acres, to him the regicides' ashes might be disturbed, as he have been the men, who procured the corpse and his heirs for ever .-- And if my son John must be well apprized of the insidious vigi- to have been conveyed from Hadley and in- die without issue of his body lawfully begotlance of Randolph. It is possible also that terred in New Haven, in so private and se-ten, then my will is, that my daughter Mary the three judges might wish that their graves cret a manner as to have eluded even the susmight be together. What has been before picion of Randolph. If Goffe died at Hadley, marrated is delivered upon sure documents. 1680, as is probable, the same reasons which litem I give my honoured friend, Mr. Pierpont, I shall now narrate what is only conjectural, would induce the removal of one would in- pastor of the church of Christ in New Haven, and leave it with every one's judgment; only duce the removal of the other, and perhaps Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. observing that if it ever did take place, no from a secret pre-concerted plan that all the new I give unto my son John all the rest of one will doubt but that Dixwell was concerned three exiles should be deposited and sleep in my books, and my silver standish I used to in it. There is somehow preserved, not in the dust together, until they should arise to- write with, and my tweezers which is in a red universal or general, but particular and strong gether at the resurcetion of the just. Now tortoise-shell case, my sword and my gun, all and lineal tradition, at New Haven, which is if all this was true, which can never be fully which I desire may be carefully kept for him. to be considered more largely hereafter, that ascertained, it would have been, as I have Item I give unto my daughter Mary twelve another of the regicides besides Dixwell, lies said, an important event in the life and trans-pounds. Item I give unto my loving wife, another of the regicides besides Dixwell, lies said, an important event in the life and trans-buried in our burying place, and that this actions of Judge Dixwell. But the whole is other was Whalley. This is particularly pre-submitted as only conjectural; though I shall estate here in New England, and do make served among the sextons, or grave-diggers, attend further to it hereafter. who it seems for many years, and perhaps ever from the time especially of Dixwell's exile from his native country, and banishment death, have shown the stone marked E. W. into oblivion from the world, of which seven-thing enjoyed by me, or belonging to me in for Whalley, as they have that marked J. D. teen years at least, probably more, were spent Old England. And I do earnestly desire my for Dixwell. I have not the least tradition or in New Haven, by the name of James Da-loving friends, Mr. William Jones and Mrs. surmise of Goffe till I myself conjectured it. vids, Esq. Colonel Dixwell died in New Ha- Jones, his wife, of New Haven aforesaid, if January 1793, inferring in my own mind without a doubt, that if Whalley, who certainly died at Hadley, was afterwards removed England. This had actually taken place the committed the care and education of them, here, Goffe would have been also. But of November before Dixwell's death, but the that they would receive them into their famithis, I mean as to Goffe's being here also, I news not having then arrived, he died igno-ly and take care of them till my friends have can find no tradition, while yet I find it tena- rant of it, about a month before the seizure opportunity to send for them, and what charge ciously adhered to by some few, and partieulof Sir Edmund Andross at Boston. At his and expense they shall be at thereby, to be larly in the line of grave-diggers, that Whall death he discovered his true character to the repaid to them. And I desire also my good lev is here. I have often examined the stone people, and owned the name of John Dix- friends aforesaid, that what belongs to my marked E. W. but consider the matter with- well, but requested that no monument should children here, they would take care that it out proof, yet possible, not to say a little pro-bable, but by no means certain. Nor do I of his person, name and character, and alleged whereof I have hereunto set my hand and wish, and least of all attempt to gain any one's as a reason, "lest his enemies might dishonour seal, dated the seventh day of May, one credulity to it, leaving every mind perfectly his ashes"—requesting that only a plain stone thousand six hundred eighty eight. free and unprejudiced. But as I know that might be set up at his grave, inscribed with whoever takes the pains which I have done, his initials, J. D. Esq. with his age and time to trace out, and collect, and digest the tradi-tions in New Haven, will find this among stone is crected at the head of his grave, close

James Clarke, others, however it originated among us; so by the tomb stone of Governor Eaton and after this precaution and notification, I shall Governor Jones, which stone is standing to proceed to what is of some consequence in this day, charged with this inscription, as at to be, that such of my books as have my the life of Dixwell, if true; and should it be first put and engraved upon it by his friends: daughter's name written upon them, belong indeed otherwise, will have no bad consequence, as not being adduced on the verity of history.

It is then supposed by some, that Whalley also lies buried in New Haven. If so, his

"J. D. Esq.

DECEASED MARCH THE 18th, IN THE 82d YEAR OF HIS AGE, 1688-9."

New Haven, he made a disposition of his es-conveyed here. For without repeating the recorded in the probate office, from the records tate in England, which he expected would be proofs, it is certain he died in Hadley. Who of which I have transcribed the following

in 1691, which had at that time the probate and Russel, Tillton, and perhaps Smith, at perfect memory, I bless the Lord for it, do it was after Randolph's rage burned and be-ment in manner and form following.—Impri-New York. Suppose Whalley and Goffe effecting this removal. If so, Dixwell must land being in the quarter called Cooper's my said wife sole executrix of this my last

JAMES DAVIDS (L. S.)

JAMES CLARKE, JAMES HEATON,

I do also hereby signify my mird and will to her, and that she shall enjoy them.

JAMES DAVIDS." "An inventory of the estate of Mr. James Davids, late of New Haven, deceased, taken He left a wife and two children. His will and apprized by Captain Meses Mansfield corpse must have been taken up and secretly was afterwards exhibited and approved, and and Thomas Tuttle, June 10th, 1689,"

amounting to 1276 12 6, and among other ar-confirmed, and by these presents doth give, ty years, and also to his son William two two story, old fashioned house.

dentures and writings, which I find recorded farm called Buckland, near unto Haversham, son came to the age of two and twenty trate the history of Colonel Dixwell.

Extracts from the New Haven records.

"Here follows a record of several deeds and other writings, recorded at the desire of Mrs. Bathsheba Davids, and the allowance of the county court.

" Dixwell, John, Esq.

it be to the value of it, and her lease extend and year above named, 1682. not for above cleven years at a time. In wit- Signed, sealed and) John ness whereof the parties above named have delivered in presence interchangeably set their bands and seals. Dated the day and year above named.

Scaled and delivered) JOHN DIXWELL (L. S.) in the presence of alias. Joseph Allsup, JAMES DAVIDS.

James Clarke, Joseph Allsup, jun.

"This writing, as above, is a true record of the original. Recorded and examined pr

JAMES BISHOP,

"This Indenture, made the twentieth of

ticles, housing and homested, 165. By a cur-grant and confirm, unto the said John Dix-thousand pounds, at his age of one and twenty sory review of a number of inventories, well, his son, All that his capital house, called about this time I should judge Mr. Dixwell's the priory of Folkestone, with the pigeon-estate better than those of half the inhabitants house, stables, barns, and all the lands thereof New Haven, who were comfortable liv- unto belonging, called the Priory Lees, and sums I entered into several bonds. Now this ers; and consequently that he was not re- also all that his farm called or known by the sale of his estate was indeed but in trust, my duced to indigency. I have often been in his name of Sandgate Farm, with the buildings brother having that confidence in me I would house, which was standing till twenty or thereunto belonging, and all the lands, arable, manage his estate for the benefit and advantwenty-five years ago. It was a comfortable, pasture and meadow, thereunto belonging, tage of his cldest son, and pay those sums be-Immediately after his death the news of his assigns, and also all his marsh lands lying leave his whole estate and care of his children the revolution and of the accession of King in Romney Marsh, formerly in the occupa- solely to me, he then casting after three hun-William and Queen Mary arrived here tinn of Basil Cloake, or his assigns; and also dred pounds yearly being paid to his widow Upon which things took a new turn, and as all that his farm lying in the parish of Houg-for her jointure, and two hundred and fifty sumed an aspect more favourable to civil and ham, with all the houses and lands arable, pounds yearly being allowed for his five chilreligious liberty. In a little time therefore, pasture, and meadow, thereunto belonging, dren's education, allowing fifty pounds a piece or in about two years after Dixwell's death, formerly in the occupation of widow Vallier, for every one of them, did suppose the sums it became safe to bring forth the following in- or her assigns; and also all his manor and aforesaid might be raised when his eldest in the probate office at New Haven; and in the said county, with all the houses and years, not considering of any taxes to be paid which I have transcribed and copied from buildings, lands, arable and pasture, thereunto out of his estate nor abatement of rents in the records of that office, as they will illus belonging: To have and to hold the said regard to the great troubles that was then in son John and his heirs for ever. And if my perform, in taking care for his children as if son John die without issue of his body law-they had been my own. My brother died, as fully begotten, if the Lord should give me I remember, in February one thousand six "This indenture, made the tenth of Oc- the manor aforesaid, to him and to his heirs following: To his two daughters, Elizabeth tober, in the year of our Lord God one thou- for ever. And if there be no issue male to and Bennet, when they married, four thousand six hundred eighty two, between John inherit the same, then I give and grant all the sand pounds, the taxes I paid out of the es-Dixwell, alias James Davids, of the priory of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, Esq. daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to their of the one part, and Bathsheba Dixwell, his wife, on the other part, witnesseth, That the fully begotten from the children of the said sand pounds in purchasing the manor of said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, for John Dixwell, alias James Davids, then I Diggs and other lands for his eldest son, and the natural love and affection he beareth to give and grant all the aforesaid manor and in buildings and other necessary expenses his said wife, Hath given, granted and con-lands unto my dear and loving niece, Eliza- about his chief house, and elsewhere one firmed unto the said Bathsheba Dixwell, his beth Westrow during her life, and after to thousand pounds; and for the abatement of wife, All that his farm lying in the parish of Dixwell Westrow, her son, and his heirs for rents those troublesome times, one thousand Hougham, in the county of Kent, with the ever. And I do also hereby signify and de- and twenty pounds, the sums before mentionhouses and buildings, and all the lands, arable, clare that all former settlements of the lands ed I do think, and rather more than less. Beand pasture, and meadows thereto belonging, before mentioned on any of the sons of my sides, when I came away I left with my broformerly in the occupation of widow Vallier, brother Mark Dixwell, deceased, being upon ther's widow five hundred pounds, there be-To have and to hold, and enjoy, and also to revocation, either by indenture, or by will, take and receive the profits thereof during shall be null and void. In witness whereof her natural life, with power also to lease out the parties above named, have interchangeasaid farm and lands for a yearly rent, so that bly set their hands and seals. Dated the day have raised the other sons' portions, if their

Signed, sealed and) John Dixwell, (i.s.) alias

JAMES DAVIDS.

Joseph Allsup, James Clarke,

Joseph Allsup, jun.

"This writing as above, is a true record of the original, recorded and examined pr.

JAMES BISHOP, Clerk of New Haven County.' Mr. Davids.

"Whereas my brother, Mark Dixwell, of Clerk of New Haven County. Broome, in the parish of Barham, in the coununto said son John; Have given, granted and thousand pounds, at his age of one and twen-thousand pounds for it, and if she be living

formerly in the occupation of John Hill, or fore mentioned to his younger children, did houses and lands, with the manor of Buck- the nation. And this trust my brother comland aforesaid, after the death of the said John mitted to me I did with all the care and dili-Dixwell, alias James Davids, unto his said gence I could to the utmost of my power another son, that then the brother of the said hundred forty-three, and then I took upon John shall enjoy all the houses and lands with me that trust, and paid and laid out the sums ther's widow five hundred pounds, there being in the tenants' hands at least one thousand pounds, which with the profits of his estate for two years more, would have gone near to mother, that was entrusted with the same had been as careful as I was. But the sums aforesaid could never have been disbursed, considering the taxes which were paid out of the estate, and the abatements of rents, and the necessary expenses about building and reparation, and his estate so increased, if I had made use of my own money, for what money I had, and what I saved out of my estate for seventeen years, I made use of to improve my nephew's, the which I suppose to be between two or three thousand pounds. And being confident of my nephew's ingenuity and honesty in paying the same, did not make any provision to secure the same when I setty of Kent, Esq. deceased, did by his deed tled his father's estate upon him; but most un-October, in the year of our Lord God, one of bargain and sale, convey and settle his gratefully and injuriously he refused to allow thousand six hundred and eighty two, be- whole estate upon me for the consideration of any thing to me for this considerable sum, nor tween John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of thirteen thousand pounds, to be paid to the shew any respect for the care I had of him, the priory of Folkestone in the county of Kent, best of my remembrance in manner follow- by making some provision for me in my afflict-Esq. of the one part, and John Dixwell, his ing, viz. To his two daughters, Elizabeth and ed estate. And that there was such a sum son, of the other part, Witnesseth, That the Bennet, two thousand pounds a piece at the due to me from Basil, my brother's eldest said John Dixwell, alias James Davids, out time of marriage, or at the age of eighteen son, his mother, now the Lady of Oxinden, of the natural love and affection he beareth years, and to his second son, Heardson, three was so persuaded of it she offered me two

for seventeen years I was at great expense ther empower the said Elizabeth and Tho- my son in regard to my brother's estate, was and trouble in managing this estate and there- mas Westrow, if they die before the monies entailed upon me for want of issue male, they fore in justice there ought to be an allowance mentioned to be recovered, that they shall would endeavour my son John or other chilfor the same: And also for detaining such a have power by writing under their hand and sum from me, taking advantage of my con-seal, to empower such as they shall think fit dition, and showing unmercifulness in that to recover the monies mentioned in this writthey would allow me nothing for my present ing to be paid as is expressed in another writmaintenance, that if the Lord had not extra-ing bearing date with this, wherein my deordinarily provided for me, I had perished sires are fully mentioned. for want. Now being confident the Lord will appear for people and the good old cause for which I suffer, and that there will be those in power again that will relieve the injured and oppressed, the Lord having given me opportunity to change my condition, and also given me children, I think I am bound to use the best means I can whereby they may enjoy what is so injuriously kept from me.— Therefore, know all men by these presents, that I John Dixwell, alias James Davids, of Davids, of the priory of Folkstone, in the the priory of Folkstone, in the county of Kent, Esq. have constituted and Kent, Esq. do hereby constitute and appoint appointed my dear and loving niece, Mrs. my dear and loving niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Elizabeth Westrow, and Thomas her son, my Westrow, and Thomas Westrow, her son, true and lawful attornies, to ask and demand my true and lawful attornies to ask, demand and receive of the executors of my nephew, and receive of the eldest son of my nephew, Sir Basil Dixwell, Knight and Baronet, de-Sir Basil Dixwell, Knight and Baronet, de-ceased, or his son, or any other that may be ceased, or his executors, or any that may be justly liable thereto, the sum of two thousand justly liable thereto, the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, what I laid out for the five hundred pounds, and also allowance for improving his estate, with allowance for the the trouble, charge and expense, in managing managing his estate at my own charge for the estate aforesaid for seventeen years, and seventeen years, and also for detaining the likewise with allowance for detaining the sum sum of two thousand five hundred pounds of two thousand five hundred pounds for two from me for these two and twenty years past, and twenty years past: and if the executors not affording me any thing for my subsistence of my said nephew, Sir Basil Dixwell, or his the time of my affliction. Now I do hereby son, or any other that may be justly liable signify by these presents that what shall be thereto, refuse to pay or give satisfaction for recovered concerning the two thousand five the same, then to sue, implead and use all hundred pounds, owing to me, and also allow-daughter Mary die before the times mentioned other lawful means the law and justice will ance for managing his estate for seventeen in this writing for the payment of those monies afford to recover the same : And I also em- years, and likewise for detaining the said sum to them, as is expressed, then I do hereby signipower my said atternies to compound with of two thousand five hundred pounds for two them upon just and reasonable terms, and all and twenty years, my said niece, Elizabeth niece, Elizabeth Westrow aforesaid, and the so to give a full discharge from the same, by Westrow, and Thomas Westrow aforesaid, children she had by her late husband, Thomas release, or by making any other legal discharge in case my son John enjoy my estate which which may be according to law; and I do al- was taken from me in these times, that then lies as remain due to me to be equally divided so hereby signify what my said attornies shall they would pay to my daughter Mary one between her and them. In testimony hereof recover or receive for the same to be paid to thousand pounds at the day of her marriage, my children according to a writing I have or at her age of eighteen years, and if she 1688. bearing date with this my letter of attorney. die before she marry or attain to the age afore-In witness whereof I have hereunto set my said, that then my son John shall have the hand and seal .- Dated the two and twentieth same. And also my desire is, my said dear of October, in the year of our Lord God, one nicee would take two hundred pounds for her thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

Sealed, signed and) John Dixwell, (L.s.) delivered in presence alias JAMES DAVIDS.

Joseph Allsup,

James Clarke. Joseph Allsup, jun.

dear niece Elizabeth Westrow being sickly, I thought fit to join her son Thomas Westrow with her in this trust, and by reason of the infirmities of my old age, being about world, they would send for them and also of attorney, and fully hereby declare, that the eighty years old, and not able to new write my dear wife, if they please to come, for it, and not knowing any I durst to trust to whom I have made some provision out of my write it for me, I hope this will satisfy any that shall make any scruple thereof. And I would shew the same kindness to my wife do hereby signify my mind to be, that if I they would shew to me. And I do make it I were personally present and living. In witdie, it shall not null the power I have given my last and great request to my said dear ness whereof, and for a most full confirmation

JOHN DIXWELL.

May the 7th 1688.

"This writing as above, with that on the other side, is a true record of the original. Recorded and examined pr

JAMES BISHOP,

Clerk of New Haven County. Mr. Davids. "Whereas, I John Dixwell, alias James own use, as a token of my love and respect to her; and also that they would pay to my loving wife, Bathsheba Dixwell, two hundred pounds, and what is remaining, charges being allowed about recovering the same, they would pay it to my son John at his age of one and twenty years: But if my son John do "The interlining of Thomas Westrow in not enjoy my estate, that then my said daughthis writing, and also the other interlining, is ter Mary shall have but five hundred pounds. done by my own hand, the reason being my And I do hereby commit the education of my mentioned in a letter of attorney already children and guardianship of them wholly to the said Elizabeth and Thomas Westrow, earnest-

can testify to the truth of what I say, and to row, but this my letter of attorney shall be of would bring up my children in the knowledge the particulars before mentioned. Besides, full force after my death as now. And I fur- and fear of God. And if any thing fall to dren may enjoy the same. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal. Dated the two and twentieth of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred eighty-two.

Scaled and delivered | John Dixwell, (L. s.) in presence of

Joseph Altsup, JAMES DAVIDS. James Clarke.

Joseph Allsup, jun.

This writing as above is a true record of the original.

Recorded and examined pr me, JAMES BISHOP Clerk of New Haven County.

"Further instructions on the other side. " Mr. Davids.

"These are further to signify my request unto my dear niece, Elizabeth Westrow, and my cousin, Thomas Westrow, her son, That I do hereby declare my mind to be, that what my dear niece, Elizabeth Westrow, out of her tenderness hath furnished me with, or yet may if this condition continue, shall be allowed to her, or such as she shall assign it to; And I do also signify my mind to be, that my cousin Thomas Westrow aforesaid shall have for a token of my respect to him forty pounds. And my further request is, if I die before any thing be recovered, that then my dear friends aforesaid would allow unto my wife, for her and my children's maintenance, twenty pounds yearly. And I do further declare my mind and will to be, that if my son John and ly it to be my mind and will, that my dear Westrow, deceased, shall have all such mou-I have hereunto set my hand, May the 7th,

John Dixwrll."

"Know all men by these presents, that I James Davids of the town of New Haven, in New England, alias John Dixwell, of the priory of Folkestone, in the county of Kent, in Old England, Esq. being under weakness of body, and uncertain what issue the Lord will please to make with me, do think fit hereby to declare that all the power and authority I have elsewhere given to my dear niece, Elizabeth Westrow, and her son, Thomas Westrow, shall after my death or decease, continue, for the recovery of all that money given or made unto the said Elizabeth and Thomas, authorising them as above said, unto ly requesting, if the Lord take me out of this the end and uses expressed in the said letter said Elizabeth and Thomas, or either of them, shall have and exercise all the trust, power and authority, expressed and conveyed in said letter of attorney, as fully in all respects as if unto the said Elizabeth and Thomas West-Iniece and cousin Inorms Westrow, they of these presents, I have hereunto set my hand

and seal, this fifteenth of March, in the year Sibbel Collins Aug. 16, 1716. of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred Abigail Collins, Jan. 4, 1717-19. eighty-eight, or eighty-nine.

delivered in the presence of JOHN DIXWELL. James Heaton, Enos Talmage,

John Alling, tertius.

"These two distinct writings as above are a true record of the originals. Recorded and examined pr me,

JAMES BISHOP,

Clerk of New Haven County." (End of the Records.)

These entries or records are indeed without in the records of that church. date, but they were made 1691, in the handwriting of Governor Bishop, and among his They are between a record dated to have been recorded December 3, 1690, and the record of a deed acknowledged "before James Bishop, deputy-governor," which acknowledgment is dated 31st of March, 1691, and the record "by James Bishop, clerk of the county," though without date. The entries in the next page of the records is in Governor Jones's hand-writing. So this is the last recording of Governor Bishop.

From these papers it appears, that Mr. Dixwell had a handsome estate in England; that he received some supplies from Mrs. Westrow, but none from the rest of the family, though he had faithfully executed an important betrustment for the benefit of his brother's children, and particularly Sir Basil Dixwell, who seems to have shown no gratitude to his uncle in his distress and long prohe had by his first wife, the widow Ling, yielded him his principal subsistence for the last years of his life, if not for the whole of his sixteen years residence in New Haven. He received something from his cousin, Elizabeth Westrow, and perhaps some private donations, as his brother judges received at Hadley.

At his death he left a widow and two children, a son and a daughter. The family lived together eighteen or twenty years in New Haven, immediately resuming the name of Dixwell. The son was put to a goldsmith, and through the faithful care of his friends received a good, and religious, and respetable education, and became a pious and worthy man. The daughter, Mary Dixwell, married Mr. John Collins of Middletown, December 24, 1707, the year after the death of Governor Jones and his lady, to whose guardianship Judge Dixwell had commended his two children, and who faithfully befriended them. The son soon married and settled in Boston. Hereupon the mother, Mrs. Bathsheba Dixwell, the judge's relict, removed and lived with her daughter Collins at Middletown, in Connecticut, where she died December 27, 1729, aged 85, on her grave stone 86. Mrs. Collins's children were as follows: Nathaniel Collins, born Nov. 17, 1708. Mary Collins, Sept. 23, 1710, living 1793* John Collins, Mar. 18, 1712. ob. May 6'14 Twins—John Collins, Nov. 13, 1714. ob. One died in a few hours Oct. 12'14

> * Mrs. Mary Caruthers of Bennington. Vol. 2-9

This account was at my request extracted Signed, sealed and JAMES DAVIDS, from the records of the city of Middletown in the presence of alias 1793, by the reverend Enoch Huntington, pastor of the first church in said city.

The judge's only son, Mr. John Dixwell, settled as a goldsmith in Boston, about 1707; and afterwards went into trade, and became a merchant in good and flourishing circumstances. He was exemplary for amiableness of manners, and for strict integrity and religion-and became an elder in the new north church in Boston, and every way sustained a very worthy character, of which there is a respectable and affectionate testimony entered

John Dixwell was among those who formed the new north church. The building was last entries, as he died 24th June, 1691, raised in 1714. In 1716, it is recorded, "That our worthy brother, Mr. John Dixwell was unanimously chosen to the office of

> 1720-Sept. 7, "Voted to proceed to the Lyman, and deacon John Dixwell, were chosen to said office with great unanimity.

> " 1725-April 2-On this day died that exof his age, greatly lamented by this church.

abilities."

In 1710, he went to England to recover by Sir Basil Dixwell.—It is said the estate had not been confiscated. It was doubtless secured from confiscation by its being shewn in trust for his brother's children. It appears by the indenture of 1682, that the judge, before his leaving England, had made a settlenephews, subject however to "Revocation." above twenty years after: yet in 1660, or at the time of the seizure and confiscation of the estates of the regicides, no such revocation his brother John survived him. This story appearing, the estate must at that time have been adjudged in law as vesting in the nephews, especially considering the trust: and also that he being attainted of treason, a subsequent revocation by him must be barred. The trust as well as assignment, and especially married Miss Mary Prout of New Haven, both conjunctly, would have been sufficient to September 1, 1708, by whom he had the folprevent the confiscation in 1660, or 1661; and the subsequent revocation, being perhaps a nullity in law, must have prevented a recovery in 1710. And it is probable that Mr. John Dixwell, upon advising with counsel learned in the law, might find it their opinion that the attainder and abdication would be the same year that, through the recommenadjudged ever after to disenable the judge dation of Lady Montague it was first introfrom making a legal revocation.-Whereupon duced into England from Constantinople. It the estate must be left to rest in the possessors. is the tradition in the family of Prout here, Whether for these or other reasons, yet it is that Mrs Dixwell was in the first experi-certain that Mr. Dixwell returned without ment, and died in innoculation. Mr. Dixthe recovery of the estate. And yet he does well married again, and himself died in 1724, not seem to have given up this matter, for he afterwards intended another voyage for its recovery, after Sir Basil's death, as he had pro-Prout, Esq. took those orphans home to New mised or encouraged him to make a son, Haven, and became their guardian. Madam whom he should and did name Basil, his heir. Prout, his mother, took care of John; Mrs. This may induce us to give some attention to a tradition narrated to me by one person in of Basil; and Elizabeth was taken into the

New Haven, whose mother knew Judge Dixwell, and who is from her possessed of much of the Dixwell history; and which may suggest that the reasons for the nullification of the revocation I have mentioned, did not in fact operate so strongly, even in Queen Anne's time, as I have represented, but that truly in 1710 the matter was settled with Sir Basil, in some good measure to the satisfaction of Mr. Dixwell, though he did not then recover the full possession of the family estate. I shall state the tradition as I received it from this person, as derived from Mr. Kilby-That Dixwell's papers and all the documents were committed to Mr. agent Kilby, who was empowered to the purpose. That while in England he communicated them first to a sonin-law, of Sir Basil's a lawyer who had married Sir Basil's daughter and only child, who became convinced and satisfied that the estate was recoverable. But as the knight was aged and would resent the motion, it was concluded the son should first open the matter to Sir Basil: Upon doing which, it is said, that choice of three ruling elders, and when the the knight, as was expected, stormed and was votes were brought in, it appeared that our in a great rage, asserting that he was the rightworthy brethren, John Baker, deacon Caleb ful and lawful owner of the estate. Learned counsel in the law were consulted, and the result was that the right heir was in New England, and was recoverable especially in the cellent elder, John Dixwell, in the 44th year more moderate days of the Hanoverian family. Upon which Sir Basil was softened, and and by all that knew his singular worth and acceded to a compromise. And that by an indenture or writing signed by Sir Basil, it was agreed with Mr. Killy, that Sir Basil his father's estate, and was kindly received should enjoy the estate during his life, and after his death it should come to the heirs in New England. But that on Mr. Kilby's return to America, the heir was dead, This tracted exile. It is probable that the estate that it was held, at least in part, by the judge heir was Basil Dixwell, son of elder Dixwell. This is the tradition, perhaps mistaken in some circumstances, and imperfect as to others. If the matter was really brought to ment and transfer of all his estates to his this crisis, it would not seem that the death of Basil in 1746, would prevent the descent He made this revocation indeed in 1682, and succession of the estate, but that it is open to this day, it not being confiscated: For although Basil died without issue, yet was told by Mr. agent Kilby himself, who resided sometime at New Haven about 1760, and who then proposed erecting a monument over Dixwell's grave.

Elder Dixwell who settled at Boston, lowing children born iu Boston.

Basil Dixwell, born July 7, 1711. Ob. 1764. John Dixwell, born 1718. Ob. 1749.

Elizabeth Dixwell, born 1716. Living 1793. Innoculation for the small pox was introduced at Boston for the first time in 1721,

family of Mrs Christophers, his aunt, at New was prepared, and should meet death as a New Haven, in New England, was inform-London.

Boston; settled at Providence; entered the chest, he would find his real name and chararmy 1745; and died unmarried and without acter. This leads me to think Mr. Pierpout

issue, at Louisburgh, 1746.

live with a brazier in Boston, where he settled in business, and entered into trade, and prospered. He married Miss Hunt of Watertown, and died in Boston 1749. Of three children, Mary only survived to maturity, and tion in your letter, they died at Hadley; but married Mr. Samuel Hunt, preceptor of the grammar school in Boston.

The daughter, Miss Elizabeth Dixwell. who was educated by her aunt Christophers at New London, is now living there 1793, aged 76, the widow relict of Mr. Joseph Lathrop, of New London, married April 22,

daughters.

Elizabeth Lathrop, born Jan. 23, 1740. John Lathrop, born June 7, 1743. No issue. Mary Lathrop, born Feb. 3, 1744. Joseph Lathrop, born Sep. 16, 1747. Sarah Lathrop, born Jan. 30, 1752.

Dixwell Lathrop, born July 29, 1753. Issue 8 children.

Mrs. Lathrop tells me, that about 1745, or 48 years ago, upon a solicitation of some friends Lathrop, and lived at New London.-She is here, Sir Basil Dixwell sent over a gratuity in monies to the family of Dixwell here, of town, in 1778. Should you write to her, or which she received £50 for her share, per-

haps equal to £20 sterling.

I subjoin a letter of Mrs. Caruthers' an aged grand-daughter of Judge Dixwell, now ton Mather, procured for me by the Rev. Doctor Belknap, of Boston, from Mr. Samuel the history of Judge Dixwell, that would enmay confirm and illustrate the history of Judge your aged, but Dixwell.

" Bennington, April 26, 1793.

"SIR.

"I received your letter of 16th February last, and have attended to all the matter of information which you have suggested. I find it is not in my power to give you the certainty of information required. I am now 83 following depositions be entered, viz. years of age, and not expecting to be interrogated upon the subject you have mentioned, I have not been particular in early life of refreshing my memory with the history of my family. I perfectly remember my grandmother Dixwell, who after my grandfather's death, lived with my mother until she died. When this event happened, I was eighteen years of age.

"I remember of hearing her mention that my grandfather, when he came to America, was a single man, and that he had neither brother nor sister living. That there were two persons from England, who were his friends (whether they came with him to Boston or with them at Hadley, about six weeks.

"He communicated to my grandmother, long before his death his real name and character. Mr. Pierpont was with him in his apprehensive that he was struck with death. He observed, that it did not surprise him, he

welcome messenger; and that after his death, Mr. Basil was placed with a goldsmith at if he should examine certain papers in his was not acquainted with his real name, until Mr. John Dixwell, his brother, was put to the death of my grandfather,* although my grandmether was well apprized of it.

"I can give no information of Goffe and Whalley, as to their age or the time of their death; although I have heard, as you men-I cannot say from whence I had this information. What I have related as from my grandmother I have in perfect remembrance.

"My uncle John Dixwell went to England in the reign of Queen Anne. He did not obtain any thing. He intended going a second time, but did not. One Basil Dixwell, 1739, by whom she had four sons and three a relation of my grandfather, told my uncle, that if ever he had issue a son, and would call him Basil, he would make him his heir. Joseph Lathrop, born Dec. 11, 1741. Died. He then had a daughter, Molly, who died very young; afterwards he had a son, whom he called Basil. He never went to England, but James Davids, alias John Dixwell.-The dedied unmarried in 1746.

"My uncle had all his grandfather's papers. It is very probable the papers are with dead, unless it be Elizabeth, who married a a widow, and was living when I left Middleher family, it is possible you may obtain the

necessary papers.
"As to the property my grandfather may have left, I am apprehensive time has changliving at Bennington, 1793, aged 83; with ed the lawful owners. I have no expectation three affidavits, and two other letters from the of receiving any part of it for myself or chil-Rev. Mr. Pierpont and the Rev. Doctor Cot- dren. But should you, sir, receive any information on this subject, or obtain any clue to Hunt, who married Mary, the last branch of the Dixwell family, in Boston: All which you do me a kindness in communicating it to

Very obedient and humble servant,

MARY CARUTHERS.

To Ezra Stiles."

New Haven County Court, Feb. 4, 1705-6. "Upon the desire of Mrs. Bathsheba Dixwell, it is ordered by this court that these

New Haven, October, 31, 1705. "Then personally appeared before me John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assistants of her majesty's corporation of Connecticut, in New England, and justice of the peace, William Jones, Esq. late deputy-go-

vernor of said corporation, aged eighty and one, and made oath as followeth, viz.

"That the said William Jones, deponent, sundry years, between sixteen hundred and forty, and sixteen hundred and fifty, and in the time of the long parliament, as it was then called, was resident at Westminster: And so had certain knowledge of many noblemen and gentlemen then conversant in after him, I do not remember) that he staid court, and particularly had certain knowledge of John Dixwell, Esq. and that the said Dixwell was a member of the said parliament sitting at Westminster, and had in honourable esteem then: And afterwards the said last sickness, and mentioned to him, he was deponent transporting himself and family to

* Mr. Pierpont knew certainly who he was in 1685,

ed of a gentleman of manifest great education, who in other parts of the country endeavoured to lead a retired and obscure life, who called himself James Davids. The dcponent further affirms, that this gentleman called James Davids, removing from one place to another, afterwards came to sojourn in said New Haven, wherehy the deponent had opportunity of personal acquaintance and frequent conversation with him; and certainly knew well the said James Davids to be the above named John Dixwell, whom he had often seen and known in Westminster: and that for some reasons he saw cause to abscond in these remote parts, and under the name of James Davids. This gentleman alter some time married a virtuous maiden, Mrs. Bathsheba How, by whom she had three children, as appears of record in said New Haven, one of which died in infancy, two, named John and Mary, are now living, and of adult age, reputed and known of all the vicinity to be the lawful children of said ponent furthermore affirmeth, that sometime before the decease of said gentleman, which was in the year of our Lord 1689, in his last some one of the family. His children are all and long sickness, he uncovered himself and made it known to his friends that his true and original name was John Dixwell: and that he had been a member of said long parliament, and that for sundry reasons he had concealed himself and changed his name to James Davids: So that hereupon his relict and children have passed ever since under the name of Dixwell. The said deponent doth also affirm and testify, that the bearer hereof Mr. John Dixwell, is the only surviving son of the aforesaid James Davids, alias John

"The above affidavit taken the date first above mentioned. Pr. me,

"John Alling, Assistant.

New Haven, January 1st. 1705-6."

Then personally appeared before me, John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assistants of her Majesty's corporation of Connecticut in New England, and justice of the peace, the Rev. James Pierpont, pastor of said New Haven, aged forty-six, and gave oath as followeth, viz.

That the said James Pierpont, deponent, being in the year of our Lord, sixteen hundred eighty and four, called by the people of New Haven to the pastoral work, observed among them an aged person of manifest great education, who called himself James Davids. but was generally supposed to be of another name; his observable wisdom and great knowledge in the English law, state policy and European affairs, made his conversation very valuable to said deponent, and rendered said gentleman honourable with all that knew him. Yet said deponent observed this gentleman studiously to avoid public observation and employment. After many conjectures who this gentleman should be, the said deponent presumed he was truly John Dixwell; which, on a fit occasion, suggesting to this gentleman in private, he seemed conceeding thereto, but obliged to secreey in that matter: Having been married as said deponent was informed, to a virtuous maiden, called Bathsheba How; this gentleman had by her three children, one son called John the

become bereof, and two daughters, one of which called Mary is now living: The said deponent further affirmeth, that when Sir Edmand Andross took the government of Connecticut, the said Davids, alias Dixwell, brought sundry papers (as he said of importance) sealed up, which he requested the deponent to take into safe custody: and not to suffer the seals to be broken till after said Dixwell's decease, declaring it was not so safe under present changes those writings should be found in his hand. The deponent also affirmeth, that the said gentlemen falling into a dropsy in the year sixteen hundred eighty and nine, whereof he at length died, sent after said deponent, and sundry times fully declared himself to he John Dixwell of the priory of Folkestone, in Kent, Esq. and brother to Mark Dixwell, Esq. of Broom, in the parish of Oakham in Kent: whose relict was afterwards the Lady Oxinden, one of whose daughters was Mrs. Elizabeth Westrow, with whom said John Dixwell held correspondence until his death: He furthermore declared he had been a member of the long parliament in the reign of Charles I. and for what reasons he had concealed himself under the name of James Davids, and that his proper name was John Dixwell, by which his relict and children are since called.

The above affidavit taken the date first above mentioned. Pr. me,

JOHN ALLING, Assist, and Justice of the Peace. New Haven, Jan. the 1st, 1705-6.

Then personally appeared before me John Alling, the subscriber hereof, one of the assistants of her majesty's corporation of Connecticut, in New England, and justice of the peace, Mr. James Heaton, of said New Haven, aged seventy, and male oath as followeth, viz.

"That the said James Heaton, deponent, living next door to one Mr. Ling, there came as said deponent observed, a gentleman from some more obscure parts of the country, to sojourn with said Ling; said gentleman called himself James Davids: his clothing, deportment and manifest great education and accomplishments, in a little time caused many to conjecture the said gentleman was no ordinary person, but for some great reasons sought to conceal both his proper name and his character. But people could not be determined in their thoughts until said gentleman fell sick of a dropsy, whereof he died in the year of our Lord, sixteen hundred eighty and nine. In that long sickness having occasion, in preparation for his death, to sign and seal sundry writings, he was pleased to send for the said deponent among some others since deceased, to sign as witnesses to said writings; when he manifested himself to be by name John Dixwell, and so signed his said. writings. This gentleman married with Mrs. Bathsheba How, by whom he had three children, one son and two daughters; one of the who is the bearer hereof, and his daughter Mary are now living, and pass under the name of Dixwell.

mentioned. Pr. me,

JOHN ALLING, Assist. and Justice of the Peace. " Extracted from New Haven County Court Records, b. 2, p. 208.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Pierpont to Sir of Dixwell. At the request of Mrs. Dixwell Sir Basil Dixwell. New Haxen, May 4, 1708.

"Honourable Sir. ry Newman of September 4, 1707, in answer honourable family and name in New England, to his of the 2d of that month, wherein your who want little save their father's estate, or honour doth Col. John Dixwell the justice to your honour's favourable regards to render declare him in the management of your far them valuable in Old England as they already ther's estate, a very honest gentleman and be in New England. If in any thing may confaithful friend to him, many papers of his in tribute to your further satisfaction, shall ready my hand manifest the truth of that character; receive your commands, and with utmost that he deserved the same and much honoura-truth and integrity worthy my own name ble regard, his surviving observers cannot and profession, shall show that I am, forget. They were doubtless mistaken who informed your honour he died in Switzerland. Anno Domini 1684 I was called to the pastoral work in New Haven, in the colony of Connecticut, New England, quickly observed an "To Sir Basil Dixwell." aged gentleman who called himself James Davids, his accomplishments and accurate gentility shewed him to be no ordinary person. People generally supposed there were great reasons of his reservedness. They made their guess; but could not find him out. The late Hon. William Jones, deputy gover- upon you the only son of one who was an nor, knew his person at Westminster; but uncle and a father to your honourable father. could not recover his true name; nor was it A word in which I perceive your honour alcertainly known till his last sickness, which ready sensible of a very moving and char-happened A. D. 1689, and as near as I can ming oratory. With an irresistible force, learn Anno Etatis 84. His disease was a and a pathos beyond any thing that we can dropsy. He lay long before it overthrew see in the oration for Ligarius, it pleads for a him -During which time he often sent for most affectionate notice to be taken of him. me, and fully declared himself to be John The son of such a father! Dixwell of the priory of Folkestone in Kent, Esq. -- and brother to Mark Dixwell, Esq. of to let any old, forgotten, dubious, political Broom, in the parish of Barham in Kent, consideration extinguish his affection for the whose relict was afterwards, if I mistake not, memory of so excellent an uncle. The tempthe Lady Oxinden, one of whose daughters tations of that day, when he was on the stage, was Madam Elizabeth Westrow, who under were such on both sides, that all generous and the name of Elizabeth Boyes held correspond-compassionate minds easily bury in a just obence by letters with him till his death. He livion the differences thereby occasioned. declared also that he had been a member of Alas, how many changes and thwartings have the long parliament, in the reign of King you seen since that day! enough to cool Charles I. and gave the reasons wherefore the mutual resentments of what was done in he had concealed himself in sundry places, that day. Impartial posterity will confess and under the name of James Davids. He there were brave men on both sides; braver left sundry writings sealed, with order they should not be opened till after his death; cause or Cæsar's. Our Dixwell was one of which accordingly were, and exhibited in the them. Ours in regard of his dying with us; office of probates: by which doth appear, that and worthy to be yours in regard of your acknowledgeth; but advanced great sums for kinsman of so polished and sublimed a chawith suitable acknowledgments have reim-quality and superior education. bursed, if his kind and good uncle had not daughters died in infancy, his son named John left her with six small children. Many other soul; thoughtful and cautious enough too; "The above affidavit taken the date above children, John and Mary Dixwell, whose edu- him not, would have made him extraordinary. cation hath been as good as our country and

and her son Mr. John, with other gentlemen and friends, I have presumed to give your honour the trouble of this long letter; but the "I have the honour of your's to Mr. Hen-satisfaction of finding some branches of your

> "Honourable Sir, "Your honour's most obedient "Humble servant. "JAMES PIERPONT.

Copy of a Letter from Doctor Cotton Mather to Sir Basil Dixwell.

" Boston, New England, Nov. 13, 1710. " SIR,

"From remote America there now waits

"Sir Basil has too wise and great a soul he must be truly the above said John Dix-kind aspect on his offspring. He had excelwell, that he was not only a most honest and lencies that render him worthy of esteem, faithful friend, as your honour most gratefully even from enemies. How much more from a the benefit of Sir Basil Dixwell's estate du-racter, that he perfectly understands how far ring his minority, which doubtless he would the ties of nature are strengthened by good

"Though your uncle be dead, yet Non tobeen unhappily necessitated to withdraw. tus recessit reliquit enim filium. Do but cast Much more on this head is left under his an eye on this his only son. Look upon him, hand and seal. Your honour's grand-father Sir, his personal merit will speak for him. died I suppose about 1643; left three sons, He is one of ingenuity. He has a genius ele-Basil, Heardson and William; the two vated above the common level of the counyounger sous died in adult. Elizabeth mar-try, where he had his birth and breeding: ried with Thomas Westrow, who died and There is in him, a modest but yet a sprightly particulars I could offer for your honour's and a natural good sense agreeable to the further assurance, that your honour's uncle stock of which he comes. A little cultivadied under our observation. He left two tion which the place of his nativity afforded

"He had no share in the confusions which their small estate would allow; and truly disturbed the middle of the former century. their proficiency, honourable exemplary de-portment, almost shows what root they sprang turbances on your side the water. He forfrom, and declare them worthy of the name feits nothing on those accounts. Yea, I will

venture to say this of him, though he has lived for near twice seven years in my neighbourhood, I never heard that he did one ill or base

thing in his life.

"He comes not over because he is in any wants or straits: but Sir Basil is known in these parts of the world and well spoken of. It is known that as he is able so he is willing to do good unto many; much more to his own kinsman! He is esteemed a person of honour, figure and virtue. 'Tis believed it will particularly shine in his goodness to his own kinsman! People of the best fashion here have advised him to intermit his other business for half a year and wait upon his kinsman and see. 'Tis in obedience to their advice that he does what he does. His kinsman's reputation will be advanced in these distant colonies by doing for him.

"And among those who have encouraged him, from an high opinion we have of your generosity, be pleased, Sir, to allow him to number himself, who is your honour's unknown, but real and humble servant,

"COTTON MATHER." Some account of the family of Dixwell, taken from sundry papers and fragments now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Hunt, by JEREMY BELKNAP.

Boston, July 15, 1793. The family of Dixwell was originally of Cotton in Warwickshire, where it was subsisting in 1733, in the person of Sir William Dixwell.

Colonel John Dixwell, a member of the long parliament, in the reign of Charles I brother of Mark Dixwell, of Broom, in Kent, came into New England at the restoration of Charles II. (suppose about 1660)—His style was, John Dixwell, of the priory of Folkestone, in Kent, Esq. but for convenience assumed the name of James Davids. By this name he was married, October 23, 1677, to Bathsheba How, at New Haven, before James Bishop, assistant.

Under the assumed name of Davids he corresponded with his niece, Elizabeth Westrow, in London, who assumed the name of

Elizabeth Boyse.

His other correspondents were Frances Prince, of Amsterdam, Jo Du Bois, London,* Thomas Westmoe, London, Humphrie Davie, Boston.—From this last he received monies remitted by his friends in England. The following is a copy of one of the receipts:

"Received now and formerly of Mr. Hum. Davie, by the direction of Mr. Increase Mather, thirty pounds New England money, by the order of Madam Elizabeth Westrow, in England. I have signed two receipts for this sum of this date, for fear of miscarriage.

-14 June, 1686."

The letters from his friends are directed sometimes to Mr. James Davids, merchant, in New Haven-others omit this addition. They contain chiefly domestic and public news, intermixed with many pious reflections. One of them invites him to Holland, 1689, but it did not arrive till after his death.

John Dixwell, Esq. died at New Haven, March 18, 1689, aged 82. New Haven

records.

Test, John Alling, recorder.

> These letters are frented in New York

Hist Son G.

John Dixwell, son of John Dixwell, Esq. and was gone so long that the son was tired was born 1680-1. March 6; was married to Mary Prout, of New Haven, 1708; removed to Boston, and was chosen a ruling elder of the new north church, 1717; went to England in 1710; corresponded afterwards with Sir Basil Dixwell; died in 1724, intestate. It appears from the church records that he was a man of great worth, and highly esteemed.

His children were, Basil Dixwell, born 1711, bred a silver-smith, then went into trade, resided at Providence in Rhode Island; never married; went as a lieutenant in the expedition to Cape Breton, and there died, 1746.—Elizabeth Dixwell, born 1716; married Joseph Lathrop of New Loudon, mariner.-John Dixwell, born 1718; served an apprenticeship with William Tyler, Esq. merchant of Boston; married Mary Hunt of Boston; died 1749 intestate; left two children, and his wife pregnant. His son John died in three weeks after him, as did his posthumous child. His daughter Mary survived; married Mr. Samuel Hunt, preceptor of the grammar school in Boston; died in 1783, leaving four children, three sons, Samuel, John and George, and a daughter, Su-

sanna, who are now living, 1793.

If it should seem by Mr. Pierpont's letter that Colonel Dixwell's true name was unknown to him and Governor Jones till he was on his death bed; it may be observed that it was in fact certainly known to them and some others years before this. To Mr. Pierpont in 1685, when he recorded his admission into the church by his true name. To Clarke and the two Allsups, in 1682, witnesses of the indentures of that date, signed by Dixwell himself with his true as well as assumed name. To others also witnesses to other instruments signed Dixwell. And the manner in which he speaks of Governor Jones and his lady, to whom he confided his children in his will, denotes an acquaintance and familiarity implying, that however at first he could not recollect his name, though he did his person, yet that he was perfectly acquainted with both his name and character long before his death. In truth he knew it long before Mr. Pierpont came to New Haven.

Both the names and characters of Dixwell and the other judges, with their concealments, were all along duly known to some few persons of confidence. The honourable Mr. Secretary Wyllys, now living, venerable for age, and respectable for family and every personal merit, has often told me, and now while I am writing, tells me that his father had seen Judge Dixwell. His father, son of Governor George Wyllys, was the honourable Hezekiah Wyllys, an assistant, who long after improvement in public lift. Hed 1741, aged 70. The secretary has often heard him say that he knew Mr. Dixwell; that when a boy he waited upon his father then an assistant also, from Hartford to the general court at New Haven (say about 1682) when they lodged at Governor Jones's during the session of the assembly: and one morning the father in a walk took the son and carried him with him to a house on the outside of the town, when a grave old man received them at the door, to whom his father paid the greatest respect and honour, at which he much wondered. His father left him to play at the door while

with waiting. At length his father came out and returning to his lodgings, as they walked along, he asked the son, who he thought that old gentleman was? He said he did not know. Upon which he further told him it was Mr. Dixwell. This was doubtless with design that the son might afterwards recollect that he had seen Mr. Dixwell, when in future time he might hear him spoken of. This must have been several years before Dixwell's death. In fact his true name and character were perfectly known to Mr. Wyllys and some others long before it was formally published by him on his death bed, to Mr. Jones and Mr. Pierpont; which Mr. Dixwell designedly then did in an open manner, though among others to persons who had been well acquainted with it years before in a secret manner. It is not to be doubted but that at this interview he was benefitted by Mr. Wyllys' secret liberality.

Thus I have finished the history of the Generals Whalley and Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell, who found an asylum in the city of New Haven and at Hadley, and in other parts of New England, during a pilgrimage and concealment of twenty-nine years. All three were of King Charles's judges; all three of the Parliamentary and Oliverian army; all three members of parliament; two of them of Oliver's most honourable House of Lords; and all three, like Joseph in the court of Pharaoh, Daniel and Nehemiah in the court of Persia, of purity of morals, and emi-

nent for piety and virtue.

CHAP. IV.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE FOUNDATION OF THE IM-MEMORIAL SURMISE OF SOME, AND OF THE BELIEF OF OTHERS, THAT JUDGE WHALLEY ALSO LIES BURIED NEAR JUDGE DIXWELL, IN NEW HAVEN.

The certain interment of Dixwell here has been all along of public notoriety, and universally known by all the inhabitants of New Haven to this day. Many of the inhabitants have seen and all along been acquainted with his grave and the stone set up at it—but all have heard the report, and all have believed it without a doubt. Not so with respect to Whalley's interment here. Few have heard of it to this day, and fewer still have believed it. But among a few there has been an immemorial tradition, however it originated, that a pair of rough stones, marked E. W. stand over Whalley's grave, near Dixwell's. Although I have been acquainted with New Haven burying-place above half a century yet! never heard of Whalley's grave and it was entirely new to me when a gentleman of intelligence, a native of the city, first informed of it in January 1793. At first I gave no credit to it, because I well knew that he died and was buried at Mr. Russel's in Hadley, and had entertained no idea that his corpse had been taken up and removed hither. But the confidence and assurance of this gentleman engaged me to make a thorough inquiry among all the aged people in New Haven, to see if I could find any tradition of this kind; I also endeavoured to search my own he went into the house with this aged person; memory, whether among the numerous flying

^{*} Suppose the husband of Elizabeth Westrow.

[†] Suppose the son of Elizabeth Westrow,

time to time received concerning these persons, I could recollect any transient anecdotes concerning this matter, which through unbelief might have passed away without making any lasting impression. I have also reviewed all the scattered lights and traditions concerning the interment at Hadley; and laid them together that every one might form his own inductions, conjectures and judgment. In this deficiency of certain information some may be curious on this subject to see whether any thing can be made of fables and traditionary rumours, partially imperfectly retained by one and another. All will consider the fact of Whalley's burial here, as unevidenced, unproved; so he will believe it; a few will consider it probable; in general it will be disbelieved; and none will think it certain. In discussing the subject I shall indulge myself in going into more minutæ than may be agreeable, so as to become tedious and burthensome to most, while yet others will hereby be furnished with materials for more curious speculations, and inductions, on a subject which, since the death of the few persons in the secrets of the judges, can never be satisfactorily investigated.

I shall narrate the matter very much in the order in which the information has come to me. Since I took up the inquiry, I have recently conversed with almost all the ancient people in this town above 60, and find that most of them know nothing of the matter, and never heard of it, while among a few I find it has been immemorially preserved. My first information was from Mr. Isaac Jones, a descendant of Governor Jones, who speaking of it with a certainty that surprized me, I asked him from whom he received it, and what evidence there was for it. He said he had always understood it so, that the stone marked E. W. was Edward Whalley's, and that he had so considered it, whenever he looked on it, for many years past, but could not name any persons with certainty from whom he received it, as neither could he with equally certain. He however believed he was told it by Mr. James Pierpout, the eldest son of the reverend Mr. James Pierpout, which would certainly be a good line of information. I then examined the stone myself with close attention, and made inquiry among all the families where I judged it most probable such a tradition might be preserved, but with little success. If ever there was as they can save themselves a further perusal, after being notified that all which follows, will prove as burren, unentertaining, and deficient of satisfaction, as the discussions of historians on the authenticity of certain letters of Mary Queen of Scots: as indeterminate as the historical discussions of the question, whether Faust, Guttemberg, or Coster, was the inventor of the art of printing? or whether Columbus, Huetra, or Behenira was the first discoverer of America, already before certainly discovered and colonized by Modog and the Norwegian navigators of the eleventh century. Curiosity may sometimes innocently lead well as the figures on the head-stone, are at us into inquiries, even on some subjects on full bigness and exact: the figures only on

faction.

(the only men in the world that could be privy to such a transaction) to effect the secret Goffe's letter to his wife. removal of Whalley's corpse, might induce I have never found the least surmise: I say as I knew and considered this, so when I came into the yard, February 19, 1793, to he designed for William Goffe, and the 80 search for the one, I searched also for the over those initials may be 1680. And if other, as supposing the three judges might Goffe died also at Hadley, as Governor Hutchoose to lie interred secretly together around chinson says, it is likely his death was about Governor Eaton's tomb-stone. I went upon 1680, for his last letter was 1679, and it is this supposition, whether it can be supported said he was no more, or disappeared soon or not, and found three graves, which for the after, and not long after Whalley's death. sake of investigation, we will put down as Whalley's, Goffe's and Dixwell's.—When I top must be 1680, and not the age: for Goffe first visited the E. W. stone, the moss of an married Whalley's daughter, and entered the tiquity being yet upon it, both by inspection civil wars and army a young manabout 1642: and feeling the lacunæ with my fingers, I and so he must have been born about 1618 or read the date 1648, thinking it a mistake of 1620, and consequently could be but 60, or the engraver, without once thinking or per-thereabouts, at his supposed death, 1680. ceiving that the inverted 4 might be 5. But The figures therefore of 80 must be 1680, if afterwards revisiting it, I perceived that the they referred to Goffe. L was also 5. The moss being now thoroughly rubbed off, the 5 is more obvious than the and examined the book which contains the L. Now if it read 1658, this was two years births, deaths and marriages in town, in which before the judges came to New Haven, and they are regularly entered from 1649 to the about twenty years before Whalley's death; end of the century. At 1654, indeed I found which would decide the question, and shew the death of Mr. Edward Wiggleworth nathat the stone was not Whalley's. The extension, however, of the lineal lacunæ in a year 1658, there was but one death in town, strait or direct course beyond the curve of Thomas Nash, who died May 12, 1658. But the 5, in the manner given in the drawing, E. W. could not be the initials of his name. seems rather too much for accident, and has Such was the healthiness of the first settlethe aspect of design and artifice, for deception ment, as is usual in new countries, that the and concealment. The inscription upon the deaths were few and seldom, though prohafoot-stone E. W. and the three figures 16-8, bly 300 families now in town, for there were are plain and distinct on both stones: but the 208 freemen 1644, and 333 freemen in 1660; intermediate figure is obscure and somewhat and so there is the more reason to think the dubious on both. In the date of the foot-entries would be accurate. I took out the respect to Dixwell's stone, but considered both stone, the curvilinear incision 5 is pretty dis-number of deaths yearly for thirteen years, cernible; as discernible is the rectilinear tail as follows: of a seemingly 7, and I think the upper line of the 7 is also pretty obvious, with every allowance for the human mind under a certain kind of possible prepossession, when, with Watts, we "guess and spell out Scipio" upon antique defaced coins and monuments. The whole seems to form this odd complex figure 97, which confuses one at first, and such a tradition or surmise it was now almost leaves the date to be read either 1658, or two deaths only, viz. Samuel Miles and Tiraobliterated and lost.—On the little, however, the horizontal that the latwhich I did collect, the patience of my read-ter. There must have been some reason for 1678, more obviously the former than the lat- othy Tuttle. Neither was E. W. the initials ers must suffer me to be particular and prolix, that intermediate figure being made obscure cords are accurate, that no persons died at and doubtful, in both stones. It seems to be New Haven either in 1658 or 1678, the initials too much for accident in both cases. That it of whose names were E. W. This favours should be so is unaccountable if perspicuity the supposition of an interment from abroad, had not been designedly avoided and concealed, when the rest of the inscription is Whalley stone, rough indeed, but strong, clear and distinct. The whole is represented in the Plate No. VI. be observed that the engraving or incision is wherein the numeral figures particularly are plain and distinct, is drawn along under the given at full bigness: which I took off hy M, thus M, most evidently not by accident, laying a sheet of paper over the stones, and but with design. In the records of deaths impressing my finger over it along the lacunæ 1680, I found the names stand thus: or engraving; and thus with a pencil taking

off their shape and position. The E. W. as

stories and transient information I had from which we do not expect to obtain full satis-, the foot-stone. On which therefore every one may form his own judgment. Under As I knew with certainty that Whalley this conjecture, that the date may be read indied and was buried at Hadley, so it occurred differently 1658 and 1678, it may contain to me in walking to the burying-ground to truth and error; error or deception if read look for this E. W. stone, that the same rea- 1658, and truth if 1678: as this might have sons which would induce Messrs. Dixwell, been the true year of Whalley's death, not Jones, Bishop, Pierpont, Russel and Tillton otherwise certainly known. He was alive 1674, and dead before 1679, according to

> Upon the same principle of designed decepthem to remove Goffe's also, though of this tion, it may be suspected that the M on the little stone eight feet west of Dixwell's may be taken for an inverted W: and thus M. G.

1649-3.	1656—1.
1650—5.	1657—1. Gov. Eaton.
1651—5.	1658-1. Tho. Nash.
1652-2,	1659—2.
1653—1.	1660—4.
1654-4.	1661—2.
1655-2.	

I then examined the year 1678, and found of their names. It seems then, if these rehe the dubious figures 5 or 7. This as to the

As to the conjectural Goffe stone, it is to

Ephraim How, Josiah, son of John Paine, Elizabeth, wife of John Hariman, John Punderson,

But neither of these names have their in-|July 5, 1779. His friends sought a place for ered it as a vague rumour or surmise, wholly

objections: 1. The honourable Matthew Gilbert, of New Haven, one of the assistants quainted with. He washorn 1701, and lately and deputy governor of the colony, died died aged 90, in the full possession of his Major Moses Mansfield, her great grandfatters. 2. As his death is omitted in the records, so this invalidates our coufidence in the records. I am not able to solve this last objection. I that it stood in that part of the burial-ground and was intimately acquainted with the hiscannot account for this omission of so dis- where the Gilbert family were generally tory of Dixwell after his death, and I pretinguished and respectable a character. But buried—that at the time of building the brick sume with the history of Whalley and Goffe. of this I am sure that he was so honoured, meeting-house, which was about 1754, they Her grandmother was of the family of Allacceptable and reverenced, that it was by no encroached upon the eastern side of the cem-means designed, but perfectly accidental. etry, and took down several grave-stones, and place undesignedly, and by an unintentional the ancient assistant and deputy-governor; ing, Esq. had three daughters, sensible, very neglect in those public records which are and that he should judge from his recollection worthy, and venerable, and sociable matrons, most faithfully kept. The records of New that this grave was directly under the S. W. one of whom was Mr. Beers's grandmother. Haven, especially the first and most ancient corner of the brick meeting-house. Adjacent They often met together on social visits at her appear to have been kept with great care and and quite configuous to this S. W. corner of grandfather, deacon Mansfield's, son of the accuracy. I choose to state this in the strong-the meeting-house, has been the immemorial major, who was born 1684, or four years beest manner. So conspicuous a person no one would think of omitting designedly. But as it was an immemorial usage, and re-question, ten rods N. W. is not that of the and family connection had the greatest esteem quired from the beginning by law, for the friends to procure the recording of births, deaths and marriages, and never was the recorder obliged to do it ex officis until brought, to him, so this omission must have happened through family neglect. And though this might possibly take place in other instances also, yet so established was the general usage of that early day, that it is very unlikely this should have happened often: so that there may be a general reliance upon the veracity of the records, this notwithstanding. Whether this or any better reason for the omission was the true one, must be submitted.

It is possible then that this M. W. stone may be Matthew Gilbert; it is possible it might have been Mary Goodyear, or some other person whose initials were M. G. Let us consider the probability of its having been Mathew Gilbert's. Now the 80, if denoting 1680, agrees well with the time of his death. The contemptible and despicable appearance of the stone is against it. It will ever be difficult to persuade a New Haven man, and especially one of the family of Gilbert, that so small and insignificant a stone was put up at the grave of so honourable an ancestor. and so distinguished a person in civil life as Governor Gilbert. Further, although his so much said upon the matter, I set myself to grave and stone are not now to be found, yet recollect whether I had ever come across any none of the family or friends think of his thing of the like before .- And I do recollect having been buried in that spot. They show that some time or other above forty years ago, the enemy at the invasion of New Haven, collect the flying fable, yet I felt and consid- men's being engaged to visit the judge's grave,

itials M. G. Nor do I find these initials in his grave, and buried him in that part of the without foundation. I gave not the least the deaths entered for several years hereabouts. Which indicates that if the 30 be His son, Mr. Jesse Gilbert, a man of enter- Some persons are of a single taken for 1680, this corpse must also have prise, curiosity and information, tells me that and retentive memory, and treasure up things come from abroad, which would accord with when he was setting up a stone at his father's in conversation which evanish from others the conjecture that these two graves might grave, he took pains to look for that of his who hear them with cursory inattention. have been Goffe's and Whalley's whose ancestor, the governor. Not being able to Such is Mrs. Beers, consort of Isaac Beers, names could not have been expected to be find it, he enquired of a Mr. Joseph Brown, Esq. born in this town 1746, and now aged found in New Haven town records of deaths. the New Haven antiquarian, remarkable for 47. She is well read, is an excellent historian, Against all this there are two very material embosoming in his strong memory more of and is versed in the family anecdotes and anhere 1679-80, so this stone might be his, mental powers, his memory being good to the er, who died 1703, aged 63, and who was We know that omissions sometimes take among others this of Mr. Matthew Gilbert, of the judges. The honourable John Allplace of the Gilbert family. This I consider fore Dixwell's death, who was also full of as decisive proof that the M. G. stone in the story of the judges. This visiting circle honourable Matthew Gilbert, Esq. though he and veneration for the judges, and in their visdied in the winter of 1679—80. As to its together were often talking over the stories which M. G. stone there is no light either about them. Mrs. Beers, when young, was from the bill of mortality or tradition. It often among them at her grandmother's and might be Coffe's; it might have been some heard these good ladies converse on these other person's; but it certainly was not Mat- matters, and tell all the anecdotes concerning thew Gilbert's. And there being no person them. She used to sit and listen to them with of those initials in the bill of mortality for attention, while the other grandchildren took 1680, leaves room for a suspicion or conjectlittle notice of the discourse. So different ture, that like E. W. it might designate an arc the tastes of children, that what strikes interment from abroad.

Madam Whittlesey, aged 60, relict of the late reverend Chauncey Whittlesey, tells me, she has often heard Mr. Prout, the aged gentleman treasurer of the college, whom I have heretofore mentioned, narrate the story of the three judges: and among other things he said, that Dixwell died here, and as to the other two, one of them died and was buried at Hadley in Mr. Russel's cellar, and the other they knew not what became of him; but some said that he came off to the westward, and some, says he, have supposed that he lies buried in our burying-yard; but of this, says he, no one knows any thing with certainty. However new and unthought of this was to me when Mr. Jones first told me of it, yet upon conversing with many, and hearing a very different and distant part of the bury- or 1750, when Mr. Prout first showed me ing yard as the original place of the sepulchres Dixwell's grave, he added, "and some have of their ancestor and of the family of Gilbert, thought that another of these judges lies buviz. at and about the S. W. corner of the ried somewhere in our burying-ground, but brick meeting-house. Hereabout lie many of where is unknown." But I have no rememthe Gilbert family, whose grave-stones re- brance that it was he that survived and came main to this day, and here they tell me Gov- off from Hadley. It made so transient an buried. But his stone is not now to be mind, that it has been for many years totally she grew up and was married. But about the found .- Captain John Gilbert, was slain by obliterated. And though I now clearly re-beginning of the war, or 1776, upon gentle-

Some persons are of a singularly tenacious one's curiosity will not touch another's. Mrs. Beers was born an historic genius, and curious narratives were food and delight to her mind. I think this particularity in describing characters necessary, in this case, towards making the most or best of what otherwise might be deemed information too slight to have any weight .- Mrs. Beers has from this source as much of the interesting history of the regicides, not only of Dixwell, but Goffe and Whalley, as most persons, and narrates several anecdotes with singular precision and accuracy; but as they coincide with what I have gone over before, from other more certain sources, I do not repeat them. But what I principally aim to avail myself of from her, is what respects more than one of the judger being buried in New Haven. From the conversation of her grandfather, and these pions matrons among themselves, she was as indelibly impressed with the idea that "they all." that is, all the other judges, lay buried here, as that Dixwell was here, and had no more doubt of the one than the other. She cannot distinctly remember she heard this or the other of the women say so; but their repeated, long and uniform conversation left this inpression on her mind. She always supposed that the rest of the judges lay here. She had ernor Gilbert, their common ancestor, was an impression upon my entirely incredulous not, however, been shown the graves till since

also, for hitherto she considered all of them as himself. And yet the information of Hut- suspicion that Dixwell was here. Whalley lying here. Accordingly walking with Mr. chinson does not seem to have been so ac- being under superannuation, might feel no Beers into the yard, he shewed her Dixwell's curately attended to, even by some few judi-stone: and after viewing and reading the in-cious persons, as to have abolished this tra-before Randolph's exertions. But Goffe and scription, she turned about and said, "and where are the others?" Upon being told there was no other, she could scarcely believe it, as she had always conceived from the conversation before mentioned, that the others lay there also. She said the others must be there: but being assured there were no others, though she said she felt disappointed, and knew not how to account for her mistaken idea, yet she gave it up as a mistake. But to this day the impression made by the women and her grandfather respecting not only more than one, but all of them lying there, is strong, and yield only to the historic evidence which she considers certain, that the others died at Hadley. But her information feels to her to this day as if all were buried here. But how they should come here she has not the least trace of information, conceiving in her own mind that they had all died here. She never heard any thing about any removal of the corpses from Hadley hither, and never was impressed with any such thought, nor heard a suggestion of the kind: while yet till that time she had no doubt but all of them were here. This, however, shows that twenty or thirty years ago it was in the idea of some that more than Dixwell was here. A member of congress, now living, when passing through New Haven to congress in 1774, was shewn Dixwell's and Whalley's stones at the same time, with such information, that, in 1793, he said he doubted not that both lay here.

It has always been in public fame that of the two judges at Hadley, one died there and was buried in the minister's cellar; but which this was, was never said; and that the other, to escape Randolph's dangerous searches, disappeared, and was supposed to have gone off to the west towards Virginia, and was heard of no more. This I perfectly remember to have been the current story in my youth. No one in conversation pretended to designate which was which, until 1764, when Governor Russel family, from whom it is possible the p. 471. Hutchinson first published his history. Ever since this, for now about thirty years past, the public rumour has sometimes spoken with more precision and accuracy, designating Whalley as the first that died at Hadley, and that he that fame considered as going off to the westward was Goffe. It is necessary to distinguish the two periods, that from 1680 to 1764, and that for the last thirty years, as the same reports are spoken of with different information in the two periods. When therefore Mr. Prout and others used to speak of one going off to the westward, no one before 1764 thought of its being Goffe more than Whalley. Since 1761 every one might know it was Goffe if either, and certainly not long thought by the ministry to have been Whalley. Hence the few here who have dead in foreign lands. Whalley died soon immemorially had the idea of Whalley's store, after, or about the time of Randolph's first.

After the revolution and extirpation of the had not the refutation at hand till since 1764, arrival, say 1678 or 1676; and Goffe evanish- Stnart family, 1688, and the haleyon days of was overtaken by death at New Haven, and called in question by his inveterate malice, or his avowal upon his death bed of his being secretly interred here by his friend Dixwell, least violence should be done to their graves. one of the judges, it became impossible to

ditionary confidence still to this day, that this Dixwell, and their concealers, must have been is Whalley's stone: and most of the people greatly alarmed. We may consider all the in New Haven talk to this day only with the three judges alive 1678, Goffe and Whalley

traditionary knowledge antecedent to 1764.

When I say that the public did not distin
Such was the vigilance, activity and malic guish till 1764, I would except the Russel of Randolph, that the two actually surviving samily at least, and perhaps the Tillton samily. judges had reason to think that both their But there is reason to think, while accuracy persons and ashes would not escape his mawas soon lost in other families, some of which licious vengeance, if discovered. There was might be possessed of particular information, therefore a sufficient and very powerful inthe truth was kept up the longest in the Rus- ducement for the concealment both of their sel family, which was the depository of a persons and places of interment. And the trunk of manuscripts of Goffe's and Whalley's danger of some accidental discovery might which came down undispersed till since 1760, induce a removal of the bodies of Goffe and remaining and preserved at Barnstable from Whalley from Hadley to New Haven, in the soon after the death of the judges to that dangerous period about 1680 to 1684, while before observed, spent much time in reading measure blown over soon upon the death of these manuscripts, as she has told me, and Dixwell, and the seizure of Sir Edmund Anthoroughly versed in the history of the judges. yet the concealers, who were liable to be proyears ago to have become perfectly acquainted with the subject, and now regret that my curiosity was not strong enough to have exby death; which has buried much certain information in an oblivion from which it can never he recovered.

contemporaries who were in the secret of the judges, with whom all certain information dition into England." "She was beheaded at tradition of the burial of another or the other

she had a curiosity to visit not it, but them who had the same reason for secreting E. W. It is probable he never had any notice or

Such was the vigilance, activity and malice Mrs. Otis, of Barnstable, a grand the ravenous Randolph was making inquisidaughter of Mr. Russel of Hadley, as I have tion. And although the storm was in some gave me much account about them, being dross one month after, or April 18, 1789; I do conceive that Mr. Russel of Barnstable, secuted and adjudged aiders, abettors, and and Mr. Russel of Branford, both ministers accessaries in treason, would not feel easy and sons of the Hadley Russel, were perfect- under the possibility of detection during their ly acquainted with all the secrets of this his-lives; and would have every motive to contory beyond anymen. Others had it partially, tinue the concealment of as much of the afthese perfectly. I had it in my power thirty fair as possible. To shew the danger of concealing traitors and obnoxious persons, knowing them to be such, we need only advert to the execution of Lady Alicia Lisle, reliet of cited me to improve an opportunity now lost one of the regicides who died abroad: a fact well known at the time by the accomplices concerned in the concealment of the judges in New England. This pions and venerable In this failure of primary and certain evillady surviving her consort, and living in peace dence, and while we are left to avail our-selves only of secondary, traditionary and de-disgrace to human nature, Judge Jeffries, rivative information, I think not improper to for concealing a Mr. Hicks, a dissenting minstate the dangers during the lives of those lister, and Mr. Nelthorpe, who attended the perished, and to shew that sure and certain Westminster, universally pitied.—[Noble's information has continued the longest in the Memoirs of the Cromwell family. V. 2.

This came over to New England, and judges in New Haven may have derived, though an event after the death of Whalley A repetition of some circumstances and facts, and Goffe, must have excited terror in Dixmay be pardoned, as subserving different well, Russel and Tilton, and the gentlemen applications and uses in the course of this in New Haven then living and concealing Dixwell; and consequently if detected, more I have already observed the danger that obnoxious than Lady Lisle. It must have arose to the judges and their protectors from made them very cautious. Every thing there-Randolph, during the period of thirteen years, fore continued to be kept a profound secret; from 1676 to 1689. All which time he was nor do I think that Hadley itself had any an insiduous spy upon New England, with knowledge that they had embosomed and en-Argus eyes, and with the zeal and acrimony tertained angels, till after the seizure of Anof an inquisitor-general. By his crafty and dross, and the news of the revolution, if inincessant searches for misdemeanors, he came deed till after the death of their minister, Mr. across some lights concerning these judges, Russel, in 1692, or the recording of Dixwell's

that it could not be his, because he was the ed after 1679. In 1684 was Randolph's most the new charter of Massachusetts, in 1692, one that die lat Hadley. It seems to have vigorous search; but it seems it was judged from King William III. and especially after been the idea of Mr. Prout and the few not prudeut and safe to inform him of their the public probate of Dixwell's will, 1689, others, that the E. W. stone denoted him death, undoubtedly because the persons of and recording of his indentures, 1691, signthat went off from Hadley westward, and their concealers were in danger of being ed James Davids, alias John Dixwell, and

keep up an entire concealment of their residence and protection at Hadley and New Haven. Yet even in these open times, and when so much of their history was got abroad, some reasons or other operated both against the full developement of the affair, and of the persons concerned in the protection, and also for the continuance of the concealment of the places of the interment of Goffe and Whalley.

The Rev. Mr. Russel and Mr. Tillton knew with certainty what was become of Whalley and Goffe; and it is not to be doubted that Dixwell, Pierpont, Jones, and Bishop, knew the same thing with a derivative certainty. They could have as easily communicated the certainty of the place of interment, as of their residence and death. There was a reason of weight with them why they did not, or if they did at all, that it should be confidential, and not for the public. Should we mistake in conjecturing the reason, it is of no moment.-Enough for us to know that there was one, and that it wrought too efficaciously. Perhaps it was partly to preserve the bodies of the deceased from violence, and principally to secure the persons of the protectors. This last endured till the death of Mr. Pierpont, at least 1714-and yet the most of the gentlemen active and in the secret, died before and about the revolution. Governor Jones and Mr. Pierpont survived the longest. Let us state the persons in danger, and the times of their deaths.

The Rev. Mr. John Davenport, ob. March

15, 1670, aged 72.

The Rev. Mr. Russell, ob. December 10,

Honourable Peter Tillton, Esq. ob.

Governor Leveret, oh. 1678. Governor Leet, ob. 1687.

Governor Jones, ob. October 17, 1706, aged 82. His Lady, ob. April 4, 1707, aged 74.

Deputy-Governor Bishop, ob. June 24, Judge Dixwell, ob. March 18. 1688-9,

aged 82.

Rev. Mr. Pierpont, nb. Nov. 22, 1714, Æ.55. Mr. Richard Saltonstall went to England 1672, returned 1680, went to England again 1683, and died there April 29, 1694.

The most of these were deceased by 1692. Certain information survived into this century only with Jones and Pierpont and the two brothers, Russels, of Barnstable and Branford, and possibly some few others unknown to me; and after 1731, only with him at Barnstable, and expired with his death, 1758, unless it survived with his brother, honourable Judge Joseph Russell, of Bristol, who died about 1775.

It may be proper to distinguish the degree and state of information under three different periods: that from the accession of the judges to America, 1660, to 1690, or rather the death of Mr. Russell, 1692; that from thence to the death of his son at Brandford, 1731, and lastly, the period from thence to the present day.

1. The first may be called the period of secrecy and public ignorance. For though within this space of about the first thirty years there was a little open knowledge of them at the beginning, yet they soon so evanished and buried themselves from the pub-

lic view, that except some little apprehen-of the first. 5. The time of Dixwell's death, sions of them in 1664 and 1684, which soon and the place of his gaave. passed off, they were so lost that the body of the people, the magistrates and ministers, thought and knew no more of them than if they had been in Switzerland, and really supposed they had abdicated the continent. They but it was confined and shut up in their endangered bosoms of the few confidents immediately concerned in aiding in their concealment; and these few were some of the best and most excellent characters in the country, both civilians and ministers. It may be said therefore that the year 1690 found the country and world in total ignorance. Two had been now dead for ten or a dozen the full development of the history of the years, and the other was also then deceased.

2. The second period opened with a cerpublic discovery, which spread in a general, vague, and blind manner through New Engparticular account of the respective agency was with "it is said," and "some say," onis & lasa Majestatis Pana.

It being determined to conceal the graves, it became necessary to frame and adjust a tion, on which information might induce during this period into what was certain, and what was uncertain; and again the secret equally certain, but now lost. I have already Protector is said to have done, by enclosing said that there was public certain information, the decapitated Charles in a coffin inscribed 1. As to the places of the actual residence of all three. 2. That one died at Hadley, and ture indignity. was buried in Mr. Russel's cellar or garden. 3. The Angel story. 4. That the other one of certainty, the few persons of primary cer-

The information or conjectures which were left vague, undetermined and uncertain, and which were within the certain knowledge of a few during this period, were, 1. The remaining history of Goffe, and the place and were willingly and really ignorant. All the time of his death. 2. The removal of the knowledge there was of them was certain, bodies of Goffe and Whalley to New Haven, if this was fact. These things were once within the certain knowledge of Russel, Tillton, Dixwell, Perpont and Jones. The reasons which induced them to withhold an eclaircissement upon these subjects continued to their deaths, and with them all primary certain information terminated. In truth there occurred no time during their lives in which judges would not have endangered the disturbance of their bones, a thing frequently tain portion of communication or degree of threatened even down to the present day, and which was probably the ultimate and commanding reason for concealment. So late as land, and has continued much the same to the last French war, 1760, some British offithis day, with only this difference, that the cers passing through New Haven, and hearmeans of certain information, as far as the in- ing of Dixwell's grave, visited it, and deformation was actually imparted, continued clared with rancorous and malicious venin being; and could at any time be appealed geance, that if the British ministry knew it, to, by sufficient numbers to support and es-they would even then cause their bodies to tablish the public assurance, during that be dug up and vilified. Often have we heard term.—This expired with the death of the the crown officers aspersing and vilifying Russels. A part of their history was com-them; and some so late as 1775 visited and municated, and part still concealed to the treated the grave with marks of indignity too end; and this was done with thoroughly me-indecent to be mentioned. It was especially ditated design and counsel. That they had dangerous in Queen Anne's time, and even all along lived, and that two of them died in during the Hanoverian family, there has been the country, and the places of their concealed no time in which this grave has not been abodes, were disclosed and ascertained But threatened by numerous sycophantic crown for some reason or other, the flight or death dependants, with indignity and ministerial of Goffe, and the graves and places of intervengeance. All which will shew that the ment of two of them were concealed, though reason for concealment of the graves of Goffe equally known to the few in the secret. The and Whalley continued to the end of the lives rest of their history was sufficiently and designedly communicated. I say sufficiently, tain knowledge. In consequence of which although with a cautious avoidance of a too all that they left from them to the public, of each particular person, and the sources, "some have believed," and "some have supmode and instruments, through which supposed"—that one was buried in Mr. Russel's plies and comforts were administered to per-cellar or garden; and the other was buried in sons attainted and subjected to the Perduelli- Mr. Tillton's garden or went off westward to wards New Haven, Virginia, &c. This was what came from the really knowing ones, when pressed with the question, Where were narrative accordingly, adhering to the truth Goffe and Whalley buried !- They left the as far as any thing was positively communi-public perfectly uncertain; although I believe cated, and leaving the public to their own de- they left or knew the public to conceive with ductions, inferences, and conjectures for the one general consent that they were both rest, which should be suppressed. Those in buried privately in some place unknown in the secret were very willing to let the pub- Hadley. Nor had the public the least idea lic bewilder and deceive themselves on a mat-of their removal. If Randolph had found ter to which they had no right to informa- out their deaths, which took place in his time, and had been empowered to disturb their danger to the bones of their deceased friends, graves at Hadley, he might have been pointed if not to some survivors. We may then to the places in which they had been truly distinguish the state of the public information buried, and wreaked his malice upon earth then uncharged with such precious relicts .- The judges were Oliverians, and might have knowledge preserved among a few at first placed an illusion of their enemies, as the with his own name, in certain foresight of fu-

During this second period, or the period disappeared from Hadley soon after the death tain information, might take effectual care to

impregnate a select few, with derivative and of the judges than Dixwell, and that particu-ing lately, I met another person aged 75, who secondary certain information, that it might be larly Whalley, lies buried in New Haven. was born and lived many years on the east securely transmitted to the times of safety. That is, Mr. Russel of Branford, Governor Jones and Governor Bishop, persons of primary certainty, might confidentially impart it to Major Mansfield, the Alling and Trowbridge families, with whom Governor Leete's family had become connected by marriage, and a few others at New Haven, to continue the tradition. And if the bodies were in fact removed, these might be thus possessed of a secondary certain information of the fact, and of the place of their graves in our buryingyard .- And yet death might have overtaken them before the time of safety for public promulgation. In which case the next generations must be left to fable and the vague and unevidenced traditions of the present day. Thus I have gone through the state of information to 1731, or the death of Mr. Russel of Branford.

3. The third period may be that from 1731 to the present day. In the beginning of this period and down to 1748, the death of Samuel Bishop, Esq. aged 82, son of the governor, there were still means of continuing certain and authoritative information from them who were first concerned. But whether the thing grew into desuetude, or whether they communicated it to persons of unawaked curiosity or heedless inattention, or from whatever cause, the thing is so gone from us that from a very diligent inquiry at Hadley and New Haven, I have not found a single person that can say, that whatever knowledge they now have, they received it from any of those ancient persons now dead, whom I know, or have reason to think, to have been possessed of the secondary certain information. I have reason to think indeed that such persons of a ley being here, but never heard of Goffe bethird descent in derivative evidence have ing here, nor of any removal. The others from Mr. William Tuttle, one of the first been to be found here till 1775. And I believe about that time the line of authoritative information ceased. None now living can say that they were told by Mr. Samuel Bishop, son of the governor, or by any other person possessed of certain derivative information where Goffe died, or whether the bodies of Whalley and Goffe were removed, or where finally deposited, either at Hadley or New Haven. As to these things all authoritative information is at an end, all terminates in immemorial tradition. I mean this with respect to that secreted information among a few, but never left authenticated; not with respect to those certain facts before stated, as given forth at the first promulgation of the history of the judges, about 1692; of Hutchinson, as well as in unquestionable tradition.

4. There remains however some traditionary notitiæ, which after the failure of the line of certain information, some may have the curiosity to attend to, and expend some little pains in attempting to account for, or perhaps adventure some deductions and inferences their own improvement of them.

I have observed, that though heretofore unknown to me, I have lately found that there has been an immemorial tradition among some lay here as well as Dixwell.

Very few persons in New Haven, that more Walking the Green in this city one even-The succession in this family has been thus.

The most of the inhabitants now living know side of the Green, about twenty-five or thirnothing of it, nor have ever heard of such a ty rods from these graves; which graves, he surmise. I have conversed with almost all said, he always knew from a boy, and that the very aged inhabitants now living, and the judges were buried there. I asked him with above fifty aged 60 and upwards to 90 if all three lay there? he said, no; there—and have not found above two or three who seem to have ever had the idea. I have conmore than Dixwell? Yes, two, I say; there versed with numbers under this age, and have were two, and only two. He was a frank, found but five now living who have had this plain, blunt spoken rustic. Who were they? idea; but these have it strongly and immove
Dixwell,—and I don't remember the name ably. The first of these was Mr. Isaac of the other: but there was another, and Jones; and though a descendant from Gov-there was only two-I can't certainly rememernor Jones, he does not pretend to derive it ber his name-but I think it was one Doctor from the Jones but the Pierpont family, which is equally original. This is only as to the E. here ?—No, I tell you, there were only two; W. stone as Whalley's, but not a word of and go along with me, and I will show you Goffe's being here. Two others I can trace their graves. It was in the dusk of the to the Mansfield and Alling families, of de- evening, between eight and nine o'clock, in rivative and secondary certainty. One I trace May, and I omitted it. When was your first to a direct and immediate derivation from knowledge of these stones and graves as the Samuel Bishop, Esq. son of the Governor, judges ? I know not-always-from a bov who was of primary information, and undoubtedly assisted in the removal and inter-ment of Whalley here, if indeed he ever was interred here. The derivation from Mr. not a modern or late surmise, but that it was Pierpont respects Whalley; that from Mans- so rumoured seventy or eighty years ago, field, Alling and Bishop, asserts that other when perhaps it was trite among a great and all the judges lie buried together here. number of the inhabitants, and in many fami-But when I asked how they came here, these lies, though now lost in all but two or three; informants knew nothing of the matter, and and almost extinct in them. not one of them seemed to have turned it in their thoughts; and particularly upon my as- is the uniform tradition among the grave digsuring them that Whalley certainly died at gers, particularly of one family, not that all Hadley, and must have been taken up and the judges, but that one besides Dixwell, lies removed, they all declare they never heard buried here, and that this one was Whalley, any thing about such removal, nor could recollect the least surmise of the kind. Mr. Jones is particular and confident as to Whallar branch of the family of Tuttle. All the never discriminated the names of either Goffe planters, and among the more wealthy settlers or Whalley, but only that all the other judges of New Haven in 1637. It is in one subbesides Dixwell lay here, as well as Dixwell. sequent branch that this tradition is to be least died at Hadley. This concurs with from him.-Caleb began before Tharp's Mrs. Beers, in a derivation from the Alling death, and continued to within my memory, and Mansfield families, that the other judges and as his sons and grandsons grew up they

Mr. Moses Mansfield, now living, a great-found, that of Caleb and his descendants; as grandson of Major Moses Mansfield, received I cannot find it among any of the other deinformation not only in the Mansfield and All-ing families, from both of which he is descend-ed, but most particularly from Mr. Job Bishop, son of Samuel, and grandson of the about 1670, and died about 1750, so very Governor. Mr. Job Bishop was curious and aged, as to have been grown up, and perhaps of retentive memory in these matters, and aged 18 or 20 at Dixwell's death, and so must was full of the ancedotes and memoirs of the have personally known him. I formerly judges, and used even to old age to talk of knew sundry aged persons here, who knew which was long preserved and transmitted them, and narrate the stories about them with and were acquainted personally with Dixa very feeling and interesting sensibility, well, and with his character from its first pro-Their fate and history had made a deep and mulgation. This Caleb Tuttle was the first lasting impression upon his mind. He died of the grave-diggers, or sextons, of this name. about 1786, aged 81. Often has Mr. Mans- From one of the Tuttle family born in New which anthentic documents are preserved in field sat and heard him tell their history. Haven, 1708, and now living, aged 85, as And among other things, he perfectly re- well as indeed from several other aged permembers that Mr. Bishop used to say that sons, I have learned the names of all the grave-"they all lay buried here with Dixwell." I diggers here during his life. When he was wished him to reconsider: he did; and re- a boy, Nathaniel Tharp was the first he remained certain that Mr. Bishop said, "they members, who died 1716 very aged, when he all lay buried here." But he never thought himself was aged 8. Since that there have how they came here, nor did Mr. Bishop say been Dawson, Butler and others, while all any thing that he remembers about any re- along without interruption, to the present day, from them. I shall therefore represent and moval. Nor did he ever turn it in his mind, the principal of the business has been done state them at large, leaving every one to make or advert to the circumstance that one at by Caleb Tuttle and the branch descendant

-I don't know when I did not know it-I

Grave-Diggers.

Old Mr. Caleb Tuttle, say from 1710 to 1712, Hisson, James Tuttle, from about 1735 to 1770. Abraham, brother of James, 1760 to 1780. Richard Tuttle, son of Abraham, 1768 to 1792.

Richard tells me that he received the story of the E. W. stone, as well as Dixwell's stone, from his father and his uncle James, and they from his grandfather, Caleh; a plain, good man, whom I well knew a man of integrity, very intimate with Governor Jones's son, they having married sisters. But whence Caleb got it, Richard knows not. Caleb was acquainted with Governor Jones and Major Mansfield, was born and all his days lived a near neighbour to them both, and to the late Samuel Bishop, Esq. son of the governor, which Mr. Bishop lived to 1748, when he died aged 82, and must have been aged 23 at Dixwell's death. Thus he was all his life cotemporary with Mr. Bishop, who was perfectly acquainted, partly of himself and partly from his father, with all the anecdotes respecting the judges. Caleb, as I have said, was a son of Mr. Thomas Tuttle, who with Major Mansfield, was an appraiser of Dixwell's estate in 1689.-Thomas I have been told assisted in laying out Mr. Dixwell; and there is some reason to believe that he was the very person that privately dug Whalley's grave, and assisted at his secret interment here. If so, it is no wonder that his descendants should be charged and strongly impregnated with this family idea and designation of Whalley's grave. Thus Caleb from his father, and by his intimate connexion with Governor Jones's family, Mr. Bishop and Mr. Pierpont, was certainly on the way of secret information sufficient for the purpose of this impregnation, at least that Whalley as well as Dixwell was buried here, and for the designation of their graves, He was a zealous religionist, and warmly eaptivated and carried away with characters distinguished for holiness and piety: and according to my idea of the man, whom I well remember, he would, I should think, have listened to the anecdotes and history of these pious and heroic sufferers, with avidity and curious and feeling attention. I doubt not he knew more about the subject than all his posterity. And he is the source of the information concerning the Whalley stone.

The original knowing ones, might judge it one of the safest and surest means, besides oral tradition among a few families, of transmitting and perpetuating the memorial of Whalley, by impregnating the grave-diggers in this line with the information. However they got it, they have immemorially had it, certainly for eighty or ninety years; and have often pointed it out to unbelieving spectators, for few ever believed or realized it to be the grave of the true Whalley. And hundreds doubtless considered it as only a fable: while the grave-diggers have, for no reason indeed which they can adduce, steadily believed it must refute it, being two years before the of the Mansfield and Alling families, who with the most confident assurance. They judges came into this country? This is a were perfectly acquainted with Mr. Russel, no more doubt Whalley's than Dixwell's—question I leave every one to solve for him-survived to within these fifteen or twenty no more doubt Whalley's than Dixwell's-

they are equally positive as to both.

hear it from the grave-diggers: But I do not such initials are to be found at that year: as them all, there must have been knowledge learn that he ever spake of it as derived from the mither are they at 1678, supposing the date the mistake. It is, I to be so read. I leave it also with every one age and connexions enabled him to have reto account for the dubiousness, to say the course to much higher, even original authority. least of that figure in both the head and footnone ever heard their contradict it. They He was always in the Dixwell connexion stones, if in either it might be ascribed to ac-certainly entertained and suffered this idea

from his youth up; he was personally ac- eident and casualty, How should the casualquainted with Mr. Pierpont, Mr. Russel, Ma- ty happen to both, especially when the other jor Mansfield, Mr. Alling and Mr. Bishop, figures are plain? If any should rather as-and indeed with Governor Jones himself; cribe it to intentional and designed artifice for and indeed with all those few characters at concealment, it might comport with that vigithe beginning of the present century, who lant, preconcerted and unremitted eaution, were most intimately concerned in this affair. which has certainly been practised in this His sister Mansfield, consort of sheriff Mans-field, son of the major, was a warm admirer knowing, and even perfectly knowing to the and great venerator of the judges, and versed whole affair, and could have put the matter in their history. Her daughter, Madam out of all doubt but designedly, and most Throope, aged 75, relict of the reverend industriously, and, too efficaciously concealed William Throope, tells me, that once, when it, so as even to become totally lost, as never a girl, riding with her parents together in a to be investigated, until the resurrection of chaise, or calash, they passed by Dixwell's the just. I leave it further for every one to house, her mother desired Mr. Mansfield to account in his own way for the uninterruptstop, and while sitting in the carriage she ed tradition of the grave-diggers in the line mourned over and lamented him, as a pious of the Tuttle family. How should it origi-and holy man, and enlarged in his praises nate? For that it has subsisted seventy or and commendation, saying many holy prayers eighty years at least, and even from the behad been made in that house. From her I ginning, or immemorially, I consider as ascertained the place of Dixwell's house, proved. Although new to me, I have upon which was standing till 1756. Her brother inquiry found with certainty that such a sur-Prout had the same veneration for these good mise and tradition has all along been to be men. And to old age, and even forty years found here among a few, while the main body ago, he used in conversation with me to speak of the inhabitants now living, have all along of the affair and history of these judges, with heard nothing of it, or at least never noticed the most engaged and interested feeling, be-just the most engaged and interested feeling, be-just the whence could it originate? Had it yound any man I have ever heard speak of it. been said in Hadley that they were buried in him, and was full of it, and delighted to tell a conjecture of ignorance: After knowing thing about their removal. But in his frequent and verbose conversations with the revsel's cellar, he spake with the same caution casion amidst their ignorance also at New that the Russels and the other confidential co-Haven, to even the surmise, much more to came of him; some said he went off from probable graves in the yard? Hadley to the westward towards Virginia; some have supposed that he lies buried some-been persons of intelligence alive in town where in our burying yard." This he said who were derivatively possessed of all the to Mr. Whittlesey and others. I do not find Russel information, and could have annualled from sundry that have heard Mr. Prout speak the E. W. stone. Among the inhabitants of of the matter, that he ever spake of more New Haven were these: Mrs. M'Neil, a than one of the other judges being supposed daughter of Mr. Russel of Branford, a very to be buried here besides Dixwell. Indeed sensible woman, and an adept in the history though he was personally acquainted with of Goffe and Whalley; which she said she originals, I should not judge that their dis-learned from her father; and as to the judges eretion would have selected him for confidential and plenary secrets, while he was, on acthat her father knew. Samuel Mansfield, count of his social and communicative dispo- A. M. and Samuel Cook, A. M. who married sition, a very proper person through whom to transmit, preserve and disuse important infamily information. Mr. Cook had not only formation. He was the gentleman and the christian. He was born in New Haven No-father, the reverend Samuel Cook, of Stratvember 19, 1689, and died here April 4, field, who had lived many years in New 1776, aged 87.

He had almost their whole history familiar to this and the other place, we might consider it it, and to dwell upon it. He never said any they died there it was natural to inquire the erend Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey, of this city conjecture. But when nobody ever thought upon the subject of the judges, after mention- of their dying at New Haven, nor of their ing that one died and was buried in Mr. Rus-removal hither, what should have given octemporaries must have been used to speak- the positively fixing on the very grave? and "as to the other, it is not known what be on account of the date, one of the most im-

Haven the beginning of this century; was But supposing Whalley buried here, an intimate acquaintance and connexion of whence came it that tradition fixed upon the stone E. W. for Whalley's monument, with Russel, and ardently interested in the fate of the judges. These, besides other branches self: as well as to reconcile it with the ar- years. In this circle the history of the judges Mr. Prout might, and doubtless often did, chives of New Haven, in whose obituary no was frequently conversed upon. And among

besides Dixwell lay buried here. I was formerly acquainted with all these persons, and have often heard the most of them with "An old man among us says, he rememand anecdotes of these judges; and I doubt was a function search (by order of the govnot, if they were living, they could throw
sufficient light upon the subject. But their
knowledge is buried with them. They were
the last, and there remain no more present
means of satisfactory information. I have
been told much that these and other ancient
he was suspected and in danger of being persons have said and narrated about the known, by his extraordinary dexterity with judges. I have been told that sheriff Mans- the sword; shewn (as he tells the story) on a field, a very respectable character, in the year particular occasion. And in apprehension of 1774 showed a member of Congress, of another state, Dixwell's stone, at the same time Here tradition, according to him, ends with showed him the E. W. stone, and assured him that this was Whalley's; so that this gentleman to this day remains equally imboth his father and his grandfather say, that pressed with the equal certainty of both, the Whalley and Goffe were both secreted at one as well as the other. And sheriff Mansfield knew it, if Mr. Russel of Branford in case of search, made a retreat for them

be proved: it must follow that, after his un- sett; was there set upon, and in danger of doubted sepulture at Hadley, he was taken being taken; went from thence to the south-Haven or Hadley of such a removal. In "The tradition among some, connected this place I think proper to insert a letter with the family of the Marshes, is, that Whalwhich I received from the reverend Samuel ley and Goffe both died in Hadley. judges.

taken pains to enquire of the oldest people eral is, that one of them died in this town will inform you. (those who remember which, say Whalley)
—that the other, Goffe, after the death of Whalley, left the town, and that it was not

among us.

at times to pass from them, that other judges whole of the time at Mr. Russel's and Mr.

with great engagedness converse on the fate bers to have heard the old people say, there and anecdotes of these judges; and I doubt was a fruitless search (by order of the gov-

between his chambers, and behind his chim-Still therefore pursuing the supposition ney.—That one of them died at Mr. Tillton's that Whalley lies buried here, though by no means considering it as a thing that can ever his death Goffe went off into the Narraganup and secretly removed to New Haven. ward; was heard of as far as Pensylvania, But, as I said, I can find no tradition at New or Virginia, and nothing heard further of him.

Hopkins, minister of Hadley, in answer to my letter of inquiry upon the subject of the Hadley (1754) one, who was then quite an old man, told me, among other things, that the tradition of the one that died in town Hadley, March 26, 1793. was, that he was buried in Mr. Tillton's gar-"Reverend Sir, den, or in his cellar. With respect to the "Since I received yours of 11th ult. I have place of his burial. I am of opinion, that it was kept secret, and was unknown. It among us, what they heard said, by the eld-seems to have been a matter of conjecture est persons in town since their remembrance, among the inhabitants; -in Tillton's cellar,respecting Whalley and Goffe, their resident in his garden—or behind his barn—as they dence in this town. The tradition among all imagined most probable. Of his being buried of them is, that both of them were secreted under a fence between two lots, I do not find in the town; that the inhabitants at that time any thing;—nor of his being afterwards reknew very little of them, or where they were moved. I have searched for his monument, concealed, except those in whose houses they and do not as yet by any means find the time were. And the tradition among them in gen- of Tillton's death. Should I hereafter, I

"SAMUEL HOPKINS."

I was at Hadley May 21, 1792, making known where he went. With respect to the inquiries only for gratifying my own curiosity one who died in this town, the tradition in and without a thought of compiling this hisgeneral is, that he was buried in Mr. Tillton's tory. The reverend Mr. Hopkins carried cellar.

The reverend Mr. Hopkins carried me to Mr. Russel's house, still standing. It "Most of whom I have enquired for tradi- is a double house, two stories and a kitchen. tion say, that while they were here the In- Although repaired with additions, yet the dians made an assault upon the town: that chamber of the judges remains obviously in on this occasion a person unknown appeared, its original state unmutilated, as when these animating and leading on the inhabitants exiled worthies inhabited it. Adjoining to against the enemy, and exciting them by his it behind, or at the north end of the large activity and ardour; that when the Indians chimney, was a closet, in the floor of which I were repulsed, the stranger disappeared—saw still remaining the trap door, through was gone—none ever knew where, or who he was. The above is the general tradition under closet, and so thence descended into the cellar for concealment, in case of search "I shall now notice some things which or surprise. I examined all those places with were in the tradition, as given by some, dif-attention, and with heart-felt sympathetic fering from the above, or adding somewhat veneration for the memories of those long immured sufferers, thus shut up and secluded "According to the tradition given by some, from the world for the tedious space of four-Whalley and Goffe were not concealed the teen or sixteen years, in this voluntary Bas-

tile.—They must have been known to the family and domestics; and must have been frequently exposed to accidental discoveries, with all their care and circumspection to live in stillness. That the whole should have been effectually concealed in the breasts of the knowing ones, is a scene of secrecy truly astonishing !

Mr. Hopkins and others gave me the same account as in the preceding letter. He showed me the place where the old meetinghouse stood, 1675, at the Indian invasion, about eighty rods north of Mr. Russel's house. I viewed also the position of Mr. Tillton's house, still standing, about a quarter of a mile below Mr. Russel's.

On my return from Hadley, passing through Wethersfield, on the 25th of May, l visited Mrs. Porter, a sensible and judicious woman, aged 77, in full possession of good mental powers, and particularly of memory. She was a daughter of Mr. Ebenezer Marsh, and born at Hadley 1715, next door to Mr. Tillton's, one of the temporary and interchanged residences of the judges. This house was in her day occupied by deacon Eastman. She had the general story of the judges, but said she knew nothing with certainty concerning them, but only that it was said they sometimes lived at Mr. .Russel's, and sometimes where deacon Eastman lived. There were many flying stories, she said, but so uncertain that nothing could be depended on-as among others, that one was buried in Mr. Russel's cellar, and another in Mr. Tillton's lot and her father's. Her father died 1772, aged 86, and so born in Hadley 1686. at his father Daniel Marsh's, a few rods N. w. from Tillton's; and always lived, as did his father, in that neighbourhood. As she said she had nothing certain, I pressed her for fabulous anecdotes. She said she was ashamed to tell young people's whims and notions, which had nothing in them. But in the course of conversation she said, that when she was a girl, it was the constant belief among the neighbours, that an old man, for some reason or other, had been buried in the fence between deacon Eastman's and her father's; and that the reason why they buried him in the line of the fence was, that the possessors or owners of both lots might each be able to say, he was not buried in his lot; but why he should be buried in the lot at all, and not in the public burying-place, she had never heard any reason or tradition. She said the women and girls from their house and deacon Eastman's used to meet at the dividing fence, and while chatting and talking together for amusement, one and another at times would say, with a sort of skittish fear and laughing, "who knows but that we are now standing on the old man's grave?" She and other girls used to be skittish and fearful, even in walking the street, when they came against the place of that supposed grave; though it was never known whereabouts in that line of fence it lay. She herself imagined it lay a little beyond the barn, eight or ten rods east from the great street that runs through Hadley, and perhaps eight or ten rods from her father's house. But she supposed the whole was only young folk's foolish notions; for some were much concerned lest the old man's ghost should appear at or about that grave. But this lady was very reluctant at narrating

ered as trifling and unimportant.

buried somewhere in Hadley unknown, Hadley. though generally agreeing that one was of a little glimmering of uncertain tradition, of Governor Hutchinson, that both the judges but how they came by it they knew not, that though buried there, they were afterward

1. That Whalley died at Hadley, I continued the though buried there, they were afterward the though buried there, they were afterward the though buried the theorem and the though buried the theorem and the though buried the theorem and the theorem kind that I ever came across; and the inform-ers desired me not to rely upon it; as upon my requesting their re-attention and recollec-tradition, by the uniform information in the means be confident. Yet they insisted, that a constantly affirmed this. If so, it was not faint idea or impression of such a report and surmise, imbibed in youth at Hadley, still re-Hopkins's recent inquiry, indeed, makes the mained on their minds.

well, and wandered about and lived in secret and being buried in Hadley. And this I be-places round about New Haven, and died lieve was really the truth. It is to be obsomewhere not far from New Haven, and served, that the universal tradition at Boston, the facts or derivation of information. This was buried in his cellar, or under his hearth. however seemed certain and without a doubt. We know from Goffe's letter that this was that another besides Dixwell lay here; a Whalley. little at a loss about the name, but seemed to adhere to Goffe, never heard of its being Whal- died at Hadley, and was buried at Tillton's. ley, nor of Whalley's stone, or if it had been There is a tradition, with some variation, that heard of, it was forgotten and lost. And yet one was buried in his garden, behind his this person has through life lived in the atmo- barn, in the line of dividend fence: all consphere of good traditionary and fabulous in- spiring to render it probable that one was telligence concerning the traditionary and buried there. And if Whalley was buried fabulous intelligence concerning the judges, at Russel's, this must have been Goffe. And with however but slight and transient impresso both died and were buried at Hadley, sion, or with impressions now much confused agreeable to Governor Hutchinson, which he and lost.

Possibly upon General Goffe's danger increasing after Whalley's death, he and his leaving the manuscripts at Hadley in the friends at Hadley might plan an illusion, for Russel family, indicates both the judges a foundation of saying truly, that after Whal- dying there, and finishing their days at Hadley's death, Goffe went off to the westward ley, say about 1680, for we hear and trace towards Virginia. So Goffe might leave nothing of them after this time, only that Hadley, visit Dixwell, wander about secretly and lose himself for a time in some of his old went off to the westward towards Virginia, recesses round about New Haven, and per- and was no more heard of .- This might be haps then concert with his friend Dixwell the true if he died at Tillton's, and by his friend removal of Whalley's corpse out of the reach Dixwell and others conveyed to New Haven, and investigation of Randolph. During which was westward towards Virginia: soon overtaken by death, and be buried first one doubt that Goffe, if buried at Hadley, and the parliamentary war, have a right to at the old man's grave, near Tilton's, and be was removed also? And thus, though in an adduce their reasons.—This body is increas-

these circumstances and stories, to which she afterwards with Whalley taken up and re-oblivion, into which there remains now no gave no heed herself, and which she consid-moved to New Haven. This is but conjectu-traceable light, all the three judges may lie ral, and left in uncertainty; though it would deposited together in the burying-yard at In repeatedly visiting Hadley for many have been good Oliverian generalship. The New Haven. I know these are strong and years past, and in conversation with persons story of one going off to the westward, after perhaps unsupported deductions, but in refeborn and brought up in Hadley, but settled the other's death at Hadley, is spread all rence to such a conclusion, whether decisive lsewhere, I have often perceived a concur-over New England, and is as trite at Rhode or not, these disconnected and seemingly fabrent tradition that both died there, and were Island, at this day, as at New Haven and ulous accounts and surmises, however triffing,

I think some use may be made of all these buried at Russel's. And two persons born in sparse, and unconnected traditionary lights, Hadley tell me that, many years ago, they all perhaps alluding to truth, if rightly unwere possessed of the idea and surmise, or derstood, towards supporting the conclusion buried in New Haven, as for bringing to-

secretly taken up and removed, they knew sider as evidenced fully by Goffe's letters; not where. This is the only surmise of the that he was buried in Russel's cellar, or hear of them at any time, may be satisfied tion, they said, it was so faint and transient an Russel family, and the tradition which can be idea, that they felt at a loss, and could by no traced to them. Mrs. Otis and Mrs. M' Neil for giving opportunity to others to pursue and one that died at Hadley to have been buried counts, and contribute to any further clucida-One person in New Haven, aged 70, is at Tillton's. But last spring, and heretofore, tion of the pilgrimages and history of these certain of having immemorially heard that both Mr. Hopkins and others at Hadley, have judges. On the whole, I consider it by no one of these good men, besides Dixwell, lies told me, what I had always received before, means certain, yet rather probable that they buried here; and has the floating idea that that the first was buried at Mr. Russel's, al- all three lie buried in New Haven. Of this, this person was Goffe. Upon my asking if it though the traditionary idea at Hadleyat this however, every one will form his own judgwas not Whalley? it was replied, No, but day may fix it at Tillton's. This however I ment, having before him, I believe, all the Goffe.—Upon asking whether he died here? would consider as verifying the idea that light and information, that can ever be possitive twee replied, that he did not die here, but there was indeed a burial at Tillton's. And bly obtained on the subject. after living at a distance up the country se- as I have no doubt but that one was buried at creted a long time, he came on a visit to Dix-Russel's, this would conclude in both dying was secretly buried here. This was the Barnstable and New Haven, has been, that Justification of the Judges, with reflecfloating idea, but of no certainty as to either one of the judges died at Mr. Russel's, and

2. That another judge, besides Whalley, who were in the secrets of the judges. The soon after the death of Whalley, the other

may seem to be not altogether inapposite.

I have indulged myself in an enlargement on this inquiry, not so much for ascertaining the unsupported conclusion that Whalley lies gether and exhibiting in one view these fabulous narratives, and statement of circumstances, with their inductive connexions; that so whoever may cursorily and transiently confidence may be given to them; and also trace these lights in different parts of the country, together with any other circumstances, which may verify or perfect these ac-

CHAP. V.

TIONS ON THE ENGLISH POLITY AND GO-VERNMENT.

Connected with the history of the judges, will be an enquiry, immediately arising in every mind, whether the high court of justice, which passed sentence upon the king, is to be justified or condemned? And this question has been, and still will be determined by each one for himself, very much according to each one's decision and judgment upon the previous question, Whether a sovereign is amenable to the community which he governs? To those who are fixt and decided perhaps received from the Leveret family, in the despotic principles, that kings can do no wrong, that no tribunal can be authoritatively erected but by the king, who can never be supposed to consent to the erecting one for the trial of himself; and who of consequence believe and hold for law that no king can or ought to be tried at any earthly tribunal; and who finally hold that a king, however guilty of the crimen Traditionis Reipublica, cannot be justly punished by death; -To such I have nothing to say. Among those who have previously settled in their minds the responsibility of kings to their subjects, which time it might be truly said, "that after which might have been done to clude the some condemn this particular transaction in Whalley's death, the other went off to the searches of Randolph, who would doubtless the case of Charles I. It is not to convince westward towards Virginia, and that it was have procured the execution of vengeance or make converts of any of these that I write. not known where he was, nor what became upon the relicts and graves of the persons, of him." When however he might, after a could they have heen found. If both died at American offspring and descendants, who for short excursion, return to Hadley, be there Hadley, and Whalley was removed, will any a century and half have approved the act,

ing in the nation, and their principles are er for their support. This has all along civil as well as religious liberty. And they spreading in the world. Europe has another been seen by many, and yet scarcely believed will endure till the eyes of the whigs are and the last conflict to sustain, in the present war of kings; and it will be a vigorous, severe and bloody one. The English nation are so enlightened, so tenacious and understanding of their rights, so enthusiastically impregnated with the inextinguishable love of eivil liberty, that they will never submit, they will never despair. The conviction is already publicly established of the impossibility of the coexistence and cohabitation of their rights and liberty with the permanency of an hereditary aristocracy and sovereignty, and that the perpetuity of the one must be attended with the ultimate downfall and extirpation of the other. In the conflict of the patricians and plebeians at Rome, the former yielded and saved themselves. But the confidence and tenacious firmness, even to blinded obstinacy, of the present hereditary aristocracies through Europe, and in England among the other powers, will never give way. They expect to stand, but they will assuredly fall. The pontiff and conclave at the reformation had no doubt but that they should insidiously eompass and effect a reunion and resubjugation of the protestants: but two centuries and a half have clapsed without any other effect than a conviction now generated and diffused through Europe, and the court of Rome itself, that the hierarchy is ruined, and the pontificate is no more. The ethnical worship was ages in dying, nor did the gentile priesthood, nor the civil powers of the three first centuries, believe that their opulent and these ruins will arise an elective republic .- and made prisoner by his wife, was tried by pompous idolatry was fatally struck with a death wound in the apostolic age, and yet it have said, to acknowledged principles of law done all possible wrongs, and thereby for-fell, not by arms, but before the convictions and justice, and to the extraordinary prece-feited his right to the crown. The parliament of christianity in the fifth and succeeding centuries. When established systems arrive at rest to this of the judges. The main body one arlicles of impeachment were alleged a certain height of corruption, they become of the whigs now lately annexing themselves against him. The parliament deposed Henincurable, the experience of all ages shews to a motley ministry and parliament, and their fall through an unhappy mistake deserting the cated his effects, and afterwards restored him and extirpation become inevitable, in the na- cause of liberty for a seasoo, will, after find- in his prosperity. In regard to Richard III. tural course of events. In England, that de- ing themselves duped, like their brethren at he certainly had committed more wrongs than lusory shadow of liberty, the semblance of a parliament, once a wise institution, is so effectually subdued to the irresistible influence of the crown, and the omnipotence of a prime go all the lengths of their operation and con-wrongs which he had done until after his death. minister, who constantly assigns to one of the privy council the business of managing the commons, that is corrupting and securing a veual majority at his will and dictature, that, supported by an hereditary aristocracy always at the will of the crown, government bids defiance to every exertion for liberty, and completely modifies and renders the dominion independent of the nation, who seem to enjoy some liberty because they elect their representatives to be sent to market for certain corruption to betray their rights and immunities. This every man in the nation believes, ministry to the wishes of toryism, now as vi- ring the hereditary succession of princes to and more, he knows it. This new modifica- gorous as ever in the nation, and left the dis- other family branches, has at length establishtion of power and crown dominion com-senters to inherit and sustain the opprobrium cd a principle in the English government, menced at the happy revolution. It was a court device, after it was found and established that a king could not rule England with- lion. The penal laws of Queen Elizabeth may set it aside; and even proceed to the out a parliament. But it as effectually sub- yet hang over them, but I believe the minis- punishment of criminal majesty, as well as jugates a nation to the will of one, as did the former mode of exercising royalty under the Tudors and Stuarts. Now this cannot be them, an enforcement, however, which I both of princes and nobles, in the room of broken up but by the dissolution of monarchy doubt not they would sustian with the exem- those who violate the obligations of the hereand hereditary aristocracy or nobility. They see this, will never yield, but will risk the most arbitrary and despotic exertions of powers have now to become the scape-goat of when all the reasons for hereditary dominion

and realized by the nation at large to this again opened to perceive that they a third ing and establishing, and the ministry are undesignedly accelerating and precipitating the crisis of an universal conviction. The crisis selves caught and ensuared, they will turn legislature, which stands, or ought to stand, prove, and advocate the justice of the war on a constitution, to make its own constitution of 1641, and the sentence upon Charles 1. tion. And administration dare not risk the not from the principles of rebellion, with calling a national convention, to amend the which they are aspersed and vilified by the commons' house, least under the idea of re- present English monntain, but from uncordressing grievances and rectifying acknow-leged defects, they should endanger the sub-And as in the darkest times they have universion and overthrow of the whole present formly persisted in the avowal of their principolity. The present system of polity there-ples, though with an unavailing effect under fore must stand and remain, unamended, overpowering corruption, or overpowering corrupt and despotic as it is. There is left mistake of their fellow citizens; so in this to the nation then no alternative between age of liberty, and in the present stage and quiet and tame submission to the present progress of the prevalence of truth, they unquestionable despotism, and a recourse to ever stand ready to state the reasons, which the old principles of 1641, the principles of to them now, and perhaps in time may to the Hampden and Sidney; principles which pur-sued and acted out to their full operation, mate the tribunal which arraigned Charles would terminate in the justification of the l. and not only to exculpate, but entirely to judges. These principles will rise into ener- justify the judges. sequences, as they have been all along avowfeel that delusion no longer, but that law and in the last instance, yet by tribunals not crectliberty is his birthright. The events in ed by the king. France have effected such a change in the A few instances in ancient ages, multiplied public spirit in England, that the episcopal in the two or three last centuries, of parlia-whigs have described the cause, joined the mentary control on kings, and of transfer-

day. However, the conviction is now grow- time have been unhappily deceived and deis near at hand, and it must be a bloody about, resume their old principles, and act one. The present modified government can with united energy in regenerating a public never recede. It cannot rectify itself: it has polity, in which liberty and the rights of citineither authority nor will to do this. It can zenship shall be effectually secured. In the not be done but by the nation at large, it have mean time, through every storm, a succession ing become now known to be absurd for a will survive of those who will steadily ap-

getic operation, and a burst of the public Nor are they destitute of supports by prespirit will sooner or later effect the downfall cedents.—Says a modern writer—"We read of aristocracy and monarchy; and out of in Rapin how Edward II. when conquered In order to this, recourse will be had, as 1 the parliament, which decreed that he had

"In later times the representatives of the

shall at length, in the public conviction appear work, a work and enterprize in which they spontaneous national convention, rectified in to be futile and mistaken, as being in fact perished: was it a work of righteousness, a reform and a melioration of the constitution founded in a subserviency to the aggrandise- or unjustifiable rebellion? ment of particular families, and oppression of the community, rather than in the public perfection of the English constitution towards first step to despotism. This rained the reweal. But it requires a tract of ages for the truth to struggle into public reception and us suppose the practical, though not written verted the feudal system into a complex ty-prevalence; and many sacrifices lie in the constitution of England, of a government by ranny. This was gradually and but partichanges are sudden and rapid, others require a longer time, both to prepare the public mind, and to combine and draw forth the exertions of those popular powers in states, by any thing but the public weal. But let grew into government, but not hereditary, necessary towards establishing some great an undue influence of one over the other be. There was not at the entry of the Saxons a principles of public right and utility. When introduced, and prevail to any considerable feudal and hereditary earldom in all christenthe last at length takes place, it excites a new retrospective idea upon the former ex-ertions and characters, few and rare at first, violated. This was done by Charles I. act-appointments as officers in the army, or and overwhelmed by prevailing powers not judges of court.—See Spelman's Feuds and yet broken up. Witness the public sense twelve years without either house. England Tenures, c. vi. p. 13. The same appears in on Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. The subserviency of these rare though spirited examples of sacrafices, preparatory to the bringing on of the ultimate happy crisis, will then be seen and admired. An evil may be opposed for ages, and many fall in the conflict and opposition, without success; but a continued series of vigorous exertions may from one of the acknowledged and conceded structed, and it never will be cured. There a continued series of vigorous exertions may at length bring on a united and vigorous burst prerogatives of the crown, the appointment is no alternative but its demolition, of the public spirit, terminating in the ulti- of all officers through the realm, and the After a vigorous and successful struggle mate salvation of the public.

To return to the survey of the last century. The main body of the nation, wearied out by the struggles with tyranny, and being mode of influence, effectually subduing both liberty has been obtained; and it has been services and for pensions, to originate a new settled ever since the glorious revolution that mode of influence, effectually subduing both recover so much true liberty, or seeming liberty, as they did under the houses of Orange to the present enormous and pernicious height. But so open is this transaction now, that it is have given up the contest; and the old principal transaction in the present enormous and pernicious height. rights, have ever since silently permitted a court faction and crown interest, mixed with descendants of hereditary despotic cavaliers, government and arbitrary power, to cast an or securely held at the king's pleasure; conservation of liberty. But whenever these odium and aspersion on the adjudication of though by the good providence of God, it great occasions offer, and one already begins Charles, and on the period of the Protecto- has happened, that the succession of sove- to shew itself and will not be baffled, these rate. In consequence of which the two or three last generations have grown up even under the house of Hanover, rather impressed with a doubt of the perfect legality of those transactions; and in a sort of submissive and unconvinced acquiescence, that they were not altogether nor radically justifiable: even so as to produce a present generation, who either generally disapprove and repudiate, or reluctantly speak of a transaction, which they rather think should be condemned. The national and annual aspersions of the temple upon this period, have contributed to this silent, tame, and half convinced acquiescence, even of the real and firm and uncorrupted friends of civil liberty. But aside from the compromise and acquiescence of political parties, and their union in a supposed be fairly inquired, whether those principles, which the united body of the whigs in the nation, both thuse who approve and those who disapprove this act, have to this day uniformly avowed, and have never given up, and never will give up, will not involve the vindication and justification of the judges? They performed a great work, a dangerous

making a judgment on these matters. Let public of Venice. This modified and conroad to the triumphs of truth.* While some king, lords, and commons, to be excellent: ally introduced into England .- "Earl, comes, s and liberty to be secure while the three was not originally hereditary, nor a degree branches acted separately, and truly independently, and uninfluenced by one another, sat and judged with the bishop. At length height, freedom of disquisition, and freedom dom." Even in Alfred's time A. D. 900, not thought this was remedied at the revolution Montesquieu and Vattel. Their recovery by an establishment that the king should not back to their original efficiary institution, rule, but with the concurrence of the two would be a radical relief to the English conhouses. By the bill of rights they thought stitution. The English constitution is not crown appropriation of revenues granted to with the Stuart family, a partial rescue of by the time of the revolution 1688, glad to houses to the king's will. It was not thought parliament. The sovereigns of the houses of comfortable matters to go into oblivion; and become the direct object and business of one ples, the old energetic spirit, are in some degree having thus far secured their liberty and of the king's privy council, by the distribulgone to sleep and become dormant. Nor need tion of offices in the revenue, the army and they be awaked and called forth into enercivil department, and by pensions, to manage, getic operation, but upon pressing and great that is secure a majority in the house of com-occasions; while a general vigilance will be the Filmers and vociferous advocates for high mons: the same for the lords; so that both ever necessary and sufficient for the ordinary It must and will be rectified.

well controlled and limited monarchy, let it be, by the officiary power being shared, for kingdom into unmeaning wars, enormous, and be fairly inquired, whether those principles, the appointment of the principal officers and oppressive augmentations of the national

to an elective and perfect polity. Heredita-It is necessary to look into the defects and tion of dominion in nobles and princes is the

reigns since the revolution has been well af- principles will be recurred to, and this nafectioned to their subjects, and disposed to tional spirit reawakened.—In the mean time, rule with wisdom, justice, and clemency. A as in the present period, three quarters of clemency and facility however, which has the nation suffer the other quarter to talk and permitted a Bute, a Hillsborough, a North, write licentiously, and to broach despotic and and even a Pitt to plunge the nation into the dangerous political doctrines with impunity, most unwise, sanguinary and despotic pro- which the nation will never suffer to be rejects, which can bring odium and dishonour alized and carried into practice, and which on regal government. Thus the excellent they know they have power to control. government and constitution of England, is The semblance of a parliament has hitherto by the avidity and folly of ministers under a produced a national acquiescence. But it will lenient but yielding crown, again changed at length be found that a king ruling a parliainto indeed a new modelled but efficacious ment, or more truly the king being a cypher, and real tyranny: a tyranny which will not and a minister one of his subjects ruling parbe long endured, but as assuredly hastens an liament and his fellow subjects with the deawful crisis as did the despotism of Charles I. sultory despotic and wild politics of the late ministers, who have foolishly lost the king This evil might be rectified, but it will not one third of his realm, and have plunged the pensionaries of all descriptions, between the debt; I say, at length it will be found that a crown and the two houses of parliament, king ruling parliament, and a king ruling with-And with this rectification the government out parliament, are one and the same thing. of England would be excellent, even with And let the experiment be tried by any future the retention and continuance of the two king that king Charles tried, and assuredly other great defects of the constitution, an he- it will not fail to wake up the spirit of 1641, reditary and useless aristocracy, and an une- and would as assuredly go the lengths of * Wickliff, Savanarola, Huss, Jerome, Whalley, Goffe. which ought to be, and will be, by a future pressed. Nothing but the certainty of its

the open unmodified despotism of monarchy. in England: but was it possible, there rebut English kings know where the matter
would end, and so their temerity is represssume it. The impossibility is the only secuhave ruled, as all have ne doubt he would
ed, and they are happily controlled. I appeal rity. What struggles have juries had with have ruled, had he been conciliated. Now to all acquainted with the spirit of English- arbitrary power and crown law, once prime- would they not have found themselves to have men from Alfred, and even from Cæsar to this val and almost universal in Europe, now for day; I appeal to half the tories themselves, ages abelished every where except in Eng-quired a conviction that they had erred, or for toryism remains as vigorous in this as the land and Sweden: but in England and the were going to err, in 1647, in voting that the last century: I appeal to the united and col- United States too firmly established ever king's terms were a proper foundation for a lective body of the whigs, as well those who again to be overthrown, and probably may be treaty which was safe to the liberties of the disapprove or approve of it-whether they resumed through Europe. Absolute monhave the least doubt of such an issue in such archs formerly seized and imprisoned subjects prejudiced advocates for Charles to judge a conflict, and on the supposed experiment at pleasure. How long time did it take in what would have been the opinion of the parrepeated on the nation? Such an experiment England to deforce the concession from kings, liament both lords and commons, in consewould not fail to bring the nation, though now that no man should be arrested and imprisonquiescent, to an explicit avowal and resumped at the will of the prince, nor be arrested tion of their old and never discarded princibut by law? How long to establish the habeas ples—principles, on which may be established corpus act and the bill of rights? Even now from their first voting for the abolition of kings, the justification of the judges of Charles I. that these principles are established into law, both as to the legality of the court, and the we still daily see the operative influence of justice of their sentence. Let such a conflict erown and ministerial efforts to evade, elude and struggle, through the folly of princes, be and defeat these laws. So many pillar prinportance in parliament.

only, until at length this honour was by the termination, and a few more royal tyrants with him. All are now convinced that had immortal Cicero opened to the plebeians and have had their deserts. In such an exigence the nation then pardoned the tyrant, the tyrbecame no more controverted? Other mu-however unprovided with a regular tribunal, anny would have been re-established. Why tations of power have required long and distant periods. How long after the efficacious tion, the English nation would find a way to him off? settlement of the Saxons in England before originate, institute, authorise and legitimate a the coalescence of the Saxon Heptanly under tribunal which would dare to judge and exe-been immemorially provided for the trial of Alfred? How long before the admission of the commons as a distinct order into the Wit-such transaction would inure to the justification the lighest nobles, and dependent feudatory tena gemet! How long before the Norman tion of Charles's judges. The nation, or the princes. But an high court of justice for the parliament succeeded the legislature instituted spirit of the nation did it in the instance of trial of delinquent majesty, has hitherto been by Alfred? How long before the immemori- Charles I. and they will ever repeat it and do excluded from the politics, constitutions and al principle of the Saxon government, that no it again in every similar emergency. They property should be taxed without the consent will not only assuredly do it, but will be more rights of kings, their inviolability, "the right of its lord or owner, could be gotten to be convinced that herein they should do right, as divine of kings to govern wrong, and their extended to the commons after that great the United States are that they did right in being unamenable to the laws, and accountproperty had shifted into plebeian possession? the declaration of independency. Liberty able only to God, have so prevailed among The same observation holds respecting the has endured too successful a struggle with sovereigns, and the hereditary aristocracies mutations in law and policy, many of which tyranny, and too firmly fixed the pillar prin- most generally combined with them, that kings have required ages for their establishment, as ciples of the constitution in England, ever to have been effectually screened and secured is manifest in the effect which the act of par- permit again their submission and subjugation from judiciary trials.—These doctrines and liament had de donis conditionalibus. It has to the tyranny of the houses of Stuart or Tutaken ages to educe and settle some points dor, or to the haughty despotism of any other and principles of national justice, which at reigning family or line of princes. length cease to be controverted, are now ac- But it is said in the given case of Charles ment, and by the solemn decisions of learned us the same thing for England. The taxa- dence had continued the lives of all the mem-tion of foreign nations is to this day without bers of the long parliament, and that the consent of subject: a vigorous struggle for same members had always been chosen till Vattel, when an ecclesiastic could not be

going these lengths, secures England from ages has deforced this power from the crown 1688, and seen and acceded to the reconcilia-

number of these in various parts of Europe; so, for the wisest legislators or councils may and Spelman, Selden and Blackstone, with be undesignedly and honestly mistaken. Now

nation? I think it may be left with the most quence of forty years experience of Stuart infidelity and intractibility. They would at once say that they were unwise to have receded that Oliver's judgment was right, that there was no safety in trusting the king, and therefore he ought to have been discarded as James II. was: that is, that the judgment of the derepeated a second and third time, in distant ciples however of public right and justice are spised parliament was wise and just. And if centuries, and the point would at length be at length become established in England by so, they would be at no difficulty in judging settled as effectually, as the demand of the the bill of rights, than any great attack, any that the acts of this parliament and of the commons kept up for ages, has at length now direct effort for their subversion would cost judges which acted under their authority were for a long time settled and finished the quest an English sovereign the price not of his right. Especially as the vote of the parliation of the equity and justice, of their privi-crown only, but of his life. Thus also the ment about to be put, precipitated and neceslege, and right to their place, power and im-right of subjects to judge their king will at situted the king's destruction, who otherwise length be universally acknowledged or not perhaps might have been permitted to abdi-How long was it contested that the consuls suffered to be disputed, after the present war cate and escape. But this alternative would should be selected from the patrician order of kings shall have had its full course and have been cut off by a vote for negociating was it not time then, and why not just to cut

In all severeignties judiciary tribunals have quiesced in by all, and are become firmly es- now before us, that the majority of parliament and upright, but mistaken judges, until the intablished principles in the public polity, though in 1647 were ready to enter into a pacification iquity of thrones has been established by law, for a time condemned and reprobated. And with the king. It is true: and they certainly with how much difficulty have many long eshad a right, that is authority to do this; but tablished principles of jurisprudence as well they might have made a mistaken use of this regal injury and wreng are without remedy, as polity had to struggle, and while many have been lost in Norman and other infrac-tions; with how severe and long a conflict patriots did they would not have listened to have some survived, and after living through the king's delusory proposals, which he cer-tribunals constitutionally defined and estabmany attacks and storms, at length gained a tainly never intended to fulfil. The question lished for the trial of royal criminals, of sufixed establishment? Gretius, Puffendorf, is, what was in reality safe and for the public preme magistrates, emperors, kings, and sovand Montesquieu, and Vattel, inform us of a good at that time : not what was deemed to be ereign princes. This era is new commenced.

In the middle ages the pontifical power had usurped such an ascendency, in all the states the writers on the Feudal Tenures, inform to investigate this, let us suppose that provi- of Europe, that eardinals, bishops, and the

whatever." It was once dangerous for a civil mons and unenobled subjects, has been for judge "to punish an ecclesiastic with death, ages well settled in England. As well estabthough a rebel or malefactor."-"History af-lished is the criminal and judiciary laws for fords a thousand examples of bishops, that the trial of nobles, though in a different mode. have remained unpunished, for crimes which cost the lives of the greatest lords. John de Braganza, king of Portugal, caused those the ordinary courts of justice, and especially lords, who had conspired his destruction, to to the supreme courts of Westminster, in high be justly punished; but he did not dare to put crimes and misdemeanors, and in accusations to death the archbishop of Braga, the author of that detestable plot."*

for treason, they are by impeachments to be brought before their pares, that is, a court of

nations, produced and exhibited, at first a few stitution for this, but immemorial usage has rare examples of ecclesiastics, in capital cases, established this mode of judiciary for nobles. lar instances were repeated and multiplied, as in any other mode. And it might have until this amenability is at length recovered been as well done by tribunals, or selected and established through Europe. But kings nobles, instituted pro re nata by the sovereigns

were archepiscopal malefactors.

upon criminal kings, will bring on the same establishment. And then the preceding examples of those tribunals, which have possessed the resolution and fortitude to do justice to a delinquent monarch, will be contemplated with approbation, reverence and honour. Then the heroic and high example of the high court of justice, which sat and passed sentence upon King Charles I. will be recurred to and contemplated with calm impartiality. And however it hath been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, it will hereafter be approved, admired and imitated, and the memoirs of these suffering exiles from royal vengeance be immortalized.

Much has been said concerning the mode of instituting this court, and the authority of it when instituted: And it has been generally condemned as irregular and illegal. All concur that extraordinary public exigencies necessitate and justify extraordinary measures. All will allow that these extraordinary measures may be sometimes violent, injurious, and inconsistent with the public good, and sometimes wisely adapted to secure the public wel-

Criminal judiciaries may be erected by law and constitution: such are those of the English nation for subjects. These may be standing and permanent tribunals, like that of the that Brutus, the consul, put his children, and Areopagus at Athens, or the senate of Carthage, or the courts of Westminster; or they quinian conspiracy, to death. This was an may be occasionally instituted by the authority exorbitant power."—This produced a new tacitly supposed to be vested in the king, as change in the criminal judiciary; it gave rise was that for the trial of the regicides, 1660. to the Valerian law, by which it was made The king had the power to institute star lawful to appeal to the people from every orchamber and other courts pro re nata through dinance of the consuls that endangered the life the realm. This as all other powers may be of a citizen. The consuls after this had no dangerous, and is guilty of a high crime, and abused, or may be exercised wisely. whence kings derived this power is not to be capital cases against a Roman citizen, without munity of his subjects. And if the crimes of found. No man can trace the English constitution to writing. An explicit consent to certain fundamental principles, or rights, has been irregular, as was the high court of justice, in men regale ought not somewhere to find a at different times deforced from unwilling 1649, by the parliament of 1660. "In the trial, judgment and condemnation also. But kings; but even magna charta is not a com- first conspiracy for the restoration of the Tar- though the coronation oath implies that the plete system of rights and liberties. In its quins, the criminals were tried by Brutus, the jumbled composition, it contains, however, principles, which pursued to their extent and were assembled to try them." ust comprehension, would establish the system of universal right. The criminal code in the senators till the time of the Gracchi; Tibeparticular, and the course of adjudications in

Ages of conflict and struggle, between the nobles, or the whole house of the barons of secular and ecclesiastical powers, among the the realm. There is indeed no written conrendered amenable to civil judicatories. Simi- Justice we may suppose is as well done in this have hitherto escaped, and held themselves as themselves alone, or by them and the house exempt from criminal judiciaries, as formerly of lords conjunctly, had usage and custom established it. Any of these modes had been A few more instances of adjudications equally legal, regular and authoritative. Provision is however made for an efficacious prosecution of criminal nobles. And it is well. Happy had it been, had usage also established a judiciary for kings.

> There have been great variations in the judiciaries of nations in a succession of ages; most of which, though seemingly irregular at first, have at length grown into regularity, and obtained with full and legal force, till superceded and laid aside for a new change, which has been found by experience sometimes for the public benefit, and sometimes to public detriment. We see this in the republics of Greece, and in that of Rome, and the states which arose all over Europet upon the disso-

lution of the Roman empire.

In the Roman government, "the judiciary power was given to the people, to the senate, to the magistrates, to particular judges," under various, combined and often changing modifications of authority. "The consuls had the power of judging after the expulsion of the kings, as the prætors were judged after the consuls." Afterwards the consuls were "satisfied with naming the judges and with forming the several tribunals." "The kings reserved to themselves the judgment of criminal affairs, and in this they were succeeded by the consuls. It was in consequence of this authority But longer a power of pronouncing sentence in a violation of this solemn pact with the comthe consent of the people." But this was doubtless judged by the consuls and senate as consul, in the second the senate and comitia

The judges were chosen from the order of

brought before a secular tribunal for any crime felonies and all kind of crimes, for the com- rius Gracchus effected the change that they should be taken from the equestrian order. Some of these changes were for the public good, especially for the security of life, others were not so, but all legal. I might shew the same mutations in the criminal judiciaries of Athens and Sparta, and of all ancient and modern states, and particularly in the Norman judiciary in England. And unjustifiable violences have attended almost all of them, at first, even the changes which have proved the most wise and salutary. What struggles and violences has the conflict of English liberty, that political jewel, endured from Alfred to this day, in the mutation of the Witena Gemot, the reduction of the Meycle Gemote, and the substitution and introduction of the commons to an efficacious participation in the English parliament, or national council and legislature. For ages these persevering exertions of the public spirit were represented and treated as refractory tumultuous and rebellious, by the kings and barons, while at length victory has declared on the side of liberty, and the opprobrium of aristocrats is taken off, and succeeded by the approbation of the wise and the admiration of the world.

With the candid and liberal ideas which arise from a large, full and comprehensive view and comparison of the criminal judiciaries of nations, and the causes and reasons which might have necessitated and certainly brought about their changes, we may be prepared to make up an historical judgment on the legality and justifiableness or expediency of any given instance, example, or event, either ancient or modern, which may come under our contemplation. We may contemplate the instance, or shall I say the instances in England the last century, with calinness and justice. Certainly great were the exigencies in conflict of liberty with royal tyranny. For the warmest advocates for the Stuart family and high government, admit their government was a tyranny. Few contend but that the English monarchy is a government by laws; and that it is herein distinguished from despotism, which is the government of a monarch by will without law.§ The monarch of England, and originally all monarchs by their coronation oaths, are to rule not by will, but by the laws of the land, the lex scripta and non scripta. It remains then for him to investigate these, and by these to rule. His coronation oath obliges him to this: and a wise king would wish no greater power. If therefore in his avidity for power, he should transcend the limits and boundaries of the laws, and by high and overtacts should violate the laws and show himself aspiring to a government of insidiousness and absolute will, he becomes

provided for in the English constitution .- Be it so, though this is questionable; yet shall the patience of subjects endure the oppression of kings forever ? Shall the cause of liberty be

subjects ought to be judged and condemned,

no one can show a reason why this great cri-

violation of it should be judged in some tribu-

nal or other, yet this judiciary is said not to be

Montesq. Sp. Laws. B. 27 and 28.

[‡] Montesq. Sp. Laws. B. n. C. 18.

δ Montesq. V. I. B. II. C. 4.

expedient he found to remedy this evil of kings? Are subjects, are millions made for the case. In the dissonance of the houses, in which sat on Charles, I consider as legal in kings, or kings for subjects, for millions ! Is this great exigence, every one sees the cause that national exigency. There remains then there not wisdom and power enough in every was gone, had there been no other expedient. only to consider, whether their judgment was sovereign state to devise and execute this emancipation? And shall they be deterred have said, in the constitution; in magna charposed unquestionably legal court ought to from the exertion, or such exertion condemned ta; in long usage, in an antecedent act of have rendered? This is all the question that for want of precedents, or provision in the constitution, if such a political constitution can be conceived? What principle of political or moral right forbids their even originating a precedent in this instance ? And this may be by one united effort or bursting forth of the national spirit-or-if the body of the nation, by intimidation or intriguing delusion, or a junction of aristocratical official and other interests, should be prevailed upon to hug their chains and sit still in slavery: in such an exigency should some spirited phalanx arise and spontaneously assume upon them the vindication of liberty, rush on the throne and scize the despot, what could be said against it? Even should they light upon him like bees, and fall upon him till he died, as did the citizens upon Phalaris of Agrigentum—this might be well —it certainly would be just. But should they in this tunultuous and dangerous exigency, retain such noble and manly possession of themselves, such control and restraint of the public passion, as to withhold them from this sudden though merited violence, and so as to give opportunity of a fair and open trial, that the condemnation should proceed on real justice: and hy their own assumed authority institute and erect, and empower a court of trial sufficiently qualified and numerous: let the judges be men of common integrity, and discernment adequate to the determination of a plain matter of fact upon evidence-for let it be remembered this trial of a king for the breach of a coronation oath by overt acts, is not a quæstio juris which might require profound law knowledge, but a quæstio facti, as to which all the boni homines, the very elders of the gate, are competent judges: If such a court thus established and authorized, after a fair and open examination of evidences, should pass upon a king, that he is guilty of treason -and he be executed accordingly :- If this procedure should be had by those who voluntarily assumed the salvation of their country upon themselves, would they not honour their intrepidity, justice and patriotism, in the history of nations? Would they not have done a glorious work? Should the nation however through any fatal versatility, be again duped into the re-admission of tyranny, and throw opprobrium on their spentaneous benefactors posterity, upon regaining liberty in a subsequent period, contemplate their memories with veneration? and the long protracted reproach be wiped away and turned into lasting honour and applause !

Let us then see whether any thing like this has been displayed in the civil wars of 1641, and the decollation of Charles I. 1649.

After seven years war against his parliament and subjects he was at length apprehended, and undoubtedly ought to be tried by some high court. Had both houses of parlianal nal law of nature and reason applied to the national state of society, regularly empower one people illegally dethroned a king of ed and vested with full authority to sit in Rome; another instituted an illegal congress: Vol. II .- 10.

have been acquiesced in. But this was not wrong, may judge right.

parliament completed with the king's assent, is worth the attention of civilians and nations. if such assent could even be supposed to have However both the regularity of this high been obtained; - Had this provisional court for court, and the justice of its sentence may be the trial of majesty, been defined to have been further considered. both houses of parliament, or a single house, ei- The public sense may be mistaken, it may ther of the lords or the commons; or a selected also be right. The judgment upon this must number of judges, nobles and commons mix- be consigned and demandated to posterity ed; it might have been equally well, and and the calmer ages. There is however a none could have justly disputed or doubted right. The public councils may not always its legality. But no such provisiou is made; be possessed of this right: they may hold it every effort for this has been bathled; it a long time: they may be perverted, corhas been kept off by the kings themselves, rupted, deluded to their ruin. Nations as ever delicate and jealous of their prerogative of inviolability. Indeed in the history wards corrected themselves. It took the nation fengland there have been eases, as I have tion forty years to learn by dear bought exsaid, wherein parliament have assumed upon perience, that a treaty or compact with thu themselves, to judge kings and transfer here- Stuart family was nugatory. Inwrought in ditary successions. But this was an assumption of exigence and necessity, and not by compatible with the Saxon English ideas of virtue of written and defined constitution. And when, as in the instance of Charles, the parliament themselves were divided, the assumption must be left to others, or a criminal

king go unpunished. If justice ought not to be eluded: and kings ought to be tried, as few doubt it, it became necessary that the patriots should come forth openly, and honourably originate a court without precedent. The resolution taken, it became proper that the judicial procedure assumed not by parliament, but by the subjects of the community at large, or by any respectable associated body of them, or as in the present instance by the army in concurrence with the house of commons :- it became proper that the procedure should be conformable to the regular and usual forms of the trial of state criminals; or perhaps in the same manner as the whole body of subjects duly endirected and authorized. It ought to be, a One may conceive various modes of forming such a court. If the whole legislative order should have assumed and considered themgreat end of a formal, open, fair, and imparand deliverers: would not their enchained tial trial and abjudication. Each of them are despotism. And the authority of judges acting on either of these modes of appointment would be equally legal and right in the eye people, is indeed another mode of judiciary, and equally legal, and according to the origi-

given up as lost and irresumable? Can no tution. Yet this assumption of power would able and upright judges, may err, may judge A tribunal might have been, erected as I right? whether it was that, which a sup-

Was the parliamentary war of 1641 right? Few Englishmen will dare to deny it. Let the cause then, for which they fought, be considered as just and defensible. By 1648 the same national council, which had, with heroic fortitude pursued the vindication of liberty, partly by becoming tired out with war, partly by the impolitic divisions and alienations of contending sects, but principally by corrupting intrigue, became dis-heartened, and were going to give up the cause, and return to their former vassalage. They were hearkening to, and were daily ripening for a closure with the insidious offers and promises of a king, who, as all the world now believe. would have certainly deceived them, and have resumed his former tyranny, as did his son at the restoration. The army and a numerous body of the nation, probably an inlightened would, if convened, have approved, terest equal to three quarters of the nation, directed and authorized. It ought to be, a or that united body consisting of the estab-civil, not a military, nor ecclesiastical tribunal. lished church and dissenters which afterwards became distinguished by the appellation of the Whigs, the great saviours and vindicators of liberty at the revolution, and the selves empowered; or one house; or should supporters of the Prince of Orange and the a commission of selected individuals be pitch- Hanoverian family to this day, and the only ed upon; it might be well. Any and all of present defenders of liberty in the English these are but so many modes of a judiciary, nation: I say the army and a numerous body would be regular and sufficient to secure the of patriots both in and out of parliament saw the snare, dreaded the loss of liberty, and wished an effort for the salvation of the nation at an equal remove both from anarchy and from Stuart slavery. They boldly did that which was done at Rome in the instance of Tarquin, at Agrigentum in that of Phalaris, and what the parliament did at the revolution, of eternal justice and reason, provided their and America and France have done in recent decisions and adjudications were founded in instances. They adventured upon an extraproof and justice. A national tribunal of ordinary measure, which pressing exigencies seven hundred and fifty judges systematically only justified; and which, as of necessity it appointed by the voice of twenty-five million must have been, was devious from the ordinary course of redressing evils, and according to the long usage and the established not at this day question its legality, though no judgment and pass sentence on a king. A and the English patriots illegally did that, such provision is made in the English constitice for the trial of a king, who was in the gone to heaven, but he was an arbitrary, concession of all men, by his folly and tyr- haughty and tyranuical monarch. But had ranny, the cause of all their calamities.

The commons at this time might consist of three hundred besides the secluded members. The awfulness of the work they were going upon, not the army (which however deterred but a few) so intimidated them, that though a quorum yet fewer than fifty members were present at instituting, and nominating a high court of justice, consisting of one hundred and thirty judges. This act of the commons was non-concurred by the relict of the lerds' house, which to defeat the work, adjourned to a distant day. The commons deserted by the lords, did that in this exigency, which both lords and commons had done when deserted by the king; they took the matter upon themselves, as did both lords and commons again without the king afterwards at the revolution 1688, when they invited the And it was well done. prince of Orange, approaching them also with an army. Both according to usual forms illegal and irregular, both legal and regular from the extreme pressure of the occasions.

Instead of questioning then the legality of the high court, instituted with this original deliberate formality, resolution and solemnity, the attention of posterity and the world should be called only to two things, the ability and qualifications of the judges, and to the justice or injustice of their sentence. As to their abilities; if some were of as slender abilities as even the nobility of all nations generally are, which they were not, the most rigid and prejudiced must all own that there were men in this comission of capacities sufficient to conduct a court-trial with jural dignity and impartiality, sufficient for an accurate examination of evidence and judging on facts, and sufficiently learned in the law to judge on treason in so plain a cause, where fortitude was more wanting than great abilities. Abilities however they had. There was a Ser-jeant Bradshaw, a Lord Grey, a Harrison, a Temple, a Hasserigg, a Whalley, a Lord Say and Scal, a Blackiston, a Ludlow, an Ireton, a Cromwell; and an ample sufficiency of others abundantly adequate to the work. Let not the abilities of the court then be doubted. I will say little on the justice of their judgment or sentence, but leave every one to himself. Had it passed on a duke or a marquis upon the same proofs of treason, it would have been approved of by all men. A king of England, that, dissolving the parliament, dares to rule the kingdom without the parliament, for twelve years, and without their consent deforce loans, levy ship money, and be guilty of the other arbitrary and oppressive enormities, which, by the united and uncontroverted testimony of all the histories of those times, King Charles I. was guilty of: such a king by an impartial and just tribunal, ought to be judged guilty of treason. tradio libertatis juriumque reipublica. And if plebian and nobility treason merits death, royal treason or sovereign parricide against the state, most justly merits tyrannicidium, or the death of deaths. Charles might have been a saint, fit for a pontifical canonization, and Ganganelli says,* that all such are real saints, and so was Thomas a Becket, and if

stitution-they instituted a high court of jus- he was the author of the Icon Basilike, he is church of England, who in their turns gave he for his supposed though dubious piety, merited all the high eulogiums which have been anually lavished upon his memory, had his moral character been immaculate, yet was he so deeply, so sincerely principled in despotism, so liaughty, atrocious and arbitrary were the overt acts of an erroneous mind, so enormous and intolerable the violences and oppressions of his government, which was one continued tissue of folly and tyranny, one incessant infraction on civil rights and religious liberty, that he lost and extinguished the confidence of his subjects, excited national hatred and horror, forfeited his crown, and justly merited his deplorable and exemplary fate. However it required a singular fortitude to stand forth, and resolutely do that great work of public justice. It was done.

The state and spirit of the parties in these times was perhaps nearly this. The dissenters, at least a fifth part of the realm of England, were indeed somewhat divided, but collectively friends to civil and religious liberty. At the beginning of the war, the parliament was generally episcopal, but disgusted with the tyranny of bishops' courts, the disquisitions which led them to vote out the bishops from the house of lords, terminated in establishing presbytery, not but that they would have preferred episcopacy and monarchy, had it been moderate and not inimical to civil liberty, on which they were firm and rivited. But rather than give up civil liberty they would let both episcopacy and monarchy go, though they knew the Venetian Republic admitted episcopacy. But at the revolution they returned in their hearts to both. For a time, however, these ideas pervaded three-fourths of the inhabitants of England, who were thus united in republican ideas, Church and dissenters thus coincided and coalesced in the defence of liberty. The rest of the nation were loyalists and high church, and never changed nor moderated; but they were a minority, though a brilliant, a powerful and insidious minority. The revolution broke up the union of church and dissenters, detached the church patriots into a union with high church and loyalists, and left the dissenters rained. The body of the church were moderate, and differed from the high church, not only as to rigid episcopacy, but as to high principles of civil government, and did not pretend to doubt the rights of the people even to control kings. This produced a set of writings in which a vigorous political controversy was carried on among themselves on the principles of civil and absolute government. Many of these masterly productions do honour to that age, and wrought up the public mind into fixed principles of liberty in a limited monarchy. Besides, this interest was uniformly protestant. The high exertions of prerogative, and the conspicuous papism of James II. brought on again a coalescence of the friends of liberty, church and dissenters, leaving high church and papists united by themselves; out of the body of whom sprung up that large united interest, which at length received the malevolent appellation of Whigs, an invidious name given in Britain is certain, and all the policy of the to the dissenters and the main body of the ministry cannot avoid it. All this has grown,

the name of Tories to the high church and papists, now united, and those royalists who, regardless of religion, were advocates for the divine right of kings, their indefeasible hereditary rights, and inviolability, and joined in arbitrary measures, and supporting the crown in opposition to the people and parliament. The royal oppression became so heavy, that the whigs among the church once more called in the dissenters, a fifth of the realm, to their assistance. And though they had been duped and solemnly deceived at the restoration, yet upon the promise of redress they joined the whigs, and this reconjoined force became an impregnable bulwark for liberty, against papacy, and the royal or crown interest of despotisin, effected the revolution. But the poor dissenters were again forgotten, and have been forgotten ever since, while in every exigency and party, again in Queen Anne's time, and at the Hanoverian accession, they never failed to join in the cause of civil liberty. An unparalleled instance of persevering hdelity to the rights and liberties of England -while they themselves continue to this day, though the most hearty and genuine protestants, deprived of civil liberty, and disfranchised from all civil affairs through the realm. Now all this has grown out of the spirit of 1641. The body of the nation, the minority of tories only excepted, have all along down to the present day been, and still are such firm friends to civil liberty, that they will never give it up. And the prerogative having acquired strength in a new mode since 1688, by corrupting both houses of parliament by peerages, pensions, and distributions of a system of lucrative offices, the nation is preparing and ripening for a new burst of the spirit of liberty, and rectification or purification of the national policy, which will assuredly take place. The reformation of the houses, necessary in the concession of themselves and all men, leading the nation to first principles, will convince them that, however delayed, it must sooner or later, be done; and that the legislature have no authority to make the constitution, or any part of it, on which they stand themselves; -they will therefore see the necessity of a national convention, empowered by the people for the express purpose of rectifying, altering and amending it. And when they shall be assembled, who can say how far they will go? They will go so far as to put an effectual stop to the possibility of the parliament being bought up by the crown.-This will bring on not only the modification of the commons, but of the lords, an exchange of hereditary for an elective aristocracy, and ascend to the touching of sovereignty itself; and as England is a mixed monarchy, controlable by law, magna charta and parliament, the king's power of appointing all officers. civil military and ecclesiastical, must necessarily be restricted and modified. One cannot see how many changes may take place. Twenty years ago the parliament might have reformed themselves, and the people would have acquiesced. This is now become impossible; or, if parliament should do it, it will only bring ou those national agitations on the question of their power, which will terminate in a national convention. A revolution

and will grow, out of the parliamentary war, | view. Without any umbrage given by the | veteran army of a Cesar. Should they, like

It is necessary to trace out this state of the political parties in order to discern the mistake of the cardinal friends of civil liberty, and the temporary change this mistake proin order to judge whether Oliver discerned and judged right or wrong, and also whether the execution of the king, even suppose it to have been contrary to the then mistaken sense approve or disapprove. For certainly this event, with the subsequent violent dissolution of parliament, and elevation of Cromwell to the protectorate, with the apprehension that the nation was about to be ruled by a standing army, were among the principal causes that effected the discordance and alienation of the public sentiment, and reconciled the nation to a return to monarchy, and to concur in a general obloquy upon those times, as a period of the grand rebellion. We do not sufficiently distinguish between the general obloquy; both tories and whigs agreeing in obloquy, but meaning very different things. While both agreeing in general, though not universally, in anothematizing the execution of the king and the administration of the protectorate, the genuine whigs in all successions to this day, would never suffer or endure that the parliamentary resistance to Charles I. should be stigmatized or vilified with any aspersions. They to this day give the parliament and patriot army co-operating with them, the highest applauses, the firmest and most decided justification: not sufficiently yet adverting or considering that in reality, what will justify them, will justify the whole course of procedure through the protectorate, until the giving up the cause at the restoration. When the parliament altered their minds, the army became formidable, not before.

Through the whole period from 1641 to 1660, the army continued faithful and uniformly devoted to the republican interest for which they took up arms, till corrupted by Monk, the Dumourier of Britain. The parliament stood firm for the republican cause six years: they began to waver in 1647, when there was no need of it, and when they had already accomplished their end, and thereby endangered the cause. The patriot army stood firm, interposed, and gave the finishing stroke to tyranny. But four years after, instead of establishing the liberty they had gained, by a certain fatality attending the noblest cause, mistaken ideas of perpetutiy became conspicuous in many truly sincere and patriotic characters in parliament, and manifested itself in bringing forward a bill out just foundation, than they in that day cellently adapted to hold the dominion of a for filling up vacancies only, in the commons or parliament, by the people, as they fell, instead of dissolving themselves, and calling triennial parliaments, or otherwise establishing a liberal constitution. Thus the nation-judgment. The patriots and friends of lib-work no mischief or injustice to the holders al government would soon have grown up, ioto a polity, not very dissimilar to the Venetian aristocracy, and very abhorrent from that for which the nation and army, and parliament itself, had taken up arms and so vigorously terrors and apprehensions. contended. What did the public good require in this exigency? This defection from an elective republic, which would be support-sia, Austria and Russia: and I should not the original grand cause of liberty first seized the parliament, not the army, which persevered keeping the first great object accurately in could easily disband and dissolve even the ca. We have been witnesses that in thirty

would defeat all, and that the republicans would be duped and deluded by the royalists, finally to bring in majesty. Both these parties, now joined in expressing loudly their with fanciful, with shadowy, and ideal dangers, rendered the great work of the conservation of regained liberty exceedingly critical and difficult.

How mistaken these alarms were, are better judged by posterity and the world, than by the patriots themselves, in the day of deception. The generality of the nation saw it, even in that day, as appears from their acquiescing and rejoicing at the violent dissolution of the long patriotic parliament; and we in this day see the mistake, in not calling a new parliament immediately upon the death of the king. To such a parliament undoubtobedient, in every thing but the recalling a king. But a perpetuating parliament must feel an alarm from an army originally raised part, the minority of parliament, and by the nation in general. We can now more easily

The original reasons of the beautiful feusee that the parliament were suspicious with-dal system now cease in Europe. It was excould. Nor would the parliament have had conquered country; but now that the conany such appreheusions, had they not first querors and conquered are become mixed changed their sentiments: changed I believe and incorporated together, throughout Europe, at first with sincere and honest, but mistaken, the reason of the policy ceases; and it would erty, even at this day, entertain the same ap- of fiefs, or danger to the public, if the fiefs prehensions respecting the danger of an army, were dissolved, and sales were permitted; May I be permitted as patriot, to say, that which would soon alienate and diffuse the I have for a long time been freed from such property, and render it allodial. Let the

army, ever faithful to the national interest, and his, turn their arms on the senate; let it be and the cause of liberty, for which they had remembered that the English senate was not taken up arms, the parliament first conceived then composed of hereditary or perpetual pawithout reason a jealousy of the army, the tricians, but was, or ought to have been eleconly or principal obstacle to their ascending tive. Nor would Cæsar have succeeded, had duced in the time of the protectorate; and into this noxious aristocracy. This mistaken the patricians been constitutionally elective, jealousy began the alienation and opposition or had the people been as habituated to anbetween the army and parliament. The nual or frequent election of the whole senate, army had shown no disposition either to per- as they were of the consuls. Had Oliver's petuate themselves or to subjugate the parlia- army attempted to deforce their pay and supof the nation, was what posterity ought to ment. They continued faithful servants to plies by military contribution enforced on the the parliament till they perceived by the overt yeomanry, on the people, whose commons act they were about to pass, which tended to, had in a struggle for ages gained from the and inevitably would have terminated in per-fendal aristocracy the possession of three petuating themselves. For themselves, the quarters of the lands of England, either in army might have been secure under such fee or freehold tenancies for life or lives, perpetuation, but the cause of liberty, all they would have met a warm reception, and must see, was gone. They saw it. How would have begun a contest which would ought they to act as a patriotic army? They have assuredly terminated in their overthrow were not dangerous to the nation, nor to a and dissolution. It will prove next to impospolity standing on the election of the people, sible for a standing army to establish con-At the same time ideas friendly to monarchy quest over an elective republic; or to overwere growing and prevailing in parliament; lay the liberties of a people among whom all which was laying the foundation of that property is equally diffused. Even in a moncoalescence of republicans and loyalists, archy this cannot be effected unless a great which Oliver had the sagacity to foresee portion of the feudal system remains in its constitution. Indeed whatever be the policy, whether monarchichal or republican, of a nation possessed of diffusive freehold property, it can never be lastingly subjugated either by fears of the army, and by irritating themselves a foreign or domestic army. The diffusion of property among so great a part of the people of France, by secularizing the church lands to the amount of one quarter of the whole territory of France, and the allodial distribution of it among the peasants or occupants, will engage so large a body to defend their possessions, as will effectually secure their liberties and republican independency. This policy will effectually and permanently furnish a spontaneous host of bold, courageous, and unconquerable defenders. Property has been so diffused among the commons of England, that it has not been in danger from armies for several ages. The commons will edly the army would have been faithful and fight pro agris as well as pro aris & focis. The relict of a tenure of property somewhat similar to the feudal system, tenancies at will or for terms, retained a foundation of danger: against the continuance and perpetuation of but already has such an aggregate of properany power, whether royal, aristocratical or ty shifted into the hands of substantial yeoparliamentary, beyond a period necessary for manry as will prove an effectual barrier against redress of grievances, when the general pub-lic object was a settlement of public liberty. Oliver wisely filled his army with substan-But as I said these alarms were without foun-tial and hardy yeomanry. And whenever dation: and were so seen both by a great the yeomanry are invaded, let us be as ured

peasants of Poland be vested with allodial An army cannot possibly be dangerous to property, and they may be trusted with Prushours from the moment of shedding the first to Scotland and Ireland, in the unjustifiable, Hale. If the ten kings of Europe had won blood at Lexington, thirty thousand substan- war he carried on in those two kingdoms, a pions David among them, who was always tial freeholders were spontaneously in arms, And here I wish to insert this general apology. singing psalms, praising God, praying and and in full march from all parts of New Eng- If there should be any mistakes in these his- seeking the Lord, as that religious king used the world, and the effect will be the same, easily corrected by referring to the authorities, tic religious hypocrite, with as much justice ancies at will or for years, without reference to day-laborers, mechanics and manufacturers, of no property, to permit ultimate danger

It is among these that an army must be sought for efficacious defence. Ten thousand of these are worth three times the number raised in the usual manner of conscribing venal armies. This, much more than religion, Hollises, the Hales, the Barnets and the emergency? Good God! shall it be a diswas the secret of the invincibility of Oliver's Lockes. And yet upon more thoroughly grace for mortals to supplicate thy throne? and the American army. They had a motive entering into the genius and spirit of his cha-Or do we find ourselves in a part of the creaand the American army. They had a motive to fight for liberty and property. France has now got enough of these men to defend her republic. And they will do it effectually. But the contemplation of the Alexandrine,

Roman, Ottoman, and other national armies, has occasioned the ablest civilians, the most mind; but when he uttered himself he never firm and enlightened friends of liberty, to be dissembled; he sometimes concealed, but the Most High, regarded it, and reverenced greatly terrified with the danger and fear of when he spake, he ever spake his mind, and it. He believed the grand leading principles armies, and to anticipate their eversion of no man more decisively and unequivocally, of it were displayed and developed in at constitutions, as in foreign nations and ancient No man ever misunderstood Oliver; they least one single instance, the series of the diages; not sufficiently perhaps, adverting to dreaded him, but they knew what he meant, that which has rendered them dangerous, the impolicy of forming great divisions of landed lied upon it that he intended to do it, and moral government of nations, and of the uniproperty into fiefs, so as to be occupied by still more that it would be done. He was verse itself, and particularly as an example. the body of inhabitants in a very dependant tenure. There needs no agrarian law, arbitrarily to make a new division of territory, and give it away from the old possessors, and and masterly generalship, by his subtilty and however formed, that it should be, always had distribute the property of great land holders discernment, he cluded the intrigues and stra- been, and always would be most exactly acamong the people. Let the Triuariots of tagems of his numerous potent enemies. He cording to their moral state for religion and Turkey, the Barons of Germany, the Starostas of Poland, be only permitted by law to
sell and alienate, let there be a public law that

He was a match for the world, and especially

among all nations: and that the rectification cutails shall terminate, and fiefs and all hered- for all the cabinets of Europe. He led of the moral state of a people, and suppressitary property shall vest in the present pos-sessors in what the English law calls fee deceived them. Hypecrisy was unnatural God, and ought to be the pole-star of politi-simple, and in less than a century so much to him, it was abhorrent to his very nature. of the territorial property will become allodi- He needed it not.—He was too sincere and the Lord; an antiquated work, very valuable al, or transferred from the hereditary noblesse open in religion to need hypocrisy for ingra- it might be supposed as issuing from infinite and aristocrats to the common people, or to tiating himself with the religionists. They wisdom, a work however like the ancient Dithe community at large, as will render them knew him well, and they had his heart, and gest of Justinian, grown obsolete and very unconquerable, and beyond the danger of he had theirs: and he was too wise to exarmles, especially if the citizens of the com- pend a useless hypocrisy upon those who princes, but like the Pandects when found at munity be formed into militia, or even if the could never be brought into his measures. citizens are not prohibited arms. The game Away then with the stupidity of charging act in England, in the time of James I. and Oliver with hypocrisy. He had too much in France is the time of Henry IV, operated courage to be a hypocrite in religion or pocompletely to disarm the common people. litics. The repeal of this, and the abolition of laws restricting the people all over Europe from In his youth, while at the university, and unpursuing wild game, designed by the God til aged twenty-five, he was thoroughly vicious and debauched, unprincipled in morals, and like the air or ocean free for the common of turbulent, of haughty and ferocious man-

land. Let the experiment be tried all over torical touches, and statements, they can be to do, they might denounce him an enthusias-Freehold property has too much footing in To this correction I do and ought readily to as Oliver. Ought Daniel to be ashamed of England, after all the great aggregate of ten-submit, as I write more from the result and worshipping the God of heaven, lest he recollection of former reading, than from re-should incur the imputation of hypocrisy, cent reviews of the histories.

and an usurper, full of religious enthusiasm, Oliver he vilified for seeking wisdom at the and of unexampled dissimulation in religion fountain of wisdom? At least is not one hunand politics. The time has been when I'en- dred and fifty years long enough to cast retertained such ideas, not from the Clarendons, proach and derision upon a man for asking the Sacheverels and Atterburys, but from the counsel of his God upon every important racter, I have altered my sentiments. With tion, where it is infamy and reprouch for a respect to dissimulation, I never found a man finite limited mind to consult infinite wisdom freer from it. Indeed, like all discerning and and unerring rectitude? O Oliver! how I wise men, in different circumstances, upon new love thine open, thine unabashed, thy undisviews and upon new evidences he altered his sembled and undisguised religion!

As to his religion he was a sincere puritan.

which he certainly would have done in the Oliver is generally considered as a tyrant licentuous deistical age of Charles 11.7 Shall

He believed in the moral government of Amalfi, greatly valued. The sacred Pandects were deeply studied by Oliver, to learn from thence the principles by which the sovereign monarch would govern a nation, govern a universe, and as the great exemplar for his subordinate imitation. Thus he studied the principles of the divine government in the Bible, which was the man of his counsel, as it was David's, rather than in the unprincipled deistical views of the state of nations, use of all mankind, and the people would ners, and abandoned to all licentuousness, in which he could learn little more than the soon be armed. An armed people are capa- He was then seized by the energy of Omni- corrupt and diabolical principles of a machible of being formed into a defensibility which potence, and so strongly impressed with the avelian policy. If at any time mistaken, he would preserve them from invasion. Even awful solemnities of religion and eternity, as made it however his ultimate view and en-Oliver's army would not be dangerous to a effectually changed his heart, gave a new and deavour, to act his part under the God of country whose inhabitants were possessed decided direction to the purposes of his life, heaven with integrity and fidelity, and with of diffusive property, and were regularly reformed his morals, and recovered him to unawed resolution to prosecute this, and at all formed into a systematical militia. I know exemplary piety; in which he resolutely perindeed that many of the best and wisest pariots, and the firmest friends of liberty are vice, by the splendour of courts, or by the luxous living usually attendant upon the clevation and unmerous instances he appears to have been the self-denying and disinterested pariots. submit it. I myself consider Oliver's army tion to which he ascended. Like a citizen triot. He acted with an magnanimity, a pupowerful and victorious, but not dangerous of the universe, he was ever seeking the Lord, rity and greatness of character, in many tryto liberty, in England, though they were so as did King David, and the lord chief justice ing instances, scarcely to be equalized. He

the most rigid, but dispassionate justice, the that of Daniel, and judges to that of Samuel; more will this idea force itself upon us, and entering into the spirit of their examples; manent and abiding glory. This for his reli-

gion and hypocrisy.

Oliver is ridiculed for studying the scriptures, and especially for modelling his laws cision that herein they are so far acting to the and government by them. Unhappily this is too much considered as absurd and ridiculous by christian civilians and politicians, who sincerely take the Bible indeed for the directory to heaven, but not for civil life, and least of all for law and government. With avidity we scize the scattered scraps and reliquiæ of the ancient legislators, and the law codes of states and nations. With avidity we learn wisdom, we learn the principles of law and government, from the histories of nations, from the fragments of the XII. tables, of the institutes of Numa Pompilius, of Lycurgus, Solon. Zoroaster. and Confucius, and even of the profoundly brew nation. And under this view, deceived wise code of the Gentoo laws. All whose institutes, however, also pretended to have been of divine original, yet by European civilians are now universally considered as founded in the researches and investigations of reason, often fallible, various and contradictory.

The Edda, Ossian, any reliquize of the institutes of Olin, are read with admiration, ascertainment, thereby superadding a weight, Could a book of the Druids be found, pur- of which the pandects and laws of all other porting to be two thousand years old and nations are destitute. In the bible we are written by a Druid, as the Penteteuch by not only ascertained of laws, but government. Moses, describing the sacrifices and priest- Of what immense advantage is it that, in the hood, the laws and history of the Druidical general examples of kings and rulers and system, a Burgoyn would lay hold of it statesmen, even under all the human corrupt with rapture, and would neither blush nor mutilations of the original polity given by disdain to learn from thence the office of priesthood, though despising the mosaic and tates may and may not, ought or not to do, christian priesthood. And even Hume, Gib- what God has approved and what disapbon, Voltaire and Rosseau, would read it with proved, in civil, military and political admiavidity and admiration, and deduce from nistration; and how sovereigns and subordithence with triumph as from the Koran a contrast for the depreciation of christianity.

able utility and consolation. With peculiar they should see it as we do, a divine verity. ver firmly finished, and the whole fabric was profit and advantage may kings and sove- Let Oliver then be no longer reviled for re-overturned at the restoration; yet the great

was a phoenix of ages .- The more his char- reign rulers look to the character of David verencing the law of his God, as a legislator acter is examined, even with the severity of and Jehosaphat, vizirs and prime ministers to and politician, as well as a christian. evince that it will live and shine with a per-avoiding their errors and that wherein they manent and abiding glory. This for his reli-were disapproved of God; and imitating their excellencies and virtues: with the singular heartfelt consolation of knowing with preapprobation of the Most High, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice. Judge Hale was thus actuated. If a human system of national law, the principles of polity and govermental administration well digested, and compiled on the experiment and wisdom of ages, be thought worthy the study of a judge, a statesman and legislator, or politician; how infinitely more worthy of our study and contemplation a code of divine law and jurisprudence, could we find such a one instituted by God for any nation on earth? Oliver found such a one; he saw this in that of the Heor not, how consistent and rational and just for him to study it with the greatest diligence! For besides that it ascertains, as he was weak enough to believe, the way to a better world, it gives innumerable important declarations and decisions in national law and equity, educes the principles of justice in numerous great law cases, with a divine attestation and God, we may learn what kings and potennate rulers, in what manner soever elevated to rule and dominion, ought to conduct go-With infinitely greater justice might we admire and profit by the code of Brahim the acceptance of the Most High. I will not laws, as delivered by the Pundits and learned commit myself, nor surrender my own dis-Jurists of India; in which are to be found cernment, I will not temporize so much in an many excellent principles of law and equity easiness of concession to others, though of the as well as government, worthy to be adopted first crudition, and highest literary and prointo the jurisprudence of all nations. Could fessional abilities, as to make revelation a we find the code of Alfred it would be read question. They well know, how much soever with valuable instruction. If the reading and they may smile at our credulity, that we be-admiration of these antique compositions, are lieve it with firmness, and that there are applauded as indicating high taste and dis- among believers men of equal abilities, and cernment; why should the reading of the sa- even of superior, more profound, and more cred code be reprehended? In the Mosaic comprehensive erudition: nor are they to code, if we except the institutes peculiar to conceive that they monopolize all the fair in-the successions in family inheritances, in the quiry in the world. I should as readily surtribunal divisions of territory, and the sacrifi- render the demonstrations of the Newtonian cature, there will be left a very valuable body philosophy and astronomy as the demonstraof laws of contracts and commutative justice, tons well as of criminal law, having the advantage of being ascertained by God to be founded in eternal reason, and the universal system of revelation. For a state or civilian immutable law of nature. It must therefore that believes it, shall it be turned to their rebe worthy of the contemplation of political governors and judges who are sincerely desirous of investigating and establishing right-both of princes and subjects? a use, which cousness and justice in their administration. the disciples of Confucius and Rosseau would To Deists this would be of no moment; but themselves applaud and announce worthy to to revelationist civilians it must be of unspeak- be adopted and recommended, the moment

And as to his tyranny: let us once be determined, that the dissolution of the long parliament was just and necessary; necessity will then require some character to do it, and that some such head should arise to do the work, and assume the government. Thus necessity required the American resistance to parliament; necessity required a congress, an Adams, a Hancock, a Randolph, a Jefferson, a Rutledge, a pious Gadsden; necessity required, legitimated and justified the act of independency, and the dismemberment of the United States from the British empire. Oliver was elevated to the sovereignty of the commonwealth by a necessity, both as it respected himself personally and the republic, which precludes and annihilates all ideas of usurpation. He enterprized, and by his fortitude united with heroic wisdom, he did that, which, in a polity unviolated by its governors and administrators, would have been usurpation; but in this infracted and tumultuous period, was a glorious deliverance, rescue, and conservation of liberty. He seized the helm and saved the ship, when the course its pilots steered was to certain ruin and destruction. At one bold stroke he destroyed the perpetuation of the parliament, and left all open for a free republican establishment. And it was soon manifest that this dissolution was very grateful and acceptable to the great majority of the people. Thus he brought the nation to the very object of the parliamentary war. Every thing was now open and prepared for the nation to form its own constitution, founded on the rights and liberties of the people. But the nation was not ripe for deliverance. It was not ripe for the unnatural union and consolidation of the three kingdoms, on which, as to subjugation by force, Fairfax was right and Oliver erred. It was ripe for a republican polity for England, and no more at-that time. But the necessary light and wisdom was withheld from them. The comprehensive views of Cromwell and the patriots grasped at too much, at more than was prepared then to hold together. Their uniting three kingdoms was a then impracticable and delusory object. Had the convention parliament of 1653 made England only the object of their republican polity, they might perhaps have succeeded. Scotland could not then bear to bury their sovereignty as an independent kingdom, in the commonwealth of England.

The principles of the constitution were good. The work was well begun, but never perfected. It was well done in part, that is for the delusive protectorate, and an elective triennial and well apportioned house of commons; saving its object was too extensive, the consolidation of three kingdoms then impracticable: It also well regulated as to the elective and succession of the other house, or house of lords, making them in a certain mode dependent upon the house of commons. -Upon this constitution, which was regularly brought into use, the elevation of Oliver to the protectorate was regular, and legal, and no usurpation. He was no usurper, but legally and constitutionally invested with the

supremacy in dominion.

However these happy beginnings were ne-

no more, or reduced to a cypher, and the go- his friends .vernment become as arbitrary and despotic as that of France or Spain. This glorious strugbird gave a check to it; and though abortive his authority, yet in all other cases, where the tion to Whitelock, "What if a man should by the return of despotism, will be revived life of his jurisdiction was not concerned, he take upon him to be king?"-letting out the again and again in the nation, with redoubled seemed to have a great reverence for the secret that ambition and lust of dominion was and redoubling force, until it shall at length law and the constitution, rarely interposing his ruling passion and ultimate view. He saw establish an enlightened and happy polity, between party and party: and to do him jus-further than Whitelock: he knew the nation There will the meritorious characters which tice, there appeared in his government many and parliament were ripening into ideas of shone and displayed themselves in the ante-things that were truly great and praiseworthy, the necessity of kingship, and knew that it cedent periods, of efforts leading on to this Justice, as well distributive as commutative, would be fatal to republicanism, his great great and glorious event, receive the lasting was by him restored almost to its ancient tribute of perpetual estimation and honour. grace and splendour: the judges executed ment, and being too knowing for Whitelock,

considered as a tyrant and usurper, but as one law and equity, and the laws, except some by it unlocked all Whitelock's heart, without who was legally and regularly invested with few, where himself was immediately con-disclosing his own. Very instructive and the protectorate, and as one executing that corned, being permitted to have their full useful was this conversation to Cromwell, high betrustment with integrity and ability, force npon all, without impediment or delay, who left his friend to deceive himself and and with an unexampled equity and benevolence. Being installed in office, "he pro-likewise reformed, either by removing the in- when nothing was more abhorrent to him. ceeded to the exercise of his authority, which centives to luxury, or by means of the ancient The experiment was made upon him: the he used at home with great moderation and laws now revived, and put in execution. crown and title, with all its flattering glories equity, but so effectually asserted at all for. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, were offered to him, and with the greatest eign courts, that he soon made the greatest where drunkenness, whoredom and extortion importunity pressed upon him, by the unanifigure in Europe, and received marks of respect from all the sovereigns in Christendom, Trade began again to flourish and prosper, with the first law characters in the nation. who trembled at his power, and courted his and most things to put on a happy and pros- He was wiser and saw farther than all the friendship, at the same time that they hated perous aspect. The protector also shewed parliament. He saw that by accepting the his person."* He reformed the laws, and for a great regard to the advancement of learn-title the object for which he and the nation this end joined and availed himself of the as- ing, and was a great encourager of it. The had been contending, a free state, would be sistance of persons of the greatest integrity university of Oxford in particular, acknow-and ability, to consider how the laws might ledged his highness's respect to them in Washington. The national object would be he made plain, short and easy. He took care continuing their chancellor, and bestowing on now changed into a family personal contest, to put into seats of justice, men of the most the public library the twenty-four Greek ma- whether Cromwell or Stuart should be king. known integrity and ability; he reformed the nuscripts, and munificently allowing one hun- Cromwell could have been king, but his idol chancery; he was of great discernment in chadred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He liberty and the commonwealth must be given racters, and filled all the offices of every dealso ordered a scheme to be drawn up for up. Not the gratification of ambition, but partment, civil, military and naval, with the best founding and endowing a college at Durham, faithfulness to his country's cause operated, set of officers ever known in the nation. And for the convenience of the northern students, and he nobly declined the proffered, the dewhen he had done this, he awed them into fidel- Towards all who complied with his plea- lusory, the ruinous glory. In this, as well as ity. He set them to work, and he saw that the work was done. They knew he would not be triffed with, they all knew it must be done, No man seemed to be more tender of the ever appears, to a distinguished degree of

work, and the whole great enterprize of the them that did well. He established liberty ally love one another." Though the public long parliament and protectorate, make an im- of conscience. His government was impar- use of the common prayer was denied to the portant and glorious period in the history of England, by far the most distinguished and glorious in the English history from Alfred to tains. It was excellent. He appointed mathe present time. This memorable conflict jor-generals to superintend the interior magis-ranny of others." Ideas, how just, liberal and struggle has proved the means of the strates in every county. "It was hardly and noble! how becoming the dignity and beconservation of all the liberty remaining in possible for any governor to show more rethe English constitution; and furnished an gard than Cromwell slid for the rights and lic! An example how worthy the emulation, example for the contemplation of ages, and properties of private men. He supplied the the imitation of all sovereigns!

The purity of his principles recourse, until in some future period, animat- yers, whom he had invited to the public ser- question, or rather now with one consent reed by the examples of these patriots, and resuming their principles, they will act them out to their full extent, reform and perfect and learning, were made by him sergeants at views of patriotism and public weal? Had their policy, and work out the salvation of lib- law, and Mr. Matthew Hale, afterwards the any other man done half the good and exerty. And so great will be the future bene- famous lord chief justice Sir Matthew, was cellent things for the regulation of the public fit of the example of this period, it will abundantly repay all the blood and treasure expended in the glorious contest with tyranny, a man that would have done honour to the from 1641 to 1660, inclusive of the twenty or mightiest monarch, to the most polite and thirty regicides who were ingloriously sacrilearned court in the best ages."*—Nor can as uniformly actuated by a fixed regard to ficed at the restoration. Had it not been for we better sum up the character of the civil public justice and right, as it appears possible the parliamentary opposition to Charles I. no government at this time, than in the follow- for a character whose aggrandizement arose man doubts but his tyranny would have been ing extract which is chiefly taken from Echard, out of the aggrandizement and true glory of increased, till the parliamentwould have been a most virulent enemy of the protector and the state he governed. It is insidious to as-

The purity of his principles are called in cribe all to sinister and separate personal No more will the immortal Oliver then be their office without coveronsness, according to he took him in with this subtil question, and men's manners, outwardly at least, became the world, as if he aspired to the crown, were either banished, or severely rebuked. mous voice of a misjudging parliament, joined and it was done. Never was the whole system of interior government carried on with more firmness, justice and order, or freer from corruption, oppression and injustice. He was a terror to evil doers, and a praise to make the more than the seemed to be more tender of the lever appears, to a distinguished degree of the fidelity and perseverance, to have been decidedly actuated by pure and patriotic motives. Nor was it because, under the name of protector he had got the substance, and was a terror to evil doers, and a praise to under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and mutuwhich was not the truth; it was because he saw that hereby the cause would be given up,

^{*} Review, Life of O. C. by a Gent. Mid. Tem. p. 167.

^{*} Review, Life O. C. p. 192.

and the government return to a tyranny, the ministers and churches, what kind of ar- plainly discern the Duces, the Reges, the

and so various, so complicated, perplexed and strong, that Christ did not see it to be necesconnected with that name, that its further use an ecclesiastical apostacy, he certainly forewas dangerous, under the most expressly de- saw, as Clement informs us, that it would be tined and well limited descriptions. No man dangerous, as it has proved in history. In knows the prerogatives of the crown with reviewing the state of the church, we ought precision, in any state in Europe to this day carefully to distinguish what is of divine and -All is lost in clouds and incomprehensible mystery.-Like the title of hishop, which has become, in the notorious confession of all men, a very different thing from the original With such a distinction and analysis we may scripture bishop. All the world knows that the scripture bishop differs from the titular when stripped of all additions paraphernalia, bishop of the middle and subsequent ages, by the additions paraphernalia of civil, political and ecclesiastical powers, and even in some instances of secular sovereignty in civil dominion, as Mentz, Cologne, and Osnaburg; as well as in the twenty-six English bishops, and in most of the episcopacy of the Latin, and in some instances, of the Greek church particularly in Russia. While all along through every age have been to be found all over Christendom, amidst the general shipwreck and prostitution of the apostolic institution, the scattered remains of the primeval scripture episcopacy, in the pastorate, or primacy in the coequal eldership of a single congregational church. Papa, or pope, was the common and universal appellation of the clergy, both bishops and presbyters, throughout Christendom, in the second and third centuries, and continues to be so to this day in the Russian Greek church. But though originally signifying only Father, it has acquired such odium and infamy in western Europe, that there is not a protestant bishop but would now abhor and disdain it. After the present war of kings, the very name king will become equally odious and infamous.

Supposing Christendom at a given time, as the present, should consist of 130 millions of council, but of no separate and disjoined nominal christians; and these resolved into power. Early indeed among the Oriental 130 thousand churches, or congregations of a nations sprung up a few Ninuses, while in thousand souls each; and that each of these congregations were furnished and organized with a presbytery, and each a bishop or pas- back into early antiquity, and descend thence tor at its head, that is a hishop, priests and even late into the martial ages, we shall find deacons for each congregation; this would the reliquiæ of the original policies, especially be the scripture model and polity for the in Hesperia, Gaul, Belgium and Britain, and church, and thus jure divino. Now for the purposes of fraternal communication both of

I have said that Oliver was tried with the the growth and multiplication of his churches, title of a king, and declined it. Many of the nor the inspired apostles, should ever have true patriots sincerely, as well as others from suggested, nor have left any directions for return to monarchy and revocation of the matical hierarchies, or indeed of any combiwhat of human wisdom. We do this with respect to the inspired books, and the uninspired, with clear and certain precision. when stripped of all additions paraphernalia, will all become fratres brethren, and scarcely distinguishable from the humble pastors, the untitled common ministers of the churches. But if any seet or body of christians are pleased with a sacerdotal hierarchy, ascending through various gradations, dignities and eminencies, "from the dirt to the skies;"* yet let them all cease to think, there is any jus divinum in such a polity.

In like manner, we are not to infer the primeval meaning of a king, or title of the chief ruler of a sovereignty among the nations, from the meaning to which it has long grown up by use in the ages of tyranny and usurpation. Kings, Melakim, leaders, rulers were primeval in all nations and countries around the terraqueous globe, and must have been from the spontaneous nature of universal society. The first seventy-two nations immediately after Babel had them. But what were these primeval kings? Not despots, rulers by their own will, but actors forth of the counsel and will of the people, in what for the public weal was by the people confided to their execution, as primi inter pares confiliarios, the first or chief haron in the teutonic policies, of a presidential, not autocratical authority, the organ of the supreme general for ages, particularly in Europe, they were what they ought to be. If we recede

And his ideas were verified at the restoration, tificial polity they might agree for prudential heads of nations, by whatever appellation de-Let republican liberty and the establishment and wise reasons to throw themselves into, signated, still the patrex patrice. The addition of the collective body of the people in the whether into an hierarchy consisting of variations powers annexed to their titles afterwards, possession of their laws and rights, be con- ous grades and subordinations under one pon- caused them to grow up to tyranni, goversidered as Oliver's ruling motives, and all his tiff, or a number of hierarchies under different nors of will. Not so in the beginning, when conduct may be resolved, without having re- pontiffs, or independent supreme heads, or they were like the Sachems of Indian nations. course to corruption, venality, ambition. He would thereby be prompted to all the daring, presbyteries, classes of assemblies—all of it the great and heroic actions which adorn and must be considered as only human counsel, immortalize his character. The more thorough- and not all jure divino. In the candor of are so in a mode unknown to the rest of the by this character is examined, even with a every mind they must be stript of all this, world, though perfectly understood by themrigidly just, but unacrimonious severity, the towards discerning the true scripture bishop, selves; nor is any man able with our present more will it approve itself as an high example It surely is not a little singular, that neither ignerance to comprehend the genius of their of purity in governmental and political life. the omniscient Jesus, who certainly foresaw polity or laws, which I am persuaded are wise, beautiful and excellent, rightly and fairly understood, however hitherto despised by Europeans and Americans. We think of a ensuaring views to reconcile the nation to a the arrangement and formation of any syste- Sachem as an European king in his little tribe, and negociate with him under mistaken transroyal family, were fond that Oliver should nations or polity at all, out of a particular atlantic ideas. And so are frequently finding have assumed the name of a king. But he congregation, if they had seen it necessary them cyphers to certain purposes without the saw beyond them all, that it was time to lay or expedient, for the well being of the Catho-collective council of warriors, who are all the the name, as well as the thing aside. Such lic or universal church. The presumption is men of the nation, whose subordination is settled and as fixed as that in the feudal sysindefinite had become the association of ideas sary; and from the apostolic predictions of tem. At times we see a Sachem dictating with the seeming authority of a despot, and he is obeyed because of the united sense of the nation-never otherwise. On their views of society their policy is perfect wisdom. So ancient kingship and council monarchy in Asia and Europe, was like that of Melchisedek, lenient, wise and efficacious.-This still lives in Africa and among some of the hordes of Tartars, as it did in Montezuma and Mango Capac. But these primi inter pares soon grew up to beasts of prey; until ages ago government has been consigned to the will of monarchs, and this even with the consent of the people, deluded by the idea that a father of his people could not rule but with affection and wisdom. These in Greece and Sicily were called Tyranni, to distinguish from Archons, princes and other rulers by council. All government was left to will, hoped and expected to have been a wise will. But the experiment raised such horror and detestation, and this official title has for ages become so disgustful and ohnoxions, that kings themselves cannot endure it. Never will a king hereafter assume the name of a tyrant, nor give the name of Bastile to a national or state prison. The brazen bull of Phalaris was used once; has been disused two thousand years; and will never be used again. So the name of a king now excites horror, and is become as odious in Europe, as that of tyrannus at Athens, Syracuse and Agrigentum. The name and title of king will soon become as disgustful to supreme magistrates, in every polity, as that of tyrant, to which it is become synonymous and equipollent. It may take a century or two yet to accomplish this extirpation of title; but the die is cast, kingship is at an end; like a girdled tree in the forest, it may take a little time to wither and die-but it is dying-and in dying, die it must. Slaying the monster was happily begun by Oliver: but the people spared its life, judicially given up by heaven to be whipped, scourged and tormented with it two or three centuries more, unless it may be now in its last gasps. Now there must be a supreme and chief ruler in every society, in every polity: and was it not for the complex association of insidious ideas, ideas of dread and horror con

be purged and restored to the purity of an- roically displayed a fresh proof of his disin- on what his sagacity knew, if he had any satiquity, it might still be safely used in a re-tiquity, it might still be safely used in a re-public. But this can not be done:—It must have rejected it.—It is in vain however to they asked him, even in his senses, whether therefore be relegated into contemptuous ne- amuse ourselves with conjectures upon so say, Desborough, Whalley or Fleetwood, glect. And a new appellation must be taken sagacious a character, as Oliver's. Let us should have been proclaimed, his answer up-very immaterial what it is, so it be de-rather substitute ourselves in his case, and might have been the same. He had heroifined to be but primus inter pares, confiliarios, judge how so discerning and wise a man as stand on frequent election, and hereditation Oliver would have acted in the then present forever repudiated and banished. The charm circumstances. He plainly saw such growand unintelligible mysteries wrapped up in ing and spreading inclination in the nation for the name of a king being done away, the the return of monarchy, and even of the obedience to the calls only of God and his way would be open for all nations to a ration- Stuart family, that however he might have al government and policy, on such plain and hoped to have warded it off in 1653, yet by obvious general principles, as would be intelligible to the plainest rustic, to the substantial the inevitable destruction of the cause, and yeomanry, or men of landed estates, which the restoration of Charles II. by the union of ought to be the body of the population. Every the monarchical members and open royalists, one could understand it as plain as a Locke as if he had received it by prophecy. He or a Camden. And whatever the Filmers saw the tide was turning and would overwhelm and Acherlys may say, the common people all. In this to me indubitable despair of a good are abundantly capable and susceptible of but lost cause, what heart would be have, such a polity. It is greatly wise therefore to had he been as ambitious as Cæsar, for conreject the very name of a king. Many of certing and enterprising plans for the heredithe enlightened civilians of the long parlia- tation of the protectorate? Add to this, that ment and protectorate saw this. Oliver saw had such a thing been his wish, he too well it. And who shall say, this was not the go-discerned and judged of characters, even verning reason of his rejecting it.-From those of his own family, not to know, that the reading his sensible and masterly answer to pacific, mild and inoffensive Richard, had parliament, I believe it was his true and only neither a fortitude nor wisdom, nor spirit of reason. If acting on such a motive is ever enterprise equal to such a crisis. Indeed his possible to the efforts of humanity, Oliver, of family situation was very peculiar and trying. all men, was the man to do it. Certainly he He had four daughters and two sons. He could have exercised more power under the was so effectually deserted by them, that he title of a king, than under that of a protector, could not possibly have entertained any hewhich was far, very far more limited, besides reditary hopes or prospects. the certain hereditation of the crown in his family. It is impossible justly to ascribe his protectorate, even in her father. refusal to avidity for power or family honour.

In the course of this disquisition, and especially in this chapter, let it be remembered that I am not to be considered, as the simple historian, but as professedly advocating the cause of the judges and the general cause of Charles II; to which her mother consented liberty, and as adducing historical testimonies with earnestness, and was for having Oliver and statements, to be applied in illustrating sign the charte blanche. and establishing such a defence. To this end a review of the principles of the long parlia- and deserted by his wife, and all his daught-

judges stands or falls.

1658 he as clearly and satisfactorily foresaw

Bridget-was against monarchy and the

Elizabeth-against her father's religion-a pious episcopalian; a friend and partizan for both Charleses.

Mary-for monarchy and the restoration. Frances-willing to have married King

So the protector and his cause, given up ment and protectorate becomes necessary, in ers. Nor were the two sons very tenacious every mind, for with them the cause of the of the cause. He therefore never had a serious thought that Richard could possibly suc-I proceed then and say, that Oliver was ceed. And could be have foreseen the conagain tried in a second capital instance. Con-tinuance and perpetuity of his beloved comnected with the ambition for royalty, would monwealth, to which hereditation he knew naturally be that of an ambition for heredita- was a poison, I believe from the tenour and been guided, and in whose presence I stand. ting this honour in his family. The protecto-firmness of his former conduct, he would rate was by the constitution for life indeed, have given a new and singular proof of his but elective. It was doubtless in Oliver's patriotism, and have discountenanced and repower to have made it hereditary. Through jected the election of his own son, lest it lar from aspiring, and which I only did not the whole course of his administration, does should have led on to this baneful hereditahe ever discover any intrigues and move-tion. But, as I said, he knew that the restoments this way? Do we ever hear of his ration would soon take place, and therefore negotiations this way? Yes, it is said, that discovered no fruitless intrigues against it. at his death, he consented that his son Richard He well knew that whatever might be done, should be proclaimed as his successor. This nothing could prevent it. His council and fore could not but accept, what the same time was true. And this is all; and perhaps parliament were perfectly at a loss, what I could not ardently desire. For nothing can this was after death had invaded his mental were his wishes, and he never disclosed to powers. Had Oliver felt his wish, and had any man this despair, which it is not to be assiduity but the power of doing good, of he perceived the general sense of the nation doubted he felt to the heart. The election conferring real and solid benefits upon manfor it, and had he foreseen that such an estabof a protector was with the lords of the kind. And surely while the only end for lishment would have received national support, we will for the present say, that he would be agreeable to him, to be succeeded by public good, those desires are at least lawful, would have hesitated, if not closed in with his son: and just as he was expiring, and had and perhaps worthy of applause; they are the measure; he would have been corrupt done with the world, they simply asked him certainly lawful, if he that entertains them,

nected with the appellation king, or could it he would then have done: he might have he- directions, he as simply just answered, yes; cally fought through and sustained the cause, but he knew it terminated with his death. Oliver, if any man, ought to be credited in his declarations of sincerity, necessity and country: for I believe he was so thoroughly sick of the world, even before he ascended to the protectorate, that it had no charms for him; and that he would gladly, if possible, have escaped the burdensome and dangerous honour, and evanished from public life into retirement and obscurity. And especially long before he left the world, he was subdued and brought to sell this humility and self annihilation. For certainly such a state of mind and especially of a sagacious, circumspective and experienced mind, may be generated, and has in some instances been generated, witness Belisarius, by a comparative and even anticipated view of the goods and evils of office, that neither honour nor riches, nothing but duty to God and man would be left the really influential motive of an office even of the highest power, dignity and preeminence, I will not say, to wish and desire it, but even to submit to its burdens and dangers. God is able to make this possible even to man, and I doubt not it has sometimes been the fact. That men are generally thus affected, I will by no means assert. But among the few instances wherein men have been thus disinterestedly influenced, I do not hesitate to place Oliver; fully I think evinced in his sensible, intelligent and most masterly answer to the committee of the house of commons in 1657, who waited upon him with the address of parliament, requesting him to assume the office and title of king. "I hope, says he, that the honesty of my intentions, and the purity of my heart, will not be mis-taken. I hope that neither hypocrisy nor artifice will be imputed to my open declarations, and sincere professions; declarations and professions, which I make, not hastily and negligently, but with care and reflection, and deliberate caution, in the presence of Almighty power, by whose providence I have I hope it will not be imagined, that I reject the title of king from fondness for that of protector, a name and office, to which I was refuse when it was offered me:-The only metive by which I was induced to engage in so ardnous and inviduous an employment, was the desire of obviating those evils which I saw impending over the nation. I there deserve to be pursued with eageroess and ed, if in such a statement it would have been his pleasure, whether Richard should be pro-corruption. But we in vain conjecture, what claimed? and without the least comment or his own heart, an examination serious and

views are not his own honour or interest, but tyranny: such officers, inured to arbitrary the welfare of mankind, and the promotion and despotic command of slaves, might go-of virtue, and that his advancement will con-vern and discipline an army well, but would tribute to them." If it he possible for a man in Oliver's situation to be sincere, he might have been that man. We certainly may have sufficient reason to believe it, even though it should never in fact be believed by prejudiced mortals, till the revelation of the secrets of all hearts: when it is possible that Oliver may be found in this class of undissembled sincerity. To us on this side the vale, it cannot, it ought not to be wondered at, that amidst such high proofs of integrity, there should be found some approvers and admirers even of a character very generally despised and treated with infamy and contempt. There are those who tracing the life of Oliver through its whole career, are convinced that the public welfare generally governed him, that the cause he was in was righteous; that the principles which actuated his general conduct, and that of his compatriots, were justifiable and glorious; and that the purity of his intentions was conspicuous to the last. On the same principles we may vindicate and justify the judges, and others concerned in that abortive work, in the great and memorable events of that day.

Oliver Cromwell once saved the nation; and upon deliberate consultation with both the army and parliament, and with the concurrent hearts of certainly a very large and respectable body, even the main body of the divided nation, devised and provided a very excellent constitution, in the form and spirit of it very nearly resembling that afterwards for an extemporaneous production of a poliadopted or conceived by the United States. The constitution by 1654, and especially by hands by fourteen years previous digestion. 1657, was ripered to this, that the government be a commonwealth; the national legislature to consist of a protector, and two houses; all elective and none hereditary.

This constitution, it is said, was the production of three days, and conceived and fabricated by the officers of the army. Be it so. This redounds to the honour of the army. It has been conceived that the ideas manding principles of this policy, especially a polity; and from thence either to predict and usages of despotism in military life, ill qualify for just, equitable, civil dominion, and free government. But this instance is in point to the contrary; shewing the most equitable and liberal polity conceived by men inured to command, and to the arbitrary domination any one or few of them hear the formation of military life. An assembly of barons or hereditary nobility would never have devised one devised by the people or population at a civil polity so liberal and rational, so lelarge. But very uniform and almost identiniest, just and friendly to all, so well adapted to promote the order, felicity and good government of a commonwealth, or republican sovereignty. It is worthy of inquiry, how this singular phenomenon of wisdom arose.

An army conscribed, like the European arroies of modern ages, of "the gleanings of the lowest rank of people, serving men discarded, and mechanics without employments, men used to insults and servility from in the substitution of elective government. Holland, Venice, Switzerland—They will their eradles, without principle or honour, or inducements to overbalance the sense of imthey would be different. Let a convention of throughout the world will strike unison with mediate danger,"* though officered with bashaws and West India negro drivers devise men of military skill indeed, and well versed a policy, and how different it would be from

by which the conscience is too frequently art of war-officers taken from the nobility give a dangerous tinge to eivil polity. But conscribed an army of men of different descriptions, freemen above the menial feelings telligent gentry, officered with men of information and principle, and possessed of the feelings of liberty and rational freedom. And tions could retard, or danger affright them: and to these men, says Cromwell, are to be attributed the victories that we have gained, and the peace we enjoy." Such men did the American army furnish, men great in the field, and great in the senate. Such men feel and speak the sense of a free community. Such were the men that formed Oliver's policy, and instrument of government. Such an army as Oliver's furnished men of intelligence, ability and political knowledge, of highly improved and scientific characters, who rushed to arms for the defence of liberwhose interests were essentially interwoven with that of the body of the people; so that they were, we find, abundantly qualified a policy, which will hereafter become the admiration, the adoption and imitation of in the regeneration of policies, throughout Europe, all will find themselves insensibly led to an assumption of the leading and coniin elective, and unhereditary representation.

Very different indeed would be the policies devised by the different and separate descriptions of men, into which society in these ages has become arrificially divided; should approve or disapprove, or which are to the of a polity, it would be very different from cal would be that which would issue from indivisibility, equality and the united sense of society at large, in every independent community and sovereignty on earth. Human nature and the rights of man would every where, if permitted, speak the same language, the same policy, all around the terraqueous globe. All nations would agree in the downfall of hereditary government, and one devised by the Dixwells, the Hampdens, the Sidneys, the Whalleys, the Desboroughs, noxious to nobles, kings and emperors, ever

sincere, without any of those fallacious arts, in every branch of tactics and in the whole and the Fairfaxes? Commit this formation to a diet of Polish nobles, familiarized to sell deceived, satisfied himself that his ultimate or their submissive connexions, principled in and transfer their peasants, their stock of men, as their stock of cattle and horses, with the leasing of their grounds, or sale of their 22,000 estates, charged with a population of eight or nine millions, of whom all, but their let us choose men, says Oliver, "warm with nobles, devoid of allodial property, and like regard to religion, men who think it a high the inhabitants of the Hebrides or the north degree of impiety to fly before the wicked of Scotland, tied down and restricted to the and profane, to forsake the cause of heaven, territorial domains of their lords, who absorb and prefer safety to truth; and our enemies and devour the fruits of their laborious indus-will quickly be subdued." Accordingly he try. In a word, let a congress of European or Asiatic princes and nobles, looking down with sovereign contempt upon their subjects, and servility of vassals, men of allodial and the numerous depauperated indigent popuother property, substantial yeomanry, and in- lace; let them, I say, make a policy for dependent millions—How different would it be from one devised by their equals and brethren in general; by those taken, either from the when "these men were lead to the field, no various orders and classes, into which society veteran could stand before them, no obstruction happens to have become artificially and unfortunately divided, or from feeling, substantial and enlightened characters among them, with here and there a William Tell, a Muir and a Palmer, intermixt among them: no one can doubt the different polity they would institute; no one doubt whose polity would he most friendly to the general rights and liberties of society, to the welfare of ninetenths of any and every community. Nor indeed need it be doubted which polity would prove the most firm and durable, as well as extensively equitable and just. It would undoubtedly be elective in the one ty, of inseparable fidelity to the public weal, case, and hereditary in the other. The firmness and durability of the former, would infinitely surpass the supposed firmness and durability of dominion from the permanency and perpetuity of hereditary superiorities. ey, which however came prepared to their It would be a government of laws, which would gain, not the deforced acquiescence, but cheerful concurrence of the collective body of the citizens, and combine them into ages. But whoever investigated the Oliverian a union of force sufficient to support and renpolity, honoured their councils abilities and der it efficacious, and internally fortify the patriotism to contemplative posterity. For union against eversion, from interior or exterior aggression.

> It is easy to try all political characters; Those particularly who have the formation of the complexion of a polity, or in one new formed, discern the force and design of certain traits interspersed in it. What are the characters and events in history, which they taste of individuals, or to the collective body of the framers? Select the histories or anecdotes of despotism, and contrast these with these of liberty. The admirers of the one will instantly be perceived to detest the other, and respectively give different complexions to the conceived polity. Their respective ideas will be respectively stamped upon it. Try all kings and nobles with Cato, Cicero, Brutus and Cassius, in the Roman, and similar characters in the Grecian history; try them with the events in France, Poland, and the United States; try them with the history of all the great characters, and heroic examples of emancipation into civil liberty, and unite in detesting tyranny. Cicero has been ob

sic reading. But eighteen ages have not kings. sufficed to deforce from princes and hereotic merit of the immortal orator; because he duration; while popular societies, are either cannot live without surviving an opprobium defeated, or go to rest of course, when their to patrician tyranny, and a friend to liberty.

cieties with horror and dread, and this with rights of man, of the forceable suppression or great reason.—They need not be so viewed extinction of letters or the liberty of the press. by republics. The Jacobin societies have Both ever have done, and ever will do much are become so corrupt and oppressive, as that proved the salvation of France. They have mischief; both do infinitely more good: both they cannot stand before a well formed sysbeen the bulwark of liberty. Their excesses are the combined conservators of the public tem of revolutionary societies. Those of the are to be coerced by government; but their liberty, in philosophy, religion, politics. suppression and extinction is unnecessary and They are excellently adapted to frame the without injury or eversion. The reformation impossible. "The popular societies are the public mind to wisdom, and to an acquies- of all others, must commence in associations, columns of the revolution.-They shall not cence founded in diffusive conviction and inbe shaken," said president Cambeceres. formation of that wherein consists the public treated as factionary and treasonable, but will Violent and unjust in many things they may interest, the general welfare of society, enlarge and spread into a system of revolube, and so sometimes are congresses, assem- There is no alternative between their right to tionary societies. In all states these will be blies, parliaments, not therefore to be dissolv-assemble, and the abolition of liberty. Ex- frowned upon, and suppressed as tresonable. ed, for they may be generally right. Would tinguish this right in England and in every the wise to wish the extinction of the winds, sovereignty, and the people are slaves. If at oil on the flame. They will burst out again which are salutary and beneficial for naviga- any time extravagant, a prudent insertion of and again, till they will carry all before them, tion and for clarifying the atmosphere, be- counsel, and circulation of it through the pop- till real treason shall be accurately defined cause sometimes attended with hurricanes? ular societies may generally correct and recomot to the sense of aristocrats or the present. They may be set up against a good governity these extravagances, exercises into which usurped reigning powers, but to the general ment indeed, but their efforts against it must they are usually betrayed by false brethren sense of the community. And such a law their diffusive deliberations. worthy their attention.

through the patricians up to the consulate. Orange, and Holland, dissolving their feudal fairly brought before the people, and they They have never been reconciled to such a submission to their lord paramount, the revolt will not only determine it, but will judge and precedent or example of successful opposition to despotism and privileged orders. of the house of Braganza from Spain, the determine right. It is the insidious art of more recent erection of the self-created king-parties and politicians to keep things con-They contemplate with an evil eye, with ab- dom of Prussia, or the self-created republics cealed from the people, or if they are alarmed They contemplate with an evil eye, with ab-horrence, every instance of this kind in uni-versal history. In spite of kings, eloquence perhaps more than republican sentiments, has and efficacious view in the present age; and question from coming up fairly before them, procured immortality to the works of Tully, are contemplated with sympathetic consolawhich live in the universal reception of clas-tion by states struggling with the tyranny of

Self-erected sovereignties, whether monarditary nobles the estimation due to the patri-chical or republican bid fair for considerable mind. And thus they ever attempt, and patrician tyranny, and a friend to liberty. end is accomplished. Their coerced extinc-So again monarchs contemplate Jacobin so-tion would prove as fatal to liberty and the I said that men would judge of historical information from an abundance of collightened of Oliver's republican polity.

since he boldly forced the way for plebeians but with horror and disgust, the prince of the body of the people. But let a matter be instead of harmoniously endeavouring in a fair, open and candid manner, to lay things clearly before them, and thus honestly endeavouring to form and obtain the public are too successful in deceiving, instead of a frank and open appeal to the people. But shall this cunning prevail forever? Politicians, with too much reason, say it will. I, who am no politician, but a prophet, say it will not. Almost all the civil polities on earth United States and France will sustain them which by government will be considered and ultimately be inefficacious and harmless. Be- or enemies masked. It is their unalienable of treason will be infallibly supported by the cause they sometimes succeed in overturning right to meet and deliberate, even for the community. This done every association a tyranny, will it follow that there is even a purpose of systematically altering the policy, will know what it may, and what it may not possibility of their succeeding against a good provided they peaceably submit to obey the do, with impunity. Till this is done, the policy? The experiment is yet to be made. Hitherto there has existed no good polity to tered by public consent. If assembling even great, and ready to burst forth under opprestry them upon. In the nature of things they will become self-correctors of their own irregularities and excesses; and harmonization of the most tyrannous polity can never be
of the public sentiment must result from effected, but by spontaneous recourse to the

public sense. Then no one can doubt the Nay, the tremendous alternative of arms. If the pop-result. Factionary societies begun even with strength of a general and uniform support ular societies sometimes err, it is not always, the primary and direct design of overturning to the administration of a good policy must it is not usually from malicious and inimical government, if the government or polity be arise. Their discussions, circulation of inviews, but from defective and partial inforsupported by the general sense, will fall: telligence, and communication of light, must mation among those the best disposed for the otherwise they will bring on and adduce at eventually form, digest and unify the national public good, or, as I said, from tories, which length extensive discussion which enlighten judgment. None but tyrants need fear covertly, insidiously and unawares insert the public, defeat insidious and partial cunthem. The national convention has not fear-themselves as marplots. If well informed, it is using, and bring forward an open and firm ed them, but rejoined in their support. Consimpossible the community at large can be support of good and acceptable government. gress in 1775 did not fear the body of the inimical to the public good. Enough of Should they at any time surrender, or duped people in America, though sometimes wild this general disposition for the public good and outwitted by counter factions, be preand anarchical. A policy which shall have may be found in every community at large, sustained their ventilation and discussion, to counteract and nullify the injuries of factorium times and discussion, to counteract and nullify the injuries of factorium times general disposition for the public liberty, the sustained their ventilation and discussion, to counteract and nullify the injuries of factorium unity will deserve slavery a little longer until again aroused to energy, unity, wisdom, the care of the public consigned into the ally judge right, when duly informed. The Thus England has now for a century been hands of constitutional government, these so- general liberty is safe and secure in their suffering a national punishment or chastisecieties will spontaneously disappear; nor rise hands. It is not from deficiency of abilities ment, brought upon them by their own folly, again unless called forth on great occasions to judge, but from want of information, if for being duped by the insidious cavalier facthey at any time as a body go wrong. Upon tion, which overturned the happy constitution events according as they are principled in characters always judge right, and be in the length brought to their senses and a conviction. Monarchies of all modes are contemplated with a suspicious eye, by commutation of government. Nothing will kill a out and burst forth with united and irresistible nities at large; which in their turn contem faction, like the body of a people if consulted. vigour, and recover and rectify themselves. plate republics, of any and almost every form, A faction may beat a faction, at a pretty fair The French bave for ages been duped by with attention and pleasure. There once and even conflict; but in a fair and full concourt factions, but have at length recovered was a time, and it is not yet past, when the test, it can never beat the people. The great their national rights and liberties, by a volunsovereigns of Europe could not contemplate art of factions is to keep the decision from tary, united, hold and during exertion, by an

So it will be in England. The forcible sup-More must be done for the satisfaction of the national sense and spirit of liberty, than parliament ever can, or ever will do, unless they shall call a national convention, which they never will do. The national spirit impressed with despair of redress, will become desperate. All confidence in parliament lost: then to your tents, O Israel! The national interest and welfare will take care of itself; and this with an unconquerable violence and impetuosity!

The English nation flattered themselves at the restoration-revolution-accession of the house of Hanover:-Have been deceived and disappointed at each epoch, and find themselves as before, or rather more closely enchained and bastiled. The same conviction seizes the patriots of the present as of the last century. Never has the nation really despaired of all possibility of redress till now. Now at length nationally despairing of the present polity, they will be filled with very energetic feelings. They feel anew what was felt of old. New wine put into old bottles, may possibly burst the bottles.

In every state, good or bad, there will always be a number of restless, subtil, crafty, turbulent and ungovernable spirits; who by writings and intrigues, will be exciting discontent and stirring up mischief: and will molest and embarrass the best as well as the worst administration. Society will always discussion, and giving time for insidious projections to take their course and run their race, they may be wisely managed, contraby military coercion.

the repeal of laws already enacted. So good policy will generally enact wise and far they may go with impunity, and without good laws, to which obedience ought to be may perhaps never be just in an elective

effort which makes all Europe to tremble. | liability to criminal processes for sedition and enacted, if necessary among turbulent spirits, So it will be in England. The forcible suppression of societies there will only accelerate land. But to assemble for the direct purpose not foreign force. Yet former good legislatheir revolution and political regeneration, of altering the constitution of king, lords tors have erred, and those of a best polity and commons, is by statute, sedition, and arm- may err again, and enact laws which ought ing in consequence, treason.—Thus it follows to be disobeyed and resisted. What must be that reformation by the people is impossible. done in this case ? Agreeable to the custom Let the constitution become corrupt into the of all the kings and nobility throughout Eumost absolute and conjunct tyranny, it is however inviolable. There then exists a case, in which tyranny ought not, cannot be justly and legally corrected and abolished by the people. Will not the same reasoning apply for the perpetuity and irreformableness of any the most despotic governments? Will not these principles terminate in the universal eversion of liberty, in the universal establishment of universal tyranny? And is there no justifiiable expedient, no public measure of redress, whose assumption and adoption may be justified upon the high, transcendant and paramount principles of public justice, right, liberty? If there is, it will lead to and terminate in the justification of voluntary societies, assembled to consult the public good, augmenting, multiplying and diffusing themselves into a system of popular assemblies, for enlightening, forming, digesting, and collecting the general sense of the community, whose polity needs amendment. It should and extraordinary instances of error, we are seem therefore, that however iniquitous and not to infer that we are justifiable in resisting pernicious some may be, yet all assemblies any and every law which we think and feel unjustifiable, seditious and traitorous. It rethem to display and spend themselves upon it is said, by parity, popular assembles may as any other. Faction may be turbulent and be instituted against the new conceived polisuccessful, applied to monarchy and aristocties, in endless progress, ad infinitem. Very racy—self-defeated, when applied to commuttrue: and let them be so. If upon revision, nity at large. Experiments in the old got they find the polity sound and good, one to vernments, in the Grecian and Roman, in an-satisfaction, as sooner or later, after a few recient and modern history, will be no prece- visions, they will find, they will of course not be ultimately duped by factions or fac- satisfaction and submission; and thus strengthtionary societies, though assembling with the en the whole community into one firm and greatest freedom. They will be harmless, united bulwark for its support and defence. till they arm, and then they become amenable Afterwards they will feel no occasion for to the laws, which if made by the public, the popular assemblies, unless upon agitated bills, public will effectually support, even finally and very seldom for this end, all readily ac-Absolute monarchs have in all ages per- of the national council, if frequently elected, mitted individuals, subjects and slaves, to pe-which can have no other interest but that of tition their king.—Even the Dey of Algiers, the people. The very notion of petitioning the sultan of Constantinople, the Sophi of parliaments, national councils, or kings, for Persia, will receive the petition of slaves. rights and libertics, is a badge of slavery, The same thing is permitted in England; founded on the supposition that they have where it has hitherto been also permitted, es-both the power and disposition to counteract pecially since the suppression of villainage, the interest of the governed. This abolished tematical societies, to petition the king or parlia- curely confined to the wisdom and fidelity of

rope in the middle ages, Evenus, a king of Scotland, caused a law to pass, by which all the wives and daughters of noblemen were subjected to his lust, and those of the plebeians to the lust of his nobility. " Tulit legem Evanus ut cuivis licerct, pro opibus quot alcre posset, uxores ducere; ut rex nuptias sponsa-rum nobilium, nobiles plebeiarum prælibarent pudicitiam, ut plebiorum uxores cum nobilitate communes essent." Could it be supposed possible that Congress should re-enact such a licentious law in favour of privileged orders, of any description of men, it would exasperate and unite so many plebeian husbands, and in the United States even wives too, in resistance, and even arming for defence, as that it would be wise to reverse it. Here resistance would be justifiable, even to arming and civil war. In this case, whether successful or unsuccessful, the resistance would be just. But from a few such supposed cases for the express purpose of altering and chang- to be oppressive. In elective republics thero ing the polity, are not to be reprobated, as is another way always open, which will always be effectual for the redress of even real mains to settle this point for all nations, that grievances. Defer and endure till the next have to encounter such characters. But calm it is as justifiable to assemble for altering the election, and then send up men that shall polity, as for petitioning a national council, abolish the law. They will either do it, or whose polity and constitution the whole na-tion approve, without the least desire of sub-constituents. Numerous have been the invened and defeated, especially after the pub- verting or altering it. When this shall have stances of this in the New England republics lic have felt and tasted some of the ill conse- become the universal conviction, national as- the last and present century—and the public quences into which they are plunged by such semblies will become universal: and such have been satisfied. There is no need to artifices and delusory stratagems. And per-polities as will not sustain their revision and later the polity for this end. In an elective haps voluntary associations, without noticing discussion must fall. Thus it may be seen republic factionary resistance and insurrecthem as seditions, are as proper theatres for all the present corrupt polities are gone. But tion ought to be repressed by military coercion, not by foreign troops, but by citizens, who will cheerfully lend their aid, in the support of an act agreeable to the general sense of the community. If not agreeable to the general sense, it ought to be repealed, till by becoming convinced of its expediency they shall re-enact it. But it is next to impossible dent to count upon, in judging their effect on leave it untouched, return home, report and the new republican polities.—The public will diffuse and generate universal acquiescence, council standing on biennial, or triennial, or short elections. Dissatisfactions may and will arise, will be manifested; and if general, yet there is no need of arming for resistance, which would be and must necessarily be treated as sedition and treason. If general among the constituents, and they cannot be enlightquiescing in the determination and enactment ened to see the reason and justice of the law, the obnoxions act will be reversed, even by the existing senate. If not, the next election will return members who will cancel and rectify the error, if there is one, It is therefore next to impossible to suppose a case in an elective republic, wherein resistance can be justifiable. Because redress may be at all times effected in another and more peaceable for subjects assembled in popular, and even syster it in petitioning dies of course; and will be set and satisfactory way, without endangering the public tranquillity, or disturbing the pubment for redress of grievances, for or against the council. They are empowered, entrusted bills depending in parliament, for or against and confided in for this very purpose. A pecially without eversion of the constitution.

tioned. The polities of all the European nations are become so radically corrupt and oppositions are become so radically corrupt and oppositions are appointed and provided in the pressive, that the welfare of mankind reconstitution; and whether an insurrection gettimate and constitutional objects of pursuit." pressive, that the welfare of mankind requires that they should all be renovated. nerally discountenanced, will not give way and be easily suppressed with or without should despotism and oppression be entailed to subsequent generations? Why is it not give that the ages of tyranny should be succeeded by the ages of liberty? Under the effort of minority associations will die away to solve the ages of shires of the analysis and whether an insurrection getting and constitution; and whether an insurrection getting and constitution; and whether an insurrection getting and constitution is necessary in the public conviction, even of the parliament its subscitution. A reform in parliament is necessary in the public conviction, even of the public conviction and conviction and even of the public conviction and conviction and even of the reigning powers this emancipation cannot be firmation and strengthening the polity to an versal suffrage? Mr. Pitt, as well as Burke, made but by the people. This must com-impregnable inviolability. Against such a Fox, and others were once for a reform in the mence, as I have said, in popular societies, bulwark of the united people, the efforts of commons; and Pitt publicly avowed in parconnected, spreading and growing up into a a cluster of popular societies will prove but liament, annual parliaments, and universal general popular exertion. If oppression oc-casions their rise, they must take their fate. Well as self-created. But if the polity be a The enterprise is arduous, but combined na-bad one, such a cluster may be subdued, French revolution changed their minds, or tional enthusiasm in the cause of liberty is of great and awful force. All Europe is strength and carry all before it. The little ripening with celerity for a great revolution; quarrel of the Marli brought on the bellum the era is commencing of a general revolution. sociale. Not all the Bastiles nor Botany Bays, found, which is in effect convincing him, that The amelioration of human society must and no enforcement of the existing laws against what he once advocated ought never to be will take place. It will be a conflict between sedition can prevent the spread and progress done, because he now foresees it never can kings and their subjects. This war of kings, of this conviction of the possible right, utili- be done, without the sure danger of the delike that of Gog and Magog, will be terrible. ty and necessity of popular assemblies at molition of royalty and nobility. The haughti-It will, for there is no other way, it will com-least to contemplate the public state, and in ness of high dominion can never give up, mence and originate in voluntary associations given cases even to regenerate the policy, until it is too late. It is intended by court among subjects in all kingdoms. Eluded And when this shall have become a little politicians that the dissonance of opinion as to supplications and petitions for liberty, will be followed by armaments for the vindication of the rights of human nature. The public modes of public exertion, adequate to the liberally agitated, but never to be settled and ardour will be kindled, and a national spirit accomplishment of a complete revolution in determined: that the partizans should discuss and exertion roused, which undiscouraged, any polity. Nor will the present age of unsubdued by many defeats will ultimately light and liberty rest in any thing short of carry away all before it. So that popular sotieties will be attended with very different tent with this, that a defective constitution is the partizans of the ministry, it is purposed effects, when directed against an unjust and irremediable. They will not despair; they and assuredly expected to worry out the pubtyrannous polity, from those which will at will find a remedy somewhere, an efficacious lic spirit, and go on with the present system, tend them when directed against a sound and well constructed one. In the one case they well prove innoxious and harmless; in the force. No measures of any actual existing

The national debt is considered as combiother alarming and terrible. In popular acvernments they may sometimes proceed to ry Botany Bay decision in England will con-ed to be fatally endangered by a revolution, operate on elections, reverse wise and excellent laws for a time, and lay aside excellent characters, some of their best and most use-ful friends, and reward their merits with pub-after France; even in the sure foreseen Holland, Venice, America, and I believe lic ingratitude; but they will substitute others road to liberty, being marked with horror and France will show that national credit, stocks in their room, who collectively will do well, and the polity will go on, and the government proceed regularly, though in new hands. But they will generally preserve a succession of worthy characters. In the other case they will demolish polities, overturn thrones, eject aristocrats, and institute new elective governments—differently policied called by the existing ruling powers. But be towards consolidating and holding the pol-

sues, and there remains no umpire, until vic- cy, I say, nay!

government; it will not follow but that they tory declares it. In that exigency it becomes

Should the express, real, true and only may be sometimes justifiable in a despotic of necessity that the law of the state should object of the voluntary societies in England, government, and especially when the polities declare such associations seditious, traitorous or the recovery of annual partiaments and and constitutions are so radically corrupt, as and rebellious. And the same must take universal suffrage, they would be guilty of that the very polity itself ought to be changed place, be the polity just or unjust, provided no crime against the laws or the state. But and rectified. And here resistance is justifi-the majority of the community concur in it. should they arm, that moment it becomes se-able, whether successful or not. Whether But it remains to be experimented by future dition—and punishable as such—if the existthe attempt and enterprize shall be prudent ages, whether there will often if ever exist ing powers shall prove able to subdue an and wise, may be a question, when we confer with flesh and blood, but whether just in once, and especially repeatedly settled with an armed people. In this event all is rethe view of right reason, need not be ques- satisfactory revisions, by the collective body duced to hostility and civil war: a conflict

obstinate and persevering opposition of the and come to nothing, terminating in the con- ors of shires, cities, and boroughs; or by uni-

government can ultimately defeat this. Eve- ning and holding all together. It is suppostribute to the acceleration and insurance of and especially by the change of a monarchy such an event. And perhaps England will into a republic. But it is as easy to secure blood. Exasperated despair will be fruitful and funds may be as secure in a republic as in expedients, and bold, adventurous, and in a monarchy. If in a revolution it shall be successful in enterprize. The public sense provided that the public debt shall be taken on the present state of the English constitu-tion must sooner or later be tried. It can be tried only in these assemblies in the na-heavy as to be impossible to be supported. ture of things. These might for this end be But how powerful soever a public debt may perhaps, but uniformly elective.

When popular societies are set on foot, if
the polity be so well settled to the general
origination. This is the only alternative. hundred millions sterling did not withhold sense, as that they shall turn out but a minor-ity, and yet this minority should be so consi-able. Will the world sit down quiet and fate was expired. There are certain politiderable and daring as to arm against the constitution, civil war or a war of citizens ensuminish conclusion? In the spirit of prophethem. The national debt of England will not repel a revolution, when the body of the

people are brought to exert their force;

But if a reform, contrary to all court inquestion will arise, shall parliament do this, or the people? The parliament may seem form; unless it may be they may propose so trifling and so ineffectual a reform, as will chained and fettered; yet really in their most cordially hold, that the herd cannot govern themselves; and as to participation in government the swinish multitude have no rights and liberties, or which is the same thing, none originally and independently, none but what are held at the concession of the king and parliament. And the few ascending from the plebeians into parliament, soon lose their plebeian principles, and become assimilated to the aristocracy. The two hundred and fifty nobles therefore, and five hundred and fifty commons, or their venal majorities, become a combined phalanx against the people, set and firmly united against any ultimate and real alteration or reform of the polity. There remains therefore that the struggle must be given up. It will not be given up. The feelings of aristocracy are totally different from the feelings of the peo-The preposterous conduct of the ministry and parliament for now almost half a century have so involved and oppressed the nation, as to precipitate a revolution. A national inquiry is unavoidable. It has taken place in France; it will take place in every sovereignty in Europe; it will take place in England sooner or later.—The mode cannot be predicted, saving only that it will be a popular one. A real Saxon meyele-gemot inust be resumed.

The English parliament is such a mockery on representation, that the nation will never rest in its present state. And it must sooner or later be altered. The agitations for effecting this inevitable alteration will bring on and advance other political discussions, terminating in a republican renovation. So absurd and disproportionate is the representation in parliament, that it strikes all with disgust, as an insult on the majesty of the people. Of the five hundred and fifty members, it appears that in England, two thousand six hundred and eleven persons elect and return terfering and claiming sovereigns—but a three hundred and twenty seven members; more interesting, real and solemn conflict and in Scotland, of the forty-five members to represent two millions of people, ninety-eight persons elect one third, and the other thirty are elected by about one thousand four hundred.

The later states, real and soletine between the people and sovereigns and hereditary aristocrats, and in connexion with them in England, a ple-beign assembly, or delusory shadow of fieti-beign assembly, or delusory shadow of fieti-beign assembly, or delusory shadow of fieti-beign assembly as the forty-five members to awaits you—a conflict between the people inons of hundred and learned productions of the most profound and learned productions of hundred and learned productions of hundred and learned productions of the most profound and learned productions of hundred and learned productions of

subject both houses to his will. The possi-discussion and liberty. rather mock and irritate, than give national bility of this autocratical control in the crown satisfaction. Add to this, that though they allow the people to fancy and conceive that will be with the king. All this will ultimate-tures and observations, or to attend to the they have rights and liberties, and suffer them ly sooner or later bring on a struggle with present state of things in England and Euto boast of them, declaim upon them and glo-ry in them, as long as the politicians see them blood, and then the nation will become a re-and are but the progress of the conflict of public. Half a century will complete this. hearts and secret counsels, they at bottom Or at least it will be accomplished in some anny, the nation find themselves obliged to

given time. man nature, and consider the extent of passive national endurance. They may view it in the Roman Empire, in the history of the Baron's wars, in the endurance of the Duke of Alva; in short in a thousand similar inof the Gauls by the Franks, the Saxon, Daanny, however adventurous, is not always the last century, risk blood and every consequence. The conflict once begun, though ence to God." none can foresee the means, yet it requires no

When the present national storm is a little tious, popular, unreal representation, tacked which they certainly will do, when thorough-ly sick of their polity: a crisis very fast ap-public spirit by apportioning the representa-be assured the conflict will be severe and tion. So far it will be well.—But they will bloody—it will however assuredly take place see that this will not satisfy. They will en- - and its end will be glorious! During the tention and expectation, must come on; the large the election, but will not proceed to fiery trial, we of the United States, shall conuniversal or general suffrage. This may rest template this struggle with heart-feeling soli-the national spirit for the present, and respite citude, and share with the parent state, from to attempt, think to amuse the nation, but further popular exertions, perhaps for another which we still glory to have descended, in dare not to adventure a reform even of one house, and much less of both. And there-both houses feeling themselves to stand or fall together, will unite in the most firm and ments. Liberty must be disputed and gained ren, from whom we have been cruelly disdecided opposition to it, and risk most sanguinary measures to defeat every attempt,
and prevent, obstruct, and suppress every public offices is to be regulated. If left in
embarrassed and unbounded freedom, a freemovement efficaciously tending to a real ret the hands of the monarch, sole appointment dom unknown even in England, that land, of will ever give him power to command and all the transatlantic regions, the land of free

It is not alien or foreign from our purpose, ages; and because in their struggles with tyrrecur to the principles of the last century, Politicians should look upon irritated hu- and resume the work, which Oliver and the judges once achieved before them, and put into the hands of the nation, and which they were foolishly duped to give back and surreformation from the pontificate, in the Eng- render to the flattering and ever delusory lish history from King John to this time, in the promises of tyranny. If the existing polities will not reform themselves, as they certainly will not, all must come to the conclusion of stances in the histories of nations. Look at the enlightened patriots of past ages,* and the French revolution, look at the American especially of the last century, who were revolution; instead of looking to Cæsar, to more deeply studied in the principles of polthe vanquishments of tyranny, to the invasion ity and dominion, than the civilians that any other age ever produced. After every the nish, and Norman conquests, the English ille- most profound discussion of the subject, every gitimate conquest of Ireland, and the other one must finally come to a conclusion, which successful conflicts of tyranny: and in nume- their progenitors cleanly discerned and boldrous other examples, they may find that tyr- ly announced, that in such an exigence, there remains the only alternative of submission or successful. But they will be taught by none rebellion. And though every other rebellion of these. They will find, however, that the is unjustifiable, yet such an exigence may be temerity of incensed Englishmen will, as in adjudged to necessitate and justify rebellion -for it is said, "rebellion to tyrants is obedi-

But to return.—Oliver Cromwell once spirit of prophecy to foresee the event. The saved the nation; and, as I have said, upon end will be accomplished, as sure as the deliberate consultation both of the army and downfall of the Roman empire. The road however to this end must be strewed with certainly a very large and respectable body blood. But will any madly adventure this? of the divided nation, devised a very excel-They will. And there must and will arise lent constitution, in the force and spirit of more Cromwell's, Kosciuskos, Whalley's, it very nearly resembling that afterwards con-Fairfaxes; more Warrens, Muirs, Palmers, ceived and adopted by the United States;and Geralds, must suffer martyrdom. Three "O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint!" or four more hereditary monarchies and arisThe constitution by 1657 was ripened to tocracies must be fought and hunted down, this, that the government be a commonwealth, before the rest will submit to the empire of and the national legislature consist of a proliberty, law and reason. Oh parliament! Oh tector and two houses, all elective and none English nation! you have before you to fight hereditary. Herein it is provided. 1. That out, not whether a Stuart, Nassau, or Bruns- the protector be for life. The succession

[&]quot; See one of the most profound and learned produc-

able however for misdemeanour. The succession, either, by the house of commons double representative with a head, all stand- house is not equally necessary as in the upper electing six, out of which the other house select two; from which the protector to elect one; or, if the commons omitted their nomination for twenty days, the lords to proceed, nominate and choose three, out of whom the protector to take one. 3. That the house of commons consist of 460, triennially elected by the people, in a judicious and proportion- the one to consist of about five hundred, ing on universal election. ate manner. 4. A concurrence of the two more or less; the other of fifty or one hunhouses, by their respective majorities, to make | dred, more or less. In this council collecan act of parliament; not subjected to the veto or negative of the protector. This is the outline of the polity.

king; wished to return to Egypt. They returned, and God sent them a king in his anger; they returned, and went into slavery; felt themselves caught and disappointed, and number of inhabitants, subject to revision acin twenty years became so wearied out, that cording to the variation, increase or diminuthe public mind again changed, and became prepared for the partial expulsion of tyranny in 1688. They might have saved themselves thirty years loss of liberty, had they banished representatives of local districts. These will hereditation out of the English government bring up into the national council a perfect -had they persevered in the republican form devised by the discerning, enlightened protector, and those of his compatriots, ever faithful to their country's welfare.-Had his wisdom directed him to have left his other house elective by parliament, or by the people in almost every mode, as he had made the house of commons to stand on local elections, he would have left a polity so perfect, so adapted to nniversal human nature, that notwithstanding the ingenious Neckar's allowances for the geniuses, habits, and various distributions of property in nations to be policied fifty members, but they shall be taken one in into new constitutions, England would never have wished to have revised and altered it. But even his new nobility, although in the first instance by direction of parliament, at his own evocation, and whose succession was left too indefinite, were of elficacious operation, a powerfully controlling balance in the polity of the supreme legislature: and bid fair to have embosomed, and did in fact embosom, more wisdom, as well as patriotism, than Heaven usually imparts to an hereditary nobility, ever ignorant, debauched, effeminate and devoid of understanding, or else counteracting and overlaying the really great and superior wisdom of a small number, a small scattering of sensible and meritorious characters, always to be found among the lords or nobility of every nation. Thus merit would be constantly ascending and streaming up into the national council. This with an elective protector at its head, had been nearly a perfect policy. Had the protector lived twenty or thirty years longer, or had the nation been possessed of patience and stability, Oliver's polity might have grown up into this firm and beautiful perfection. May I be indulged with stating my idea of a perfect republic. Except in the rotation in the uppolity ?

Conspectus of a perfect polity.

We may assume a territory of five hundred miles square, populated with five, ten, or twenty millions of inhabitants, universally

to fifty members, to be also for life, amove- will never wish to alter or amend. It may be to feel himself the tender father of the rea public national council consisting of a public at large. A rotation in the lower ing upon the election of the community at house. Death and human versatility will large; and so modified as that every member make sufficient rotations in the lower house; shall efficaciously feel his dependance upon besides that the interests of a single local the people at large. Let these branches re- district is but of subordinate importance comceive any appellation at pleasure. For the pared with the universal interest. Changes present theory, let them be denominated the protector, and the upper and lower houses: tively shall reside, under prescribed and defined modifications, not only legislation, but dominion and supreme government. But like Israel, the nation wished for a this double representation, the populated field of dominion may receive a double partition into five hundred and into fifty districts, consisting as near as may be of about an equal tion of population. Each of the five hundred local districts to elect a single representative, for forming the lower house, or a house of information of the local districts. The election of this branch to be triennial.

For the upper house of representatives terest is inseparably connected. standing, not on local, but universal election, the fifty larger districts to elect one for each; but so that each member stands, not on the election of that district only, but on universal election-and that in this manner :- Although the citizens vote in districts, yet they shall vote each for but one member in his own district, and for one in each of the other districts: all the citizens in every district shall vote for each district; so that by these means all the fifty shall feel themselves to stand on universal election. Let the protector also stand on universal election. A certificate from each district shall be sufficient to ascertain the election of the district, both for the protector and both houses. The plurality of votes, not majority of all the votes, to determine all these elections. The protector to be elected once in seven years: the upper house once in six years, with a rotation as in the senate in congress; and the lower house once in three years. The public good, and permanency or stability of dominion, requires that there should not be a possibility of a total change of the national council at any given time:-while the citizens will have power and opportunity to make a thorough change, if they think best, within a sufficiently short period for the prevention of public mischief and the security and perpetuation of liberty. The national council thus elected, are to form themselves, and stand completely and constitutionally invested with all the powers of dominion and government.-In them resides the ordinary and active sovereignty of the per house, none to be excluded from re-elections into either house, as long as he can apit be judged more convenient that the president, or protector, should stand on the elec-

in this will not be equally dangerous with too great and frequent changes in an house stand

In this frame of government, this polity of the two houses, the one will primarily feel the local interests, and secondarily the general interest; the other must irresistibly feel for each and all the interests, not separately, but collectively, and their primary and only motive must be the public good, the universal interest of the whole, or majority of the community. The one will be the faithful conservators of the local interests, as well as attend well to the general interest also, and in the most cases when his own district is out of the question, which will be the case in most instances, will judge impartially and faithfully for the public good: the other detached from all particularity, can have no object but the universal, or at least the general good, with which his own personal in-

The powers of the houses are not mixed, but separate and concurrent. These with the quorum of each to be defined and settled in the constitution. They sit and deliberate separately, and their votes are of independent and separate import. The concurrence of the two houses in their votes to constitute an act, and there can be no public act of the national council without this concurrence. A few other declarations regulating the exercising their powers and authority in transacting business, may be defined in the constitution, the rest may be safely confided to their united wisdom. But in case the two houses should ever hereafter concur in any vote for the hereditation of any offices or their perpetuity in any family line, or for the hereditation and perpetuity of the protector and upper house, the constitution should be thereby ipso facto dissolved. In which case it should be provided and established in the constitution, that the republic reverts to a state of nature; when any of the 500 districts may assume upon themselves to circulate a communication among themselves, and originate by spontaneous delegation from the districts, a republican convention, for the express purpose of regenerating the policy and constituting a new republic; and if necessary may arm for the purpose without criminal rebellion.

Before we define the powers of the protector, and in order to discern what portion of authority should be assigned and entrusted to the supreme executive, we may make an experiment of this policy; from whence we may discern the utility of these balances, and the obvious preference of the double to a single representation, or instead of vesting the whole government in one house, or a senprove himself to his fellow-citizens. Should ate or council of one order only of local representatives; and indeed its preferableness to a single order standing on universal election of both houses, instead of the people at tion, modified as above, both in point of amfree, according to their various industry pos- large, it will be perfectly safe, as even in this ple and accurate information of every part, pessing allodial property. On this field of mode he must feel his dependance not on a and diffusing the knowledge of characters dominion a polity is to be erected, which they part, but the whole people, and cannot fail among their constituents, for future elections,

a bill be brought into the lower house-upon perfection. reading it, each member will run home in his own mind, and think how it will affect his of the protector, his connection with the na- provided and established for a state, legislaown district, his immediate constituents; and tional council, his relation to the whole com-tion would be at an end. This was the case he will be faithful to his district; this will be munity, his being the political head of a dis-in the Mosaic institution, whose laws never his first care. If it does not effect that other-tinct sovereignty among the sovereignties of needed addition or amendment. God never wise than as it is involved in the universal in- the world, and the communications and inter- altered this law from the days of Sinai to the terest, then the public good becomes equally course with other states in peace and war, days of Zorobabel. Human legislation canhis care, and indeed sole object. Again in we may be enabled to judge with what pow- not be at first perfect, complete and comprethis house will unavoidably be room for fac-tion or junction of district or vicinity inter-ests, and clubbing with districts in different powers I shall not detail. Those who frame laws adapted to the genius and circumstances parts towards carrying votes. This cannot the constitution will do it with careful atten- of a people; yet after a while a system or so easily take place in the other house. The tion. I mean only to suggest the outline of code of laws will grow up to a magnitude great advantage of local representations, is for obtaining perfect information, and for organ of the republic, through which all com-administration of justice in the state, and for having the district satisfied that they have a munications must be had with surrounding the determination of all causes civil and crimfaithful advocate in the national council, for states, which Vattel considers as so many inal. And although mutations and alterations its particular interest. Both these are matters of great moment. But it may be possible, moral persons susceptible of a variety of national relations, from whence arise those fit-will in some degree be always taking place, and often happens, that a bill passes in this nesses, propriety of treatment, and social ob- yet after a while in a well settled government house rather from a junction of particular lo- ligations which, with the treaties and compacts legislation will employ but a small part of the cal interests, the interests of a part of the among these political moral persons, become attention and labours of a national assembly. community, than from the public good. It the laws of nations, founded in principles of nations in government, and needs then to be contemplated and acted upmoral right, according to Grotius and Puffenpolitical administration, will soon become far on by a house whose only or primary and dorf, and of a rectitude and obligation as im- more voluminous than the code of laws and governing object must be the public welfare, mutable as the eternal laws of nature. The statutes. When the national council act in because it stands not on local, ubiquitarian whole national assembly will be called to con- law-making they are properly legislators; in election.—Let the bill be read here, and instead of the members running to a local or head of the republic. The command of the Future legislators, among other stead of the members running to a local or a few local interests, they feel themselves irresistibly constrained to contemplate the whole field of dominion, the public welfare. A bill then having had this consideration and their hands. The making of war and peace been lavish in capital punishments. It canreview, and thereupon having the concurrence of the local and universal representatives, may be confided in as having received person. It is undoubtedly wise in the con-punishment for securing peace, order and a well informed and thorough disquisition, and as faithful a decision as can be had from err-

And now as the head or protector, by the supereminency of his station, may be justly supposed to have a circumspective view of the public interest, especially when furnished with all the lights of both houses, and by his dependence on universal election also

that conjoined with perfect local information, as complete a deliberation and decision as hu-ties of the republic. there is provided a natural and unfailing secu- man wisdom admits, before it passes into a pubrity of fidelity to the public and general wel- lic law. Thus these balances in the polity onal council, this supreme body by the name fare. To proceed with the experiment,-Let are demonstrably wise, and I think constitute of legislature, as if this was their name and

head of the republic. The command of the navy, army and militia, must and may be safe- is to hoped, while they may rectify the whole ly confided to him, while the national council system of jurisprudence, will particularly corhold the appropriation of the revenues in rect the penal code which in all nations has are both matters of too great moment to be not be supposed that the state of human soleft in the hands and at the will of a single ciety requires the severity of the enacted stitution of the United States, on these great obedience to laws and government. For the subjects the president cannot act alone, but conservation of the peace and support of the must have the counsel and concurrence of the laws in England, Judge Blackstone informs senate.-The designation and appointment of us that one hundred and sixty crimes and felofficers, civil, military, judicial, and in the onics are capital by the statutes. And among revenue, would be dangerous in his hands, five or six inillion people have been above With this power, like the king of England, seventy thousand capital executions the cen-he would not fail to corrupt a majority of both houses, and reduce all to a dependance tury have not been above fifteen or twenty himself, effectually secured from partiality, on his will, or the dictature of a minister. The executions, and for all New England probaevery one will see the safety and utility of profusion of lower and unlucrative offices bly not exceeding sixty or seventy; and the another revision by the father of the republic: not indeed to his final negative or veto, an ample selection should be made of all the well preserved among half a million to a which might be embarrassing and dangerous, great offices, especially of high emoluments, million of souls. though not of lasting and irremediable mis- and in general of offices of every department, chief, as he cannot cease to feel a reference to the amount at least of three quarters of to a future election. It will therefore be for the aggregate value of all the offices in the the perfection of the polity, that he should republic should be guarded, by the nominahave the power of a temporary negative with tion of the protector and concurrence of both may be established in the constitution itself. a limited time, and a reference to a reconsideration with his reasons. He may have discretion with his reasons. He may have discretion with his reasons. He may have discretion with his reasons, at least he will houses, at least he will gulations respecting the powers, authority and cision on civil and criminal trials and adjudihave his feelings upon it, and the feelings of necessary prerogatives of the protectorate, cations. And to this end the constitution a character so situated may not be unworthy the attention of the wisest and most enlightthe constitution, while others and perhaps court of the republic should be men of disened assembly. His reasons and observations more temporary powers adapted to exigen-in a revision of the whole, may be found cies, may be safely left to the national coun-and of uncorrupted integrity, limited to judge beneficial, and may occasion amendments, or cil, which by their acts may from time to time not according to their discretion, but accord-

through the community. At the same time right, the bill having had a due course, and in time to overwhelm and prostrate the liber-

It has become fashionable to call the natiprincipal business. If a perfect and complete By considering the justly elevated situation system of law and jurisprudence was once

Legislation and government must by the constitution be ever left with the national sovereignty. But a supreme judiciary is of such great and momentous importance that it salutary alterations, or even abolitions. But impart to him the necessary powers, and reif after this the views of the two honses shall voke them. While a guarded vigilance should their offices quamdiu bene gesserint: that treacontinue the same, and they adhere to their be held that so important, and useful, and neformer opinion and judgment after revision, cessary a character should not grow up to so
judges be punished with death. A high it may be justly confided in, that they are powerful an independence and control, as court should be provided and authorized, not

the regular trial of such high delinquents, for such an experiment will never be made, most probably hereafter they will all agree in All other courts for the distribution of justice

The title or appellation of this public different, and will have no efficacy on their public acts and operations. The etymologies of the three last do not primarily lead to power and authority. The congressus optimatum brings up with it both power and council united: and seems the most natural for a republican unhereditary, elective aristocracy. proved themselves qualified with wisdom, expublic affairs, by which their abilities and fidelity will become extensively known to all the tribes through the union and commuof worthy, patriotic and excellent personages, characters of ability and public confidence, of diffused reputation, and universal notoriety, from which the community in general, judgment, to elect those superior and universal members.

Finally, let that inestimable jewel and preservative be inserted in the constitution, the power of revision, alteration and amendment, lioration, effect the ends of liberal, efficacious, differently modified, as circumstances and after certain stated periods, until the polity just and happy government, and secure the prevailing coalescences may indigitate and become so perfectly satisfactory, as that to reign, the dominion of law, rights and liber-point out, or as may arise on contingence and become so perfectly satisfactory, as that to the feelings and sense of the community, it ties, as far as can be expected in the present compact and submissive acquiescence. But needs no further amendment : when the use state of man. But this perfect idea will an elective senate of two balancing orders of the revisionary powers would go into de-suetude of course; unless called up at dis-to it, which I have found, among all the poli-be the most simple, intelligible, and perfect. tant periods to rectify and reform corruptions, cies that have existed since the first dispersion However a republic, and even a monarchical which may in time be insinuated into the ad- of the nations, was in the most beautiful and republic might, in some or any of these modes ministration of the best polity.

whether right or wrong, will always rest in and flourishing in the tenth century.

harmless idea. Its refutation and absurdity Undoubtedly in the future structure of

through the land may be instituted by the the ingenious ideas of the great patriot Nec-ment by a national council, or senate of one Regislature.

This is the general idea of a perfect policied according to the existing diversities of other. The less complicated the more simple cied according to the existing diversities of other. The less complicated the more simple systematical and intelligible to the body of body may be, congress, senate, general council, as to customs, laws, usages and manners, the people the better. It remains to be verior national assembly. The name is very in-ranks and orders, yet this polity may be suc-fied by experiment, whether a republic ruled existing diversities-leaving otherwise all the distinctions and tenures of property, dignities, titles, honours, orders and inequalities, comprehended and untouched, even the hereditary honours, if they have not power com--The whole national assembly is an aristo-bined with them: only adopting liberty and cracy, while in office, not hereditary but elect- equality to their extent, that the access up into ive. They continue in this elevation and su-the supreme national council be open to all excellency to the balances of two orders in the periority to their brethren, while by them en- the inequalities of society, so that upon contrusted with the high authority, and until, stitutional election princes and nobles, dukes, republics may be as various, as those have having run their race, and discharged their marquisses, earls, viscounts, barons, gover-been of permanent monarchies. The ten exgreat and useful betrustment, they revert back nors, generals, ecclesiastics, civilians, mer- isting kingdoms of Europe are all differently into the order of common fellow citizens chants, gentlemen, yeomen, professional cha-policied, no two similar, least of all exactly This august body during their elevation are racters, and the literati, are all equally eligible, alike, unless in monarchy. Of the half a to receive all honour and respect, submission and all meet and sit and act together as equals, dozen republics in Europe, two are not alike, and free obedience from the whole union, with a "Nos hic una sedemus uti Barones." While in office let them be treated with the As all grades of nobility are pares in the honours of the office. There is a weighty objection to this polity. The universal election will be objected to, both for the protection and the universal branch, as unwieldy improved by the protection will be objected to be the protection of the universal branch, as unwieldy improved by the protection of the office and clothed with power and authority of the of practicable, impossible. To this it may be equality amidst inequality. Adopting this ty, they are an aristocracy, whether an elecreplied, that personal acquaintance is not ne-commanding idea, this polity might be readi-tive or hereditary, and the constitution may cessary. Information will be sufficient with ly and with facility applied to all the diversible equally permanent. The senate may contest. Experience has shewn us, that the republic be formed out of the intricate and ice, which has subsisted for ages, with great people at large in every the most distant part confused hotch potch of the Germanic em-firmness and wisdom. Or it may be formed of the United States, for instance, are univer- pire, and the empires of Turkey, Persia, or of one order elected from the people or citisally informed concerning fifty or one hun. Indostan, as out of the plain co-equal yeo- zens of the community at large, and this for dred characters, or more, all over the states, manry, frecholders and citizens of the United life, the succession in case of vacancies by among which they are able to make a wise States. All the diversified nations are susdeath to be filled by election of the people. and judicious choice, or election. The men ceptible of a regeneration into the same uniwho are qualified for such high stations will form republican policies, with a supersedure ally stand on triennial, septennial, or frequent soon be extensively known.—They should be indeed, but not destruction of orders. But elections, the elections to be made out of those, who either by having been long in the all this will be treated and rejected as only citizens of all orders and descriptions promisnational service, or by some distinguished na- the impracticable theories and speculations of cuously, or all to be indifferently eligible into tional achievement of public utility, have ap- the study, the fanciful reveries of recluse and the national senate of one order. Perhaps unexperienced life. Indeed so many existing something like this may be that which will in perience, and a perfect acquaintance with circumstances must and will be attended to public affairs, by which their abilities and in the reformation of the old, corrupt and in another mode. The whole body of the citiworn out governments, and in the forming of zens maybe resolved into centuries and classes, new ones, or in the regeneration of the sove- as among the Romans,* and balancing one annity. This will supply an ample sufficiency reigntics of the world now already begun, other: that is, there may be one class of hethat my idea will not, and in effect cannot be reditary nobility, another of citizens of high realized. But perhaps an approximation to opulence, a class of merchants, and classes the leading features and capital principles of of other descriptions, and possibly in some it, especially as to election, banishing heredi- states the clergy and universities may make will be enabled with good discernment and tation of pawer, and providing revision, al- another class: and all these to be represented ready begun and arisen among the nations, by election in their respective classes, and begun in the unsuccessful efforts of 1641, form a national senate of two, three or more and successfully realized in 1796, may restore negatives, or vetos, as once in Sweden; or the present policies to a good degree of ame- form one co-ordinate body, or otherwise be well organized republic of Ireland, spontane- be constructed, in which liberty and the pub-This is the view of an utopian polity, which ously formed by the emigration from Norway, lie weal might be to a very good degree se-

by the legislature, but by the constitution, for will never appear by an actual experiment, policies, there will be a great variety: while Not that it is impossible: for notwithstanding the rejection of monarchy, and in a governnational society on which they shall be formed systematical and intelligible to the body of cessfully applied to all the kingdoms, empires by one order of co-equal senators, and this and sovereignties on earth, under all their elective, can be permanent and lasting. At present the speculation is that it cannot. But, the tumultuous, self-defeating confusion of the little republics in Italy notwithstanding, I believe future trial will exhibit a proof that its durability is possible, and that it may well answer the ends of liberty and permanent government; and yet be by no means equal in national senate. The policies of permanent all are of diversified policies.

A republic safe for liberty, laws, and ener-

Among those who are sincerely principled the best chance of gathering the great-themselves on a thousand occasions. and disposed to liberty in general, one from est quantity of wisdom and public spirit. I am the more open and explicit upon the education or judgment will feel a lift to mo-into the council, by election, with all its cornarchical and aristocratical ideas, another to ruptions, than by hereditary ignorance and by the grace of God, have been snatched and mixed and balaucing republican ideas of folly. And under all the popular mutabili- rescued from deism, by the weighty, the preequality as to eligibility. The future formaties, a succession and permanency of wisdom vailing force, the omnipotent convictions of tion of policies may possibly exhibit several and patriotism is far more secure and certain truth, to apologize to men of half finished of these diversified forms. Which will really in an elective, than hereditary aristocracy.

approve itself the most friendly to right, lib
1 have hitherto said nothing concerning reexperiment of two or three ages; when upon out of modern policies. The mischief of a comparison and history of all these liberty sectarian tests, the injustice of the elevation policies, it may appear which is best. I that of any one sect in particular, to the exclusion, have been educated in republican ideas, as disfranchisement, or destruction, or even mobids fair to succeed the hest. Montesquieu, ciety. And some enlightened minds have educated in high monarchical and aristocrati- proceeded the lengths of so daring a liberty, republic. A genuine Englishman will ever out of his own creation. A very liberal Caities remain to be tried.

will break in with a constantly diseasing influence. We have only to find which is susceptible of the least. Whatever the polity be, wherever the power rests, whether in a monarchy, aristocracy, or the people, let us count upon it, let us be assured corruption will apply itself with an institious and equal dexicaty. My only hope is, that it may be enervated by having a large and diffusive object to spend itself upon, and by the frequency of elections. Even in a republic universally elective, great will be the corruption, in defiance of all laws. Nobles and men of opulence, as well as indigent popularity, by money and intrigue, and disposition of offices overbearing weight, to render into the national council men whose personal interests will not coincide with those of the public. One opulent man will corrupt or influence a thousand plebeian electors. We see it in the English parliament, where popular corruption constantly renders a very great number of nobles into the house of commons, as well as that of the lords. Already of five huncitizen has an interest in the public interest tions, that they are ruled, not by covert deists their inspiration would at once be authorita-

cured, and established with a very durable and by making the object, on which but by real christians, rather than by dubious

erty, and the public weal, must be left to the ligion, which seems to be agreed to be shut losophers of deified reason, for most freely was Vattel, and at a distance from nobility lestation of the rest, as in England, Poland ried through the whole inquiry, through the eminencies, feel very well satisfied with and Holland, have inclined all to a growing series and train of proofs, up to conclusive equality in the national council, and think it concurrence in leaving them out of civil so- and certain demonstration, I submit not to the cal ideas, could not enter into the spirit of a as even to expunge the existence of a God perlatively high proof, and of as certain evithink differently on the subject of rights and tholicism ought certainly to be cultivated could as easily apologize for believing there liberties from the rest of the world. There among all sects of Christians, upon the prinis a God, as for the belief of christianity. is no umpire in this matter but the expericiples of policy as well as of our holy reliment of ages, after various polities have been gion, our common christianity. But I do not mind, my conscious intelligence, especially at tried. Monarchical polities in all their variety see that a christian republic ought either to certain times of intense contemplation, struck have been abundantly tried; republican pol- renounce christianity, on the one hand, or on and overcome with the powerful impressions the other hand, to extend charity to the of evidence, could as easily and readily give Far am I from thinking that the wisest equality, indifference and nullification of all up the one as the other. I could say as truly and best policy can escape the impressions of religions. I am in decided opposition to the under full perception of its truth, that the corruption. Let us not expect but that it deistical ideas, which have usurped too much Pythagoric problem, or the highest demoninfluence in the reformation of polities at this strations in Euclid, were dubious and false, day, as if to put heaven to another trial, as that christianity is a dubious and erroncous whether it can maintain christianity, as it did illusion; when the conscious perception of the three first centuries. Christianity will my mind sees and knows, that it came down uphold itself, be the policies of states as they from the God of infallible truth. That great may. But a christian state ought expressly jurist and civilian, Minutius Fœlix, could tell to acknowledge and embosom in its civil con-stitution, the public avowal of the being of a that learned jurisperite of Carthage, who re-God, that most high and holy Sovereign, upon signed the toga of the forum for the sacerdowhom all depends, and the avowal of christi- tal pallium, could tell them, that greater jurist anity. In this period, of taking great liber-than both, I mean Father Paul of Venice, ties with the person and religion of Jesus, of and a greater civilian and historian than these conceited wisdom, of bold and illiberal invectives against revelation, during the present which, for comprehensive collocation of evirage and enthusiastic mania of deism, I fear dence, deep discernment, solidity and accuthrough union of factions, will have full and not to risk the offence and vociferous repudi- racy of judgment, would weigh down a thouations of the disciples of the open Voltaire sand Gibbons and Montesquieus, and others and Rosseau, or the covert deistical Gibbon, of superficial and cursory discussion of the notwithstanding their public honours in the subject, a subject however whose evidence recent apotheoses of the newly resumed ethnical idolatry, and their repositation among gar and learned, in this as well as the aposof the temple of Reason. The blaze of this evidences of christianity have blazed conviclittle political diaspora of extravagant and tion into their minds, with as clear and irredred and fifty members, two hundred and fif- bringing that honourable name into contempt, God. The single fact of the resurrection and ty, perhaps two thirds, are noblemen, and of as it did in the fourth century) will, like other ascension of Jesus supports the whole: and enobled blood. And it may possibly come momentary lamps of error, burn down, go this is as highly proved as his crucifixion, and to pass, that no longer shall the commons be out and evanish; and the world, instead, of is as indubitable as the existence of a God. represented by commons according to the ori- public conviction or general conversion, will The resurrection of Jesus being established, ginal intention of that house, but the com- soon write upon it, mene, tekel. These men the whole fabric of revelation is supported mons be wholly represented by nobles, Eng- of easy virtue, and generally of easy morals, thus.-None can doubt but that Christ and lish, Scotch, or Irish, so both become a double insidiously inserting themselves into the vari- his apostles believed the inspiration of the house of nobles, one hereditary the other ous departments of the political administra- whole old testament. If God should raiso elective. A similar corruption is taking place tion of states, will soon find it expedient in a up an holy prophet from among men, which to at least in a small degree in the elections christian community to bend and mask their deists will allow possible, and inspired with of the United States. Our only safety is in principles, under the pretext of becoming documents and authority from on high; diffusing light and knowledge through the favourable to christian morals, and perhaps should be lay his hand on Moses and the common people and body of the citizens at to become hypocritical advocates for the cause Prophets (it would be believed should I say, large, to guard them from being bribed or of the Redeemer. Much better however for on the writings of Rosseau and Voltaire) and influenced against their own interest, for each a christian republic, to take care in their election the name of God announce them inspired,

satisfaction. We all have our feelings, and corruption is to operate, as diffusive as characters; characters whose covert duplicity nutional and perhaps speculative preferences, possible. On the whole, we seem to stand cannot but often break out and discover

disquisitions, to the ignorance of my brother sinners, or even to the most enlightened phiand openly avowing and advocating the cause of revelation. I make no apology: I temporize not in concessions to the learned or unlearned .- After having heen by heaven carsupposition of uncertainty, or of the possibility of mistake, in a matter of even such sudence, as that for the existence of a God. I the collection of Gods in the motley pantheon tolic age :-these, I say, can tell us, that the self-opinionated philosophers (a fraternity sistible a force, as those for the being of a

renounce and give up the contest. Now Jesus was that holy prophet, evidenced by the miracles of his life, passion and resurrection. He and the disciples have declared this of Moses and the prophets. Both their antiquity, authenticity, and real inspiration, are thus at once settled and ascertained.— Those who have got so far as to believe this, will have no difficulty as to the inspiration of the New Testament. They will easily find a way to get rid of all their scruples and cavils at the bible. I will freely and cheerfully trust them with themselves, only admitting the resurrection of Christ with all its circumstances and connexions, knowing assuredly what will be the result, even nothing less than a firm and indubitable belief of revelation. But at bottom, none of the deists believe the fact of the revelation of Christ. This is the great difficulty with them.

If they receive a profusion of smiling indulgence, and even the most cordial and rapturous applanses, for perpetully interlarding their writings on policy, law, and government, or secular and political history, with foreign matter, with humourous invectives and sarcastical percussions of revelation; they can have no just objection at receiving in return the far more weighty, vigorous and repulsory reprehensions of revelationists. Hane veniam damus petimusque vicissim. I have read most of the deistical authors, or at least so many of the principal ones, that from thence, and my own speculations and feelings, I conceive myself possessed of all their arguments, and of the whole force of deism: and I never found one that I thought had digested the subject, any more than Cosmas that of the sphericity of the earth, on which he wrote so zealously, learnedly and voluminously, to no other effect than to display erroneous literature, and a pious but intemperate ardour on a mistaken subject, of which he was finally ignorant. The same with deism.

If christians or deists should believe the resurrection of Lazarus, they would not therefore believe him to be a prophet. Hence it is said that miracles, if facts, do not prove revelation. I attempt not the refutation of this consequence, which however admits of conclusive refutation: but say that, this notwith-standing, if deists believed the resurrection of Jesus (and especially if in conjunction with this they also believed the reality of the three years and a half miracles ascribed to him) there is not one of them would hesitate to believe and know him to be a prophet. Never was there a believer of the resurrection of Christ, who doubted the history of his miracles. With such a one all the critical ratiocinia on the invalidity and conclusiveness of miracles, would evanish. They would consider, not the nuda miracula, but the connections and purposes with which they were operated, and become abundantly satisfied. I never read of but one man, R. Becai, who believed the reality of Christ's resurrection, that did not at the same time believe even the Messiahship, and he was con vinced by it that Jesus was a holy prophet. If therefore his resurrection proves him a few seemed disposed to betray it. The gen- and convictions transmitted with christianity. prophet it establishes the whole superstructure and system of revelation. Without being necessitated to it, I however rest the

tively settled, and even deists would candidly whole support of revelation upon this single | Sophistry and impicty had infected a great and most momentous fact.

The rise of deistical characters into supremacy in European and American polities,* gives them an eclat, which is improved towards exciting a general despair of the christian cause, and towards a popular persuasion that deism is speedily becoming, if not already become generally prevalent throughout christendom. But without observing the providence and promise of God is against it, as soon might we abolish printing, letters, or the Newtonian astronomy. Indeed the recent transactions which have been suffered to pass in the national councils of France, have countenanced this idea, and are considered as implying that they have generally abandoned religion there, as well as in England and Germany. But is this implication just? Though they suffer atheists and deists, and unprincipled characters to join in the fighting their martial and political battles, in supporting what they are all concerned in as a common cause; and the nation may have gone too far, as they certainly have gone too far in gratifying and indulging this licentious description of men, in some of the measures they have brought forward, for the insidious abolition of religion, and the re-establishment of ethnicism; yet I make no doubt, they deceive themselves and the public in representing a general defection from religion.

Perhaps the picture which the Abbe Barruel has given of Paris, may apply to London, and the other capital cities of Europe. "The nobility of Paris too generally supported the doctrine of these sects," meaning the atheistical and deistical sects of the philosophers, "because they had long adopted the dissolutness of their manners. They abandoned the churches to the people, instead of encouraging them by their example to frequent them: servants mimicked the vices of their masters, and the contagion soon spread to the humble cottage of the peasant. The citizen, the merchant, and his clerk, all affected to be witty on religious subjects. The magistrates, who were themselves not free from infection, winked at the infraction of the laws, and suffered the poison to spread through all ranks of the people. France was sinking into an abyss of impiety and corruption.

"The clergy strove in vain to stem the torrent.-They were not all exempt from the vices of the age. This order of men may be ranked in two classes: the one little acquainted with the duties of the priesthood, bore the name and part of the ecclesiastical the existence of a God, and of christianity, in dress: too dissipated to be confined to the service of the altar, they were not inactive in soliciting the favour of courtiers who had the nomination to church preferment. They were a scandal to religion, and dishonoured the cause instead of supporting it.

"The other class still more numerous, was composed of priests employed in the care of souls and of ecclesiastical functions. This was properly speaking, the body of the clergy. They were generally well informed of their duties. If some of them panted after the reins of the church, the greater number were seriously attached to the faith, and very crality had not been wearied with religion.

number in every class of citizens, but still the French people in general were sincerely attached to the catholic religion. Nothing could reconcile them to the political revolution, but the strongest assurances, that no changes should be made in its doctrine or worship."- † This is agreeable to an account given me by M. Marbois, secretary to the Chevalier de Luzerne, in 1779.—In a conversation with him, I asked him whether deism was so prevalent in France as that the body of the nation had become impregnated and carried away with it? He then replied that many of the nobility and dignified clergy indeed, with others of the higher and lower orders freely and openly went into it; but that the most of the bishops, and the body of the ecclesiastics, with the main body of the people, were not only not deistical or dishelievers of revelation, but were even, as he expressed it, superstitionsly devoted to religion. Accordingly of one hundred and thirty eight bishops and sixty-four thousand curates or parochial clergy, only five prelates, and perhaps not a sixth of the clergy, took the civic oath, the rest refusing a conformity to the new civil and ecclesiastical regulations; which would scarcely be credible had they been effected with the pliable indifferentism which a general deism would have generated. And the very general aversion of the people at the thoughts of parting with the parochial religion throughout the realm, and the immediate necessity which the politicians saw of supplying the derelict parishes with a new clergy, and leaving the people to enjoy their old religion, evince that the body of the nation were not become deists.

Many data are necessary towards judiciously forming general estimates. Let the matter he fairly and accurately explored, let it be brought to trial, let there be a perfect liberty of declaring for and against christianity, without incurring penalties or the loss of immunities, place the mind in the most perfect equilibrium and deliberate freedom, and examine hearts; it would soon be found that the collective aggregate of this learned, this philosophic and licentious description, would prove a small and inglorious, though brilliant minority; and that so strong and so general an adherence to the gospel would appear, that of twenty-five millions in France, above twenty-four millions, and perhaps nine tenths of the other million, would now be found christians. From the unhappy omission of the constitution of the United States, through deistical influence, and that the road might be kept open for deists to ascend into congress, though to do the convention justice this was not the principle that actuated them: but from this omission however effected or occasioned, as well might it be inferred that the inhabitants of the United States were generally heathen, generally atheists and deists, when nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand would shudder at the thoughts of renouncing their Redeemer. So they are generally tenacious of christianity in France, both from the habit of ages, and from the proofs -And if the subject was examined with at-

et of victory will continue to be sounded ex in it. utraque phalange, on both sides. In the mean The more christianity is attacked, the more firmly it stands, with an increasing and growof temporalities, or civil government, generally more fatal than beneficial, but on the cism of ancient, or the tyrannies of modern ages. And its great and shining advocates eventually, like the thin gossamer, be dissitant nothings.

will be, it cannot but be, with literature, jus- justified. tice and moral rectitude, patronized by the crece. L. 1.

time the defenders of revelation have no rea- vetic, the Venetian republies, or the ancient thorize and empower one, this was justly and son to be ashamed of the proof of their ar- republies of Greece and Rome, or the mod- legitimately vested with this august power mour, or of the goodness of their cause: and ern ones of France and Poland, and Egypt, and authority. Its regularity and authority may confide in it, that among all the defect with the monarchical republic of England, cannot be disputed. It was doubted but by tions, this of renouncing the gospel will be for according to Sir Thomas Smith this is a few of the members themselves. The only the last to become general in Europe or America. Would to God, we all lived it better. Sufflated bubbles of science and conperceive, what ideas I must have with respect the world pitted and compassionated the mild ceited wisdom, some balloon geniusses attack, to their different approximations to this sys- and element, the misguided, the unhappy impinge upon it, and fall one after another tem of perfection. And what I had princi- Louis. But what saith, not compassion, in pally in view, they will easily perceive and the ears of judges, but justice? Did he, or see the reason why I should entertain so high did he not, thus betray his people? Seven ing strength, not on power, not on the support an opinion of the safety and perfection of hundred men examined the evidences, and Oliver's republic; which I must think will passed sentence upon him. Perhaps thirty more and more approve itself to contempla- or forty were intimidated and awed by the calm, and weighty, and irresistible convictions tive posterity, to have been excellent, and populace, or the mountain; but 700 were unof truth. Deism, like the Serpedo, will worthy the great, comprehensive and deep awed; they freely coincided with the very spread and die, will blaze its day, overspread discernment, the noble efforts and exertions general sense of the nation. Can we sup-Europe and the world, spend itself, flit away of so great a genius as Cromwell's.—No pose they were all devoid of wisdom, or so and evanish from the globe, like the ethni- wonder he was enamoured of it, idolized it, blinded with passion, as to be unable to judge and rejected a crown for its sake. No won- on the evidences of facts? No profound law der he was, with Cato, grieved, when he erudition was requisite; but if so, they had will, in the future histories of nations, rank foresaw the certain ruin of so noble a fabric, it: they embosomed a treasury of law, wiswith the Democrituses and Pyrrhos, and so glorious a cause. Examined in this view, dom, and criminal jurisprudence, in that illusother philosophical flambeaux of the lumi- we shall perceive the necessity of the bold, trious assembly. It is impossible to conceive nous Grecian ages. These, with the other adventurous and heroic measures, of first 700 men, upon deliberative enquiry, unanieminencies of talkenous delision, will be pringing the king to justice, and afterwards mous in judging a fact, unless they saw the
given up in the ages of light and reason; of dissolving the long and self-perpetuating evidence. The instance is not to be found which will marvel that preceding erring ages parliament. And in a word, the justice and in the history of man; it is impossible. Nor should be eaught with those flimsy delusions, rectitude of most of the infractions and viola did the King's defence deny the facts, but which by the weighty blast of truth, will tions of the corrupt order of a despotic poli-leluded them by ascribing them to his minispated and puffed into their great and unimpor-liberty might be erected. And when in the Could he have shown he had not been privy Let us be assured that the christian states judges in the high court of justice, we may acts consenting to and approving his minisare not going to give up religion, Nay, it at length see them vindicated, and completely ters, he would have stood acquitted, approved

important matters here omitted, will fall in as auxiliary and supplemental, and perhaps with sembled from the 83 communities, into which have found him guilty, dethroned, and parconsiderable admissible variety, in construct-

tention, I doubt not the same would be found ing and constituting this polity, this edifice of ally partitioned, and by them expressly and to be the fact throughout Europe and christian public liberty. But it is conceived these are intentionally charged and empowered to three America. Be assured that christianity will the essential, and I believe, all-comprehen-important works.—1. To form a constitution ever, and every where find able, learned, positive outlines of one, which would approve for the public reception and ratification. 2. tent, weighty, and in the conflict, irresistible itself a government, not of will, but of laws; In the mean time, upon the voluntary dissoadvocates and defenders. The ultimate de- wherein the liberties and rights of mankind, lution of the national assembly, to take the cision must be referred to futurity. For a both personal and social, would become too whole government, the national defence, the long time during the present era of conflict, firmly established, ever to be overthrown: whole administration, civil and military, into as in that for establishing the republics of Po- for confident I am, that upon experiment, it their hands.—And, 3. To judge the king. land and France, and as among the comba- will gain the universal acquiescence and confi- They were a new tribunal indeed, and very tants in the pontificial controversy, the trump- dence of all embosomed and comprehended differently modified from any before erected on earth; but certainly, if twenty million Comparing with this the Belgie, the Hoel- people could regularly elect, legitimate, auey, that on its ruins so beautiful a fabric of try, though his own signatures were sufficient same light we examine the cause of the and knowing, and by his own overt and real we may fault the tribunal of Charles I. and the sympathizing republican world civil powers themselves. Let the deistical and fault the judgment: while there are and would have rejoiced. But after a solemn politicians bring the matter to a crisis; let will be those, who will believe of both, that enquiry and deliberation, the question was them adventure the trial, and assuredly they they were authoritative, just and right. The put, "Is Louis guilty, or not guilty of high will not fail of receiving ample satisfaction republic o France is suffering the same publicason, or in other words, of conspiracy on the subject. Nen doutez pas, Quintus, la lic obloquy at present; but they may here against the liberty of the nation, and of at-Religion a ses Heros. Polignae l' Anti-Lu- after be judged to have set forth and exhibit- tempts against the general safety of the state?" ed an heroic instance of public justice, for the Of 735 voters, of which 42 were absent, 693 I have finished my idea of a perfect republic. This I believe to be the arrangement of the grand monarchical republic of the universe: with this difference, that in the one proved of Lnuis Capet, a sovereign justly evidence. "I know, said Osselin, that Louis immense, all-comprehensive government of esteemed and loved by America, his fate was paid his guards at Coblentz; I do therefore the omnipotent, the power emanates, descends and spreads abroad, from the Independent Unity, and underived source of all abetted and promoted the coalition of foreign I vote for death." Said Anacrasis Cloots, power and authority; in the other, in our powers, for the express purpose of bringing "In the name of the human race, I vote for little minutesimal polities, the power is left a combined army of \$0,000 men, against his the death of Louis." Thomas Paine, "I vote and ordained by the God of nature to derive own republie, with the direct objective purfor the provisional confinement of Louis, and from God, and to ascend through the people, pose of its eversion: and if he paid 3,000 for his expulsion after the war." This was up to the sovereign council, and from thence, forces, or the Swiss guards at Coblentz, in humane and compassionate, the other just, in its beneficial influences and operations to that army while in actual invasion, he was though strict and rigid justice. It would be diffused through the community. Other guilty of treason, Traditionis Reipublica reus. have been humane and compassionate, it loose among his brother kings, and left him always out vote or control, and the others be-office.' at liberty to dwell in France, Germany, or come subservient and over-ruled cyphers. to this only good purpose, of accelerating the of the nobility laid down their honours, and emancipation of nations, the humiliation of kings, and the downfall of kingship, throughout Europe.

after a discussion in an assembly of 722 voters present, besides others who voted variously, 319 voted for imprisonment and hanishment, and 366 for death; and of the other 34, all but two for death with delay. Finally, would a minister, may a monarch, have had quiescence. The third estate, resolved of 748 members, besides those who were ab- to encounter. Sixty thousand nobles, pos- against insignificance, immediately insisted on sent, and those who did not vote, 310 voted sessed of all the connexions of the feudal equality. An altercation arose, which Neck-for delaying execution, and 380 against despectation. The sentence was executed, and was fed by them: those of the military promight acquiesee in some modifications, very the king was decapitated January 21, 1793.

did light. It is a great thing to see through ileged persons all leagued to support their to amicable agreement in the object of their an enterprize, and to anticipate consequences. The truth is, that Louis was of lenient principles in government, and was disposed to qual indeed as to income, but all uniting in the nation collectively. But this he could yield to his subjects a rational and less des- one common system, forming but one whole :" not effect. And as the two superior orders potic government than that of his predecessors, and to come into a plan and measures which would give satisfaction to his subjects. the revenue, with their army of fifty thou-Whether this was owing to his contemplation sand men"-" finally all those belonging to the body of the nation, came to an almost of the abstract principles of government, so the long robe, those parliaments, rivals of unanimous resolution, to erect themselves into liberally discussed in the present age, to his kings:"—" the inferior courts, which were in the national council, and to declare themview of the comparatively happy government subordination to the parliaments; and that of England in his vicinity, or to the principles of the American revolution, or to all er, levied a tax upon the kingdom which Thus France in one day lost the states genethese collectively, so it was, that he wished imagination is afraid to calculate. This for- ral, and the third estate became the "nationto be an Antoniaus, and to govern with lenity midable mass of men was in the possession al assembly." Immediately the chamber of and wisdom.—There was a time when Louis of all France: they held her by a thousand the clergy, by a majority of one hundred and XVI. and the emperor really had these becchains; they formed, in a body, what was forty-nine voices against one hundred and neficent ideas, and were endeavouring to car-termed la haute nation, all the rest was the twenty-six determined to join the assembly ry them into execution in the happy ameliora- people. These are the persons whom we as equals, and a union of the orders seemed tion of their respective governments. The lave since seen uniting their voices and their difficulty of enforcing the registering of roy-clamours against the national assembly; he-but assembled troops. "On the 20th of al edicts in the parliaments of France, and cause with a resolution unexampled, it hath June three days after the national assembly converting these, like the ancient imperato-suppressed all the abuses on which they de- had been constituted, the members of the rial edicts, into laws, usurping upon and su-pended for their existence."* perseding the ancient jus civile, and giving efficacy to laws dictated by the will of the prince, appeared to him so arbitrary, as to induce him to adopt a method in which the law tion. This whole host of aristocratic and should in fact be founded in deliberate wis- crown connexions, wished no such thing, but dom and consultation of the minds of the if it must be convoked they "were desirous tired to Switzerland. He foresaw the sanpublic, and that in effect the public should of states general similar to those which had guinary measure resolved on at court in have an efficacious share in the general polity. sat in 1614." This by the advice of patriots he thought might be accomplished by convoking the old tion of an enlightened and celebrated nation assembly of notables, or more conspicuous and influential personages of the third estate mons, newly cofranchised in the reign of of the commons, as well as of the nobility Philip le Bed, and at the attempt to restrict and to disperse the national assembly. This and dignified clergy. Neckar persuaded him them in 1788 to forms established for the that with respect to finance, taxes, revenues, clowns and demi-slaves of 1302." and the principal general laws and rules of administration, this would give satisfaction; cers, who had assisted at the revolution of though herein he misjudged. Thereupon the the United States, had brought home with king assembled the notables, and constituted them an indelible remembrance of the charms abolished the feudal tenures, and the whole a national council of the efficacy of three es- of equality and liberty, which they had betates, the king, the aristocrats, or nobles, and held in a nation of brothers. These men dignified clergy, and the tiers etat, or third who were all nobles, had learned to judge of estate of the commons. Immediately they were disposed, instead of an amicable con-

misstep of an embarrassed, and otherwise selves into true balancing bodies, the nobility, clement and just king, to have settled upon him a pension of £50,000 a year, turned him three chambers, the nobles and clergy would either princes or nobles, or persons in high

Before I proceed, I will collect and throw

"sixty thousand persons leading a monastic life:"-the farmers general, all the agents of

sive, like those of which history made men-

" But the third estate, that immense por-

"A considerable number of military offi-

they had honoured for ages, and in pity to the stitution, in the first instance, to throw them-the vanity of such a title, when compared

The council decreed "that the deputies of any other part of Europe; and risk his stir- Here the separation of the nobles and plebe- the states general should amount to at least, riog up princes, who could have done no ians began. Both divisions contained ecclethe number of one thousand:—and that the more with their united strength or impotence, siastics and civilians; most of the dignified number of the third estate, should be equal than they have done, and that most directly, ecclesiastics took side with the nobility; some to that of the two other orders taken together. These decisions formed the basis of the convocations." "The coalition of the two first orders with the court was well known." It together several disconnected extracts from was the determination of these, at the first After the almost ananimous vote of "guil- the history of the French revolution by Ra- meeting of the states general, that they should ty," the question of punishment arose; and baut, and its continuation which, under differ sit and act in three different chambers, and rent aspects and applications may cast light that the crown, with the two superior chamon the several events in the great political bers of the nobility and clergy, should conphenomenon of France at the present day. "In fact, what an astonishing combination tate to a cypher or tame and submissive acfession, all noble, or what is still worse, pre- immaterial to him, provided in some manner We ought to view things in a just and can-tending to nobility: a hundred thousand privi- or other their united wisdom could bring them persisted in their superiority, the commons or third estate, deeming themselves the true and real representatives of the people, and so of subordination to the parliaments; and that selves, instead of states general "the nationswarm of practitioners, who all taken togeth- al assembly." This was done by June 1789. clergy were to join it." Court measures The people, the nation, demanded states were taken to prevent and elude this: and general, which should not be vain and illu- on the twelfth of July about three weeks after the formation of the assembly, Neckar, not sufficiently coming into the idea of the two superior orders, was dismissed and rewhich he would not be concerned. The as-semblage of the military force at Versailles by the king, alarmed Versailles, the national assembly, and Paris. It was intended to despatch a number of the patriots to the Bastile, was the court politics. Sixty thousand Parisians destroyed the Bastile, and the national assembly was in safety. The assembly framed the constitution, made the distribution of the realm into eighty-three communities, was ratified by the king's acceptance on the 4th of August.

> The policy of one or three orders was discussed.-Whether the national assembly should consist of two orders or one, was the

[&]quot; Rabaut's Hist. Revol. p. 43. Amer. Edit.

selves." "The majority of the deputies of to the assembly, "Let all who hold in equal the commons could see nothing in the upper detestation, a republic and two chambers, and chamber but a constitutional refuge for aris- who wish to maintain the constitution as it is, tocracy, and the preservation of the feudal system." A majority of the clergy, and forty-seven of the nobility had joined the com-were as yet equally unanimous: 1. In havmons in undivided unity and equality. "Neither did any sufficiently comprehend the system of a senate for life, composed of persons order only, with a limited monarch at its head. taken from every class of citizens;—nor of a All were reconciled; and had the king consenate appointed for a stated time, and select-tinued faithful to this experiment of the pubed from the whole assembly." In fine, the lic mind, all had been well. This was the assembly decreed, by a majority of nine hun-beginning or 7th of July, 1792. Yet in the dred and eleven voices against eighty nine, that there should be no more than one chamber. It decreed moreover that the legislative body should be renewed every two years by duplicity of the king, and that he was in fact

nation, subject however, to the charge of pro-people in the bold declaration of Petion, viding in a proper manner for the expenses mayor of Paris, on the 3d of August, at the bar of public worship, for the maintenance of ministers, and for the relief of the poor. It was ordered that no parish minister should lowed and supported by such numerous pehave less than twelve hundred livres a year, titions from every part of the nation, as to exclusive of the house and gardens annexed leave it without a doubt that the body of the to that parsonage. This celebrated decree nation were heartily weaned from not only passed on the 2d of November 1789." "The Louis XVI. but the very idea of a king, and an intention to destroy religion."-"The as-should be a national assembly of one order sembly disconcerted this conspiracy, by mak-only, whose head should be temporary presiing constant protestation of its union with the dents, but without a king and without a noregard to spiritual concerns, and of its fidelity has continued so to this day. to the religion of our fore-fathers." "The assembly at length decreed that its attachately passed. "The national assembly, conment to the catholic religion of Rome could sidering that the want of confidence in the not be called in question, at a time when that executive power, is the cause of all our evils, worship was placed by the assembly at the and that this want of confidence has called head of various articles of public expense, forth from all parts of the kingdom, a wish and that the majesty of religion, and the pro- that the authority entrusted by the constitution found respect due to it, did not allow of its to Louis should he revoked, and that the only becoming a subject of debate, since the assembly had no power over consciences."
"It had suspended the monastic vows, it finished with suppressing them, and fixed the mode of treatment to be observed with respect to those who had belonged to any of the religious communities," by providing pensions for life. Thus far from St. Etienne.

Revolution. V. 2. P. 111.

"The extreme point on which the two proclaimed the convocation of "a national parties differed, was that of pure democracy convention, formed of representatives, invest-

question. "The equilibrium of three powers, on the one part, and the institution of an upwhich balance one another, and prevent the per chamber, similar to the British house of encroachment of any one upon the rest, be-peers, on the other. Such an institution, as a came the object of admiration. But those remnant of aristocracy, was regarded by the who favoured the idea of an undivided assem- French, with almost as much abhorrence as bly, considered the equilibrium in the constitution of England, no otherwise than as a ment of it was considered as the great object treaty of peace between three existing pow-ers. "The dignified clergy were inclined to annihilation of liberty. The middle party two chambers"-"A large party of the no- was still numerous; and it was judged that bles was likewise for the two chambers: but there were many who might secretly incline the question concerning the peerage presented either to the court or the republicans, who itself, and they became divided; for the pro- would be well disposed to sacrifice somevincial nobility understood that the whole or- thing of their prejudices to their preservation der should freely appoint its representatives, of peace and order." In this state of minds in while the nobles of the court, were secretly the national assembly, Lamourette, the patriindulging the notion, that the dignity of the otic bishop of Lyons, by an instantaneous impeerage ought to be appropriated to them-pulse and without concert, suddenly proposed elections." Thus much for the constitution. in concert with the combined sovereigns, Among other regulations, was that res- whose object was nothing less than the restopecting the secularizing of the ecclesiastical ration of the king and former government, estates. It was "decreed that the ecclesiastical estates were all at the disposal of the Fayette. And burst forth from the national ecclesiastics accused the national assembly of that the general voice was that their policy pope, as head of the christian church, with bility. This was the mind of France, and

means of reconciling what they owe to the safety of the people, with their own oath, of not increasing their own power, are to submit to the sovereign will of the nation, decree (among other things) "1. The people are invited to form a national convention. 2. The executive power is provisionally suspended.' And August 13, "The national assembly declares, that the king is suspended; and that Extracts from the Continuation of the Hist. both himself and family remain as hostages. And on the same day the national assembly

ed by them (the people) with unlimited powers." On the 21st of September, 1792, the national assembly dissolved, and the same day the national convention assembled from the 83 communities into which France was divided, convened, the monarchy ceased, and the republic commenced. This from the cen-

Returning and assuming the subject we were upon before we inserted these extracts; the first political convocation of the states general consisted of 1200 members. The nobility 300, the clergy 300, the tiers etat 600. It was the immediate and original intention of the two first, that the states general should sit and act in three separate chambers, and that the concurrence of two should be the act of the whole, subjected however to the veto of the monarch. It was from the beginning the intention and resolution of the last and most numerous, that all should sit, deliberate and act together as pares or equals; and that the majority of votes in this coalesced body, should be the public act. This reduction of the nobility and dignified and ennobled clergy to an equality with the commons, was displeasing.-And an altercation immediately arose on the question whether they should sit in three or perhaps two chambers, or be consolidated into one coequal and fraternal body? At length above half the ecclesiastics, and a part of the nobles renounced their claims of superiority, came over and joined the third estate as coequals. And thus the national assembly was formed.

The contest had arisen, which Neckar could not compose, though he wished to have avoided it it; and the commons were determined to proceed by themselves, and not to be lost in balancing commixtures. The nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, were divided. The king had not foreseen this state of things. It was now too late. There was no alternative between a very new and potent influence in government, and breaking up of the commons, now already joined by Fayette and a number of the nobles and hishops, and other ecclesiastics, who with respect to the national council openly declared for an equality of nobles and commons; an equality as to eligibility into the national council, was the only equality ever aimed at by France. The Bastile was destined to have decided and determined this alternative. For this purpose the king, whose otherwise benevolent and well intentioned heart, now repented him to have convoked the states general, now terminating in a national assembly, acceded to a eruel idea: and as he was not prepared for these lengths, he adopted the idea of a dissolution of the assembly by force, and of resuming the old government; doubtless determining still to administer it with the utmest lenity and justice. This mistake led the king secretly to call around him and collect the Swiss guards and a military force at Versailles, and to accede to the severe discipline of the Bastile for a number of the patriots in the assembly, sufficient to break up and disperse it. Rather than go to the Bastile, to which they perceived they were destined, the patriot leaders in the assembly, with the vociferous concurrence of the citizens and populace of Paris, resolved upon seizing the person of the king. The people flew to arms, and led by the illustrious and hitherto patriotic Fayette,

they, under his leading, seized the king, bly still with a king; among those for an inbrought him to Paris, and immured him and divisible republic, some were for a balance of the royal family in the Thuilleries. The na-nobles, either hereditary or elective, perhaps tional assembly formed a constitution, which composed of both, between the king and third was established. It was presented to the king, estate. These various ideas seem to have and his consent deforced or gained, hence-been among those which agitated and divided forth to rule the realm by a king, with still excellent patriots, as well those who were very great powers, though much abridged, not for a king, as those who were for one. and an elective national assembly of one or- These are said to have been among the ideas der only, in which nobles and commons re- of Condorcet, Autun, Boveau, and other genduced to equality, should sit in the legislature uine patriots, as concurring in a republic withas pares or equals, and the whole realm in fa- out monarchy, though differing on the form ture, as one great republic, be governed by of a republic. In this diversity of views, laws proceeding from this assembly. This some must give way to that any one polity was perfectly the idea and idol of the Mar- which should in fact prevail and gain the asquis de la Fayette. But the body of the no-cendency. No wonder Fayette and other blesse and the royal princes and connexions, excellent patriots should take mistaken and endeavoured to counteract and break up this involving steps. To save the king, he ensystem, and prevent its taking effect; and im-tered deeply into the secret councils of the on the parliamentary struggle of 1641. mediately applied to the emperor and sur- king and the royal family, and so far acted in rounding kings to bring on a combined army, concert with them, as to become obnoxious tional assemblies of the states generals so with a view of restoring the original governand and really dangerous to the prevailing countling ago as the beginning of the last century ment, and replacing the king on the throne sels of the existing assembly, tenacious of a and ruled without convoking them for one with his former authority, or perhaps with a republic one and indivisible. His attempts hundred and seventy years; with a growing national assembly of two houses, that of the to secure the king's second escape, with encroachment on the parliaments, to the total nobles and that of the tiers etat. England speeches and conduct offensive to the Jaco-abolition of liberty, and the establishment of would have rejoiced in this, because it so near-bin societies, which he at first set up, a sysly resembled their own constitution; and the tem of fraternities now diffused through the emperor would not have been averse to hav- realm, the great conservators of liberty, and ishments and the omnipotence of the Bastile; ing such an example set before Austria and assuming great liberties in announcing and until at length the endurance of the public Europe, for there was a time when he was dictating to a national assembly, very willing was exhausted, came to a crisis, and burst really friendly to the liberties of the people to be dictated and supported by them, brought forth even in the reign of an otherwise baand the rights of subjects. But the burying on a crisis dangerous to Fayette, who him- peficent king, and obliged him, as we have and overwhelming the nobility and aristocrats self escaped and was unfortunately taken, seen, to convoke an assembly of notables, for in an assembly of one order, they could not His ideas for monarchy, which I once learned the purpose of assenting to taxes and reveendure. And at all events the king deter- from his own lips in a personal though tran- nue laws, and some general regulations for mined upon the eversion and ruin of the Gal-sient acquaintance and conversation with the public good, and no more; and then to lic republic.

to get from confinement, while it was accom- elective, he could not proceed and go cal with voting taxes and wars no core, went upon plished, saw a prospect of its being accom- his compatriots, he must counteract them; other matters than the king or his ministry plished by the combined army, attempted to and until he could get over his mistaken idea intended. The king saw his error, and medescape and abdicate; but was taken, and in about a king, he must become totally useless effect pardoned and restored, although by the and unfit to take a part in measures which He had shown the people or nation how to constitution, this attempt to escape was a for- must unavoidably be prosecuted by a body assemble by representation.—These represenfeiture of his crown. Being restored to his weaned from kings. Fayette was lost to the tatives resolving not to be consigned to the former state, here he might have rested. But cause of liberty, which he adored, and died Bastile intended for them, commenced the a powerful army flattering and cherishing his a martyr to the whim of a king.

hopes of ultimate success, he suffered himself

The state of the king's mind was such, and have terminated in a republic. to be afterwards guilty of betraying the cause such his active secret views and coincidences by the overt acts of concerting with the with the enemies of the republic, that he bekings and foreign cabinets, and the cidevant came unfit for the monarchy, they would have princes, and by paying a corps in the army all acquiesced in, could the nation have deof actual invasion. This being detected, pended upon the king's sincerity. But all but it was recent and in full view of the house what could save him? This was his error, confidence in him was lost. This gave birth of Stuart. James I. felt it, and discovered and it was fatal to a king who wished to rule to thoughts and devices how he should be with elemency and justice, but whose abilities, disposed of, and laid aside, as he was now

tion alienated from the king, and ripcuing for did not want to take the king's life, could a government without a king, found their they have avoided the danger of his intriguing views of liberty were transcended: and fixed with the combined powers without it. But in the impossibility of a polity without a king, this they thought could not be done. And now turned about, and in effect united with as there was not clearly a provision in the conthe ci-devant princes and foreign kings in the stitution, except in the case of an abdicated project of supporting a king at all events; king, they resolved to call a national conventuation with very different views. The aristotion to decide the question of the king, percrats were for recovering the old government; feet the constitution, and take the government Fayette and the patriots for keeping indeed upon them. To this convention as soon as olent and bloody revolution. the king, and believing they could modify the formed the national assembly surrendered the cent examples of France and Spain, in their polity, and accomplish the acquiescence of the whole, and dissolved themselves. The con-kings getting rid of the control of national nation in a royal republic of one order, with vention, vested with all the authority twenty councils, made an indelible impression on the a king at its head; while others were for a million of people can give, have adjudged minds of the Smarts, who meditated and astripartite division of the realm into three re- the king, and the justice of their sentence pired after nothing less for England; and

him, were so fixed, that, although as fixed be dissolved. But the assembly of notables. In this the king concurred in heart, wished for a republic of one order and equality, and

discernment and wisdom, were unequal to so useless and dangerous. The nation were by critical and momentous a situation. Fayette and other patriots, seeing the na- only premeditated but overt treason. They

who had voluntarily sacrificed his nobility, publics, confederated under a national assemilis now committed to posterity and to the

It may assist us towards conceiving aright, and with fairness and candour upon great political transactions and events, to contemplate similar events in different states, and the operation of human nature under similar circumstances. Such are the fellow feelings, such the fraternal sympathy of republics in distress and in the conflict for liberty, and such the instruction and consolation, which arise in contemplating the measures which pressing necessity dictates, that these reflections on the French revolution seem not inapposite to the case of the judges. And it may still furnish light, to look a little further back upon the origin and progress of regal despotism in France, as that has had its operation on the crown of England, and brought

The kings of France discontinued the narule by royal edicts, registered in the parliaments by raval violence, and enforced by baniks that of the long parliament instead of itated their dissolution. But it was too late. unconstitutional, but justifiable exertions which

The kings of France had discontinued the national assemblies from 1614. It is proper to remark this date or epoch. This example had not been set before the house of Tudor: his longing after the same boon. Charles I. emulating and avidious of the absolute power and despotism of the house of Bourbon, first adventured in imitation of France, and but fifteen years after the house of Bourbon had set the example, to discontinue parliaments, and had the temerity to adventure to rule without them for twelve years: and could be have disolved and broken up the newly convoked parliament of 1641, England would have lost the use of parliaments forever, as France had lost the assemblies, and Spain the use of the cortes; nuless resumed and wrested out of royal hands at the expense of a vi-The then re-

they never believed but that they should | dages comprehensively, and in this variety of | shine with glory in the public estimation ever finally accomplish it, and establish an uncontrolled despotism. They were mistaken. The convening the parliament of 1641, as of the national assembly of 1789, brought on disquisitions and convulsions, which involved the death of kings indeed, while the recovery of long lost liberty will justify the vigorous public exertions in both cases. And though many tumults and cruel events may arise in the cause of a just revolution, which would be unjustifiable, and which no friend to order, no judicious and upright civilian would justify but reprobate, in an ordinary and righteous course of government: yet the cause itself, and every thing essentially subservient to it, is justifiable on the highest principles of public right. The cause is good, though it should sometimes be improperly carried on, and even though it should be unsuccessful and defeated. I think this collation of the houses of Stuart and Bourbon in point to justify resistance to the Stuarts.

Posterity must judge, or rather we may now judge ourselves, whether the negociation between the parliament and Charles I. in 1647 and pacification, was then safe for liberty ? Whether such being the delusory heart of Charles, that like his son, he would have duped the nation, and necessitated the resuming a future struggle for the recovery of their rights? and in a word, whether it would not have undoubtedly taken effect, if it had not been for the patriotic and ever faithful army: and so have defeated the end, the justifiable end, for which the parliament had taken up arms? No man now doubts it.

Such was the change in the minds of the patriots themselves in parliament, who herein concided with the cavaliers and royalists, all the while in parliament, that even Cromwell and Ireton despaired and gave up the cause as gone, and would in 1648 have acceded to terms of peace. Happy was it that at this critical time, Ireton discovered in the saddle the king's letter, which informed their certain destiny, and that of their most courageous and active compatriots. This with the sense of the ever faithful army turned the tables, and produced the resolute, the violent and daring, the justifiable resolution of the army to purge the house, and by the residuary parliament to institute a high court of justice, and bring the king to a trial. Liberty and the cause were overthrown and gone, unless some efficacions and extraordinary measures were adopted by enterprizing and courageous patriots. Effectual measures then ought in that case to be taken, constitutional and regular if possible, otherwise if this was impossible as it was, then irregular but at all events effectual ones became justifiable and so ultimately regular. Such measures were adopted. And the reasons of them will justify and vindicate the purgation of parliament by violence; the institution of the high court of justice by three hundred members left, though deserted by the lords; and the judges in the trial and just condemnation of the king. "There is but one step between pardoning a tyrant, and pardoning tyranny."* Charles was a tyrant in heart, Louis XVI. was not.

In contemplating this subject and its appen-

views, in the lights of the history of nations, and on the great principles of public right, it of the twenty years period from 1640 to 1660, appears that, in great revolutions and national exertions for the rescue and recovery of and America, they are beheld with spreading unquestionable and acknowledged but lost estimation, and will in future be contemplated rights, criminal tribunals must be instituted in with justice and veneration by all nations, a different mode from that of their ordinary appointment: and that there being no alternative between their justification and the surrendry of liberty, they become legal, just and right: that Charles I. for renouncing and ruling without parliament for twelve years, for levying taxes without the eonsent of the people, and for other violations of the public laws of the realm, and for levying a war against a legal and regular parliament, forfeited not only his crown but his life: that if a king of England was now to do what he did, the nation would not doubt but that he merited death, and would certainly originate a revolutionary tribunal and inflict it; and that if neither lords and commons conjunctly, nor either separately would dare to do it, there must be some other manner practical and legal; in which case it would rest with the people to do it; and that almost any manner of instituting it, with the general voice of the community, would render it legal and authoritative. It is idle, in this age of light, to combat and clude the legality of such a tribunal by arguments, whose force will conclude in nothing short of an absolute and certain eversion, prostration and surrendry of liberty. In a review of the whole, this is the summary result.

1. That the judiciary tribunals in different policies, and in the same policy in different ages, have been very differently instituted, while yet any or all of them must be deemed legal and authoritative.

2. That in great revolutions, and national rescues of partial and entire liberty, these tribunals, may be and have been as differently instituted, and yet become vested and clothed with just, legal and plenary authority: and that the high court of 1649 was such a legal tribunal. And

3d. That their sentence was righteous and just. All which will inure to the justification of the judges.

They achieved a great and important work, and it was well done. Four years after this legal expulsion of tyranny, a national convention furnished the nation with Oliver's excellent polity, which subsisted till his death in 1658. But such was the fatal and mistaken versatility of the nation, that they availed not themselves of this noble foundation, so happily laid, on principles which Englishmen will ever revere and in every exigence recur to, and ultimately establish. And with the downfall and overthrow of this beautiful polity, they brought down upon those illustrious heroes, who had enterprized the glorious though unfinished work, and overwhelmed them with a load of infamy and reproach which a century and half has not been sufficient to remove. Thus the volcano, deluge and eruptions of Vesuvius buried in ruins the beautiful Herculaneum: which after having been lost for seventeen ages, is now emerging into light and admiration. So likewise the first christian martyrs were covered with infamy and

since. The republican martyrs and heroes and America, they are beheld with spreading who in the vindications of their liberties, will find themselves necessitated to have recourse to the same great, eternal principles of public right, which actuated these great patriots. Amnng these will be considered the enlightened upright and intrepid judges of Charles I; who will hereafter go down to posterity with increasing renown, among the Jepthas, the Baracks, the Gideons, and the Washingtons, and others raised up by providence for great and momentous occasions: whose memories, with those of all the other successful and unsuccessful, but intrepid and patriotic defenders of real liberty, will be selected in history, and contemplated with equal, impartial and merited justice: and whose names, and achievments, and sufferings will be transmitted with honour, renown and glory, through all the ages of liberty and of man.

CHAP, VI.

MEMOIRS OF THEOPHILUS WHALE.

THERE was a very singular man, who lived and died at Narraganset, whose history arrested my attention, when I first settled at Newport, 1755; and upon whom I have spent much pains in making inquiries, because he is universally considered there as one of the regicides, and I always and uniformly disbelieved it. I was told much about him by Jeremiah Niles, Esq. the honourable Simon Peas, of Newport, the reverend Mr. Joseph Torry, minister of South Kingston, and the honourable Francis Willet, on whose farm Whale lived, and who knew him well, When detained from time to time, especially about 1758 and 1760, at Narraganset ferry, I used often to talk with a Mr. Smith of that vicinity, and other aged persons, who knew Whale, and believed him to have been one of the judges. They all said he came there from Virginia, at the beginning of the Petaquamscot settlement, which was soon after Philips' War, 1657, and the great swamp fight. But as my best information came from Colonel Willet, I will give some account of this gentlemen.

Colonel Francis Willet, of North Kingston, Rhode Island, died and was buried in the family burying place on his own estate, one mile north of Narraganset ferry, February 6, 1776, aged 83. He was descended from Thomas Willet, the first mayor of New York, who died at Barrington, Rhode Island, 1674, aged 64. He came a young merchant to Plymouth, 1629, was conversant in the fur and Indian trade of the whole coast from Kennebee to Hudson's river, became very opulent, and settled on a plantation at Swanzey, now Barrington, where remains his grave six miles below Providence. Being an intelligent and respectable person he went as a counsellor on board Col. Nicols' ethnical reproach, until the fourth century he went as a counsellor on board Col. Nicols' gave their merits opportunity to relieve and fleet, at the reduction of Manhados 1664;

^{*} Polit. stat. Europ. 1792, p. 961.

conquered city. He owned houses in New questioned upon it, his answers were so ob-York and Albany. The Dutch resuming the government. He afterwards returned to his acquaintance in that belief; which I found settlement and died at Barrington.

scription.

(Head stone) " 1674 Here lyeth the body of the worthy THOMAS WILLET, Esq. Who died Aug. the 4th, in the 64th year of his age, Anno.

(Foot Stone)

Who was the FIRST MAYOR of New York : And twice did sustain that place."

He had three sons, Hezekiah, James and Andrew, by his wife Mary the daughter of John Brown, Esq. Hezekiah was killed by there, he secretly fled and buried himself in the Indians 1675. James lived on the pater-Narraganset woods, and lived a recluse life nal estate. Andrew was first a merchant in to the end, and that this Theophilus Whale Boston till 1680: he then removed and settled on Boston Neck at Narraganset ferry and died there 1712, Æ. 56, leaving two sons Francis and Thomas, and a daughter. Thomas died a bachelor and left the whole family estate to the possession of Col. Francis Willet, who married and died without issue. This is the gentleman with whom I was intimately acquainted. He was educated a merchant, but did not pursue commerce. He man: and his father used to send him, when had a good genius and was a man of much reading and information. And settling himself on his paternal estate, being very opulent he lived the life of a private gentleman; he was hospitable and generous, of excellent moral, and a very estimable and highly respected character. The fine tract of Boston Neek was principally owned by the Seyr Is and other gentlemen in Boston. This with his father's former residence in such apparently heart-felt cordiality and re-Boston, and transacting business for these spect. He used to wonder at it, and could Boston landholders and for Harvard College not account for it. They kept shut up in a brought him into an acquaintance with the room by themselves, and there seemed to be first characters at Boston, who often visited an air of secreey about the matter. Their him through life, and gave him great public interviews were in the evening only, and coninformation. Once a year these gentlemen tinned late in the night. Just before they visited their estates and at his father's house; broke up, he used to observe that one of the and after his father's death 1712, the manage-ment and superintendance of these estates hand, and they walked out into the lot, and and of the college estate, together with the returning, another took him out, and so all extensive Willet family acquaintance fell un- the others singly and by themselves. He did to Col. Francis Willet, whose aunts had mar- not know for what reason this was done. ried into minister's families, Wilson in Mas-sachusetts, and Hooker in Connecticut. The Willet farm was a tract extending from Nar-nel told me that he did not doubt but that raganset ferry northward perhaps one mile they all gave him money in this private and and an half in length, on the Bay, and about secret manner. He frequently mentioned one mile or more east and west from the Bay, the names of the gentlemen, and they were across to the oblong pond called Petaquam-some of the first characters in Boston, about scot, and was the original seat of the great the beginning of this century. The secretary Sachem, Miantimony. At the north end of was one, and Judge Sewall another. Whale of this pond and on the Willet farm, was set-never let Colonel Willet know his true histotled Theophilus Whalley, or Theophilus ry; but comparing this singular treatment Whale, who came there from Virginia, about with Whale's manner of life, he was con-1679, or 1680. He affected to live in pover- vinced, he said, that he was a secreted regity and obscurity and retirement: and built eide. himself a little under-ground hut in a high bank, or side hill, at the north end or head of the pond, and subsisted by fishing and wri-came up the bay and anchored before his ting for the Petequamscot settlers .- He was father's door. The name of the captain was soon found to be a man of sense and abili- Whale, and he was a kinsman of Mr. Whale, ties; and it was a matter of wonder, that he who lived but one mile off, and made him a refused to live otherwise than in a mean and visit, when they recognized one another with a daughter of Mr. Whale. She survived to obscure manner. From his name he was the affection of kindred. After an agreeable 1793. I always intended to have seen her,

score and ambiguous, that they confirmed his fixed and universal at Narraganset in 1755, On the stones at his grave there is this in- and which remains still so there and at Rhode Island to this day; and among the rest, indubitable in the mind of the sensible and intelligent Colonel Willet. This made me curious to inquire the history of this singular good old man, as the colonel used to call him, and of whom he talked with great pleasure, and seemed as if he could never say enough of hior. He told me many aneedotes. And when I used to say that Whalley died at Hadley, he always denied it, saying that one indeed of the judges died at Hadley, but the other went off to the westward, secreted himself awhile at Virginia, but being in danger was the man, notwithstanding the change of the christian name, which the colonel supposed he did designedly. In confirmation of this opinion, he told me many anecdotes. When he was a boy, he said, several Boston gentlemen used once a year to make an excursion and visit at his father's house. As soon as they came they always enquired eagerly after the welfare of the good old a boy, to call him to come and spend the evening at his house. As soon as Mr. Whale came in the gentlemen embraced him with great ardour and affection, and expressed great joy at seeing him, and treated him with great friendship and respect. They spent the evening together with the most endearing familiarity, so that the colonel said, he never saw any gentlemen treat one another with

Colonel Willet told me that, in Queen Anne's war, he remembered a ship of war

and was by him appointed mayor of the new early suspected to be the regicide; and being interview, the captain invited Mr. Whale to dine with him on board ship; he accepted the invitation, and promised to come. But upon considering further of it, he did not adventure on board, rendering as a reason, that this was truly his cousin, yet he did not know but possibly there might be some snare laid for him to take him. Colonel Willet was personally acquainted with this fact, and indeed it was known to all the inhabitants around, who tell of it to this day. This confirmed them all that this was Whalley the

Many other anecdotes he has told me, and that he wrote Whale's will; that he had lived to a great age, and that he died 104 years old; that a little before his death he removed to his daughter's, about ten miles off, where

he died and was buried.

ley, was to him a paradox.

Governor Hutchinson's history was first printed 1763, and Colonel Willet soon read it. Dining with him soon after, he said to me at table, "Tell Governor Hutchinson, I know more about Whalley than he does-I personally knew him, and was intimately acquainted with him-he lived and died at Narraganset, and not at Hadley." As I had a correspondence with the governor, who had sent me his book; I wrote and informed him what his friend Willet said. The next year the governor was on a visit to Newport, and brought with him a volume of Goffe's original journal and an original letter, and showed me and convinced me what I did not doubt before, that Whalley lived and died at Hadley. This he also showed to Colonel Willet, who became convinced that Theophilus Whale was not Edward Whalley; but never to his death gave up the belief that Whale was one of Charles's judges, although why he should upon charging his name assume that of so obnoxious a person as Whal-

I have often conversed with him upon it. And we went into the supposition that Whale was really Goffe, whom general tradition spoke of as leaving Hadley and going off westward toward Virginia, and so from thence might abdicate into Rhode Island. But the name was an insuperable difficulty. I conversed with several of the descendants of Whale at different times for a dozen years after, but could get no satisfactory lights. Hutchinson left with me for half a year an original letter of Goffe to his wife, that I might compare the hand writing with some of Mr. Whale's among the people of Narraganset, where Colonel Willet told me it might easily be found, and engaged to procure me one of his deeds. He did not do this till Goffe's letter was sent for and I returned it. Since that I have made sundry fruitless attempts to see some of his writing with his name to it: and so long ago as 1766, one of the family brought me a piece which he said was his grandfather's writing, but there was nothing which proved it, and I doubted it. I did not give up the inquiry till 1785. The descendants of all the families springing from Theophilus Whale universally believe their ancestor was one of the regicides, but concur in it that he never revealed it to his family or any one else. Colonel Willet used to tell me of a Mrs. Spencer, about 90 years old,

who sent me word, she did not doubt her father was one of the judges, but that he never revealed himself to his family.

At length turning out of my way on a journey, I visited, in 1783, Samuel Hopkins, Esq. aged 81, of West Greenwich, a grandson of Whale, and living on his grandfather's farm. He was a man of good sense and accurate information, had been in civil improvement, a member of assembly and judge of the court.-He freely and readily communicated all he knew .- From his mouth I wrote down the following information:

Mr. Theophilus Whale, and Elizabeth his wife, came from Virginia and settled in Kingston in Narraganset. He married his wife in Virginia; her name was Elizabeth Mills.

Their children were,

Joane Whale-ob. aged 60 or 70. Anna Whale-ob. single, no issue.

Theodosia Whale, married Robert Spencer, ob. before 1741.

Elizabeth Whale, married Charles Hazelton. ob.

Martha Whale, married Joseph Hopkins, father of Judge Hopkins, and then married Robert Spencer, ob. 1773, aged 93-so born 1680, and born in Narraganset, as the judge

Lydia Whale, married John Sweet, ob. Samuel Whale, married 1st Hopkins, 2d

Harrington.

Judge Hopkins, son of Martha Whale, was born in Kingston, January 1705, and is now aged 81, (1785) and remembers his grandfather Whale, who died aged 103, the year he could not ascertain, but it was when the judge was a young man grown, of age 16 or 18.-He said his grandfather talked Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as he well remembers often to have heard him; that he had a Greek hible, which he constantly used, and which has been in Judge Hopkins's keeping almost ever since, but is now lost, or he knows not what is become of it. He had a great desire to teach his grandson, Samuel Hopkins, Latin and Greek when a boy, and used to try to persuade him to learn it, and did begin to instruct him in it; and that he wrote much in the Petaquamscot purchase; and also that he was a large, tall man, six feet high when 100 years old, and then walked upright; not fat, but thin and lathy;—an officer, a captain in the Indian wars in Virginia, and had been an officer in the parliamentary army in England.

Judge Hopkins remembers his grandmother Whale, a smart tight little woman, a mighty doctress, as he said. She died aged perhaps 60 or 70, and perhaps seven or ten years hefore Mr. Whale, and was buried in Kingston not far from the church. After his wife's death, Mr. Theophilus Whale removed up to West Greenwich to his daughter Spencer and died there, and was buried in Judge Hopkins's lot, where he showed me his grave, but cannot remember the year of his death, though he well remembers his attending his funeral and saw him deposited in his grave; he was buried with great respect, and the judge told me with military honours. His grave lies in West Greenwich, about six and lived and died at South Kingston, on a miles nearly due southwest from East Green- farm which his father Hopkins exchanged for wich courthouse and Narraganset Bay, one Samuel's farm in Greenwich; upon which had five sons and two daughters.

but never did. I got her son-in-law, Othniel mile west from East Greenwich line, and a his father removed and settled on the Whale or monument.

> The judge told me his chief residence was at the head of Petaquamscot pond, at the and then Harrington. By the first or Hop-north-west corner of Col. Willet's farm, and kins venter, he had children, sons, for he said that there he brought up his children. For his writing for the north Petaquamseot purchase, the proprietors gave him a tract of land, the farm on which the judge now lives, of 120 acres, lying in West Greenwich, though then a part of East Greenwich.—He showed me the original deed, dated 1709, under the hands and seals of perhaps fifteen or twenty proprietors; endorsed with an assignment dated February 20, 1711, to his son Samuel Whale, by Theophilus Whale, in his with, but their family information is only genown hand writing, in which he signed his eral and not accurate; although they all bename Theophilus Whale, in good free writing lieve their ancestor was one of Charles's but his wife signed by her mark. It was dorsed with another assignment under z, on | cu ately investigated the matter. the same need, by exchange from Samuel Whale to Joshua Hopkins, the judge's father; this was the first certain writing of Theophi- of the judge, and mother of the wife of Othlus Whale which I had ever seen, I viewed niel Gorton, Esq. with whom she died. it with close attention, to see if I could recognize the writing of Goffe's letters shown me by Governor Hutchinson near twenty years the eldest daughter of old Theophilus never before, but I could not recollect a similitude. This was a sharp running hand; Goffe's according to my memory, was more of a blunt round hand.

> The judge told me that old Mr. Whale never would tell his true history. The most Hopkins did not know his birth, but if then he talked about as to himself was, that he living in 1785, he judged he would be aged was of good descent and education in Eng- 95, or certainly 12 or 15 years older than land, and I think of university education; that Judge Hopkins was, and so his birth about in Virginia he was much in the Indian wars, 1690. Dector Torry, who was born October and an officer; that he there married a young 19, 1707, was well acquainted with Lawrence, wife when he was old, but no tradition that and judged him 15 years older than himself, he was ever married before in England or which would bring his birth 1692, which America; that he had some difficulty in Vir-shows Joane of the age of parturition, 1692, ginia about the dissenting way of worship, aged 15 or 20, implying her nativity as far but was permitted to come away, as Mr. back as 1670 or 1671, for Elizabeth, her sis-Hopkins expressed it, who also said he was a first day baptist. For the first years of his about 1672, showing that Theophilus Whale Petaguamscot pond-at length weaving, and or before. Though Judge Hopkins knew it in this he spent most of his life. After about not, yet Mr. Northrop, of North Kingston, last. The judge could not recover the year of his death, though his age, he said, was 103 one or two of the first children were born in

Judge Hopkins further told me that Samnel Whale, the only son of Theophilus, settled

Gorton, Esq. to inquire of her in her lifetime mile north of Exeter line. It has no stone farm in Greenwich, and Samuel settled in Kingston towards point Judith. He said that Samuel married two wives, first Hopkins,

Thomas Whale, Samuel Whale, By Hopkins venter.

Theophilus Whale,
James or Jeremy Whale,

By Harrington venter. John Whale,

And that from these all 'he Whales in Naraganset and Connecticut descended : and there is a number of families of this name, several of whom I have seen and conversed udges to this day, for none of them have ac-

Mr. Spencer married two sisters, first Theodosia Whale, and after her death he married but Samuel Whale signed by his mark. As her sister, widow Martha Hopkins, mother

There was indeed another Whale from Theophilus, but not from Samuel. Joane, was married: yet had two children, who went by the name of Whale, Lawrence Whale and Mary Whale. Lawrence lived many years in Narraganset, and afterwards went away towards Hudson's river. Judge living at Narraganset he followed fishing in was married in Virginia so long ago as 1670, thirty years his children settled off and left afterwards told me that Lawrence died before him alone. His wife used also to make long the war 1775, near Ticonderoga, and I think visits to her daughters, especially Spencer, was never married, so that no Whales proand leave the old man to shift for himself. ceeded from him; but all the New England He at length was to have a dozen acres of Whales descended from Samuel, of South land off the Northorp's farm, not far from the Kingston, the only son of Theophilus. Judge head of Petaquamscot, who were to build a Stephen Potter, of Coventry, was personally house for him and his wife, and he was to acquainted with Samuel Whale, and told me keep school for the Northorp family. But that he died about 1782, aged 77, so born his wife dying perhaps about 1715, he gave 1705. Yet I believe he was of age 1712, up the project of the house and school, and when he made the assignment of his farm, went to live with his daughter Spencer at and so was born 1691, the last of Theophi-Greenwich, where he died. His last years lus's children. As we can get no records or were spent in solitude and without labour; family writings, we are obliged to use these yet his body and mind were sound to the deductions and inferences from traditional

Upon my request, Ray Green, Esq. son of when he died. This is the substance of the Governor Green, of Warwick, sent me this judge's information. He said that Joane and information in a letter, dated September 30, 1785-" The grand daughter Nelly, by Elizabeth Hazelton, a communicative old maiden. informs me that Mr. Theophilus Whale, her grandfather, was derived of a very gentee.

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^{*} Miss Nelly Hazleton living 1793, says Samuei Whale

disaffected to royalty; which occasioned his quitting England and retiring to America; in a province of which, Virginia, he married Elizabeth Mills, and removed to Narraganset; having first had two children in Virginia, Joane and Elizabeth. The other children were born in Narraganset, except Martha, the place of whose nativity is uncertain. Elizabeth, who married a Hazleton, lived to the age of 79, and died in 1752. The old gentleman having lost his wife and settled his children, resided the remainder of his days with his daughter Hopkins, afterwards Spencer, in west Greenwich, where he finished his days at 110 years."

October 29, 1782, I fell in with the aged Mr. Hamilton, aged 86, at North Kingston, so born 1696, who told me he was at the funeral of old Theophilus Whale, who died when he was a young man, though married, and then aged about 23, so about 1719 to 1722, that he was about 100 years old, and had five daughters, whom he well knew: and that Mrs. Spencer (once Hopkins) died at East Greenwich, August 1782, aged 98, or would have been 98 in September 1782, that she always enjoyed good health, and died a lica. It is however believed by some, that Quaker. Her son says she died 1773, aged

Col. Willet and the reverend Mr. Torrey used to tell me many other anecdotes of Theophilus and his wife. The wife was a notable woman, a woman of high spirits, and often chastised her husband for his inattention to domestic concerns, and spending so much of his time in religion and contemplation, neglecting to repair and cover his house, which was worn out and become leaky and let in rain in heavy storms, which used to set her a storming at him. He used to endeavour to sooth her with placid mildness, and to calm her by observing in a storm, while the rain The hand writing of the name of Scroope, was beating in upon them, that then was not a time to repair it, and that they should learn to be contented, as it was better than sinners deserved, with other religious reflections; and when the storm was over, and she urged him, he would calmly and humourously reply, it is now fair weather, and when it did not rain they did not want a better house. He was and real judge Adrian Scroope, because he often asked, why he always lay on a deal board, and refused a feather bed; he replied, that a feather bed was too good for him, for he was a man of blood, and ought to mortify himself. He led a pious, but recluse and austere life. He had not many books. This from Colonel Willet. He sometimes said that when he was young he was brought up delicately, and that till he was eighteen years old, he knew not what it was to want a servant to attend him with a silver ewer and knapkin the judges, but the solicitor at the king's trial them up here and there, as I accidentally came whenever he wanted to wash his hands. The true character of Whale remains unknown. It is most probable that, like Axtel by all the histories, and by the trial of the reand others, he had a command among the gicides. The supposition of another regicide guards that attended the king's trial and exe- dying in America, led me to prosecute an incution, and was very active in compassing the king's death. That afterwards, like Lord, of veracity and good intelligence, as received Say and others, he relented and conscient many years ago from the mouth of Mrs. tiously condemned himself, thinking he had Watkins a widow lady of Harlem, near New committed a henious crime, and that blood York, that she gloried in being a descendant guiltiness was upon him, which made him from an ancestor, who had suffered in the to England and became an officer in the pargo mourning all the rest of his days with sorrow, contrition and penitential humility.

all their days; while those who are satisfied the cause was good, and the sentence on the king was highly just and righteous, will as humbly trust and confide in it that these immediate actors have long ago found, at the tribunal of eternal justice, that their heartfelt and sincere repentance was founded in mistake and misconception of atrocious wickedness and high criminality, in what was one of the most meritorious acts of their lives.

And now that I am collecting the flying rumours and anecdotes concerning Whale, I will in this connexion bring together scattered rumours concerning some others-In different parts of the country we come across flying traditions and surmises ventilated abroad, of three other persons believed by some to have been also Charles's judges who fled to America. One was George Fleetwood, who was tried, condemned and pardoned, and certainly came over to Boston and lived there in an open manner, and died in Boston.* He, and Whalley and Goffe and Dixwell, were unquestionably of the real judges, and those four were the only real and true judges that ever have been known to have come to Amer-Adrian Scroope, who certainly lived at Hartford in Connecticut, 1666, and soon after returned to England, was the real judge Scroope. In evidence of which, this is adduced.—Superadded to a certain instrument or deed, dated March 21, 1663-4, recorded in Hartford records, is an attestation dated March 8, 1666-7, and recorded March 11, 1666-7, signed by the names of Robert Peirce and Adrian Scroope, as witnesses, with their own hand writing in the very book of records, though this is singular and unusual. I inspected and examined the manuscript records and autographical signatures in 1792. upon comparison, so nearly resembles that in the copper plate fac simile of king Charles's death warrant signed and sealed by all the judges, that one would not much doubt but that it was the same. It might have been the regicide's son, or some other person of the same name; but certainly it was not the true was condemned and executed 1661, as appears from all the histories,† and particularly from the trial of the regicides, in which there is a particular account of his execution with Colonel Jones.

Besides Fleetwood and Scroope, Solicitor Cook is a third person supposed to have been one of the judges, and to have absconded from England to America, and to have died on Staten Island. Mr. Cook was not one of were condemned and executed, as appears the following deductions. quiry upon what I had been told by a person

family in England, and very opulent; but Others concerned in that transaction were af-cause of liberty, who was one of the regithrough some misstep he was supposed to be terwards deeply affected in the same manner | cides, and who fled and died at Staten Island, or somewhere in America. Accordingly I wrote a letter to her, and received the following answer; which I insert, that in case any should meet the same story, they might be enabled to correct and rectify it. I have since seen this very respectable lady, who is still living at Harlem, and in conversation with her; received even more ample information upon the subject.

> " Harlem Heights, 4th January, 1793. "Reverend Sir,

"The letter you did me the honour of writing me by Mr. Broome, of 20th December last, I have received and would have answered sooner, but being fearful of some errors creeping into my account of the late Solicitor Cooke, I endeavoured to obtain as accurate an account from some of his descendants, who are here, as time would permit, Madam Wooster has misunderstood me in what she has related as having received from me relative to Solicitor Cooke, who was my great-grandfather, and was tried and condemned, hanged, burnt and quartered in England, on Charles the Second's coming to the throne, for the part he had taken in having ing his predecessor brought to that punishment he so richly merited. His daughter who was married to my grandfather Stillwell, which was an assumed name, came to Boston with him (that is my grandfather) which place they removed from and lived in New York, from thence they went to Staten Island, where they died.—They had several children, amongst whom was my father, previous to my grandmother's arrival in this country, and during some part of the life of her father she was one of the maids of honour to the then Queen, and was obliged to leave England for the active part her father had taken.

As to what has been related by Madam Wooster relative to Fishers and Shelter Islands, I had a grandfather named Ray (who was a clergyman) who lived on Block Island, but was driven from there by the pirates, who at that time infested these places, and the natives of the country, and went into some of the then provinces of New England,

where he died.

I am, reverend Sir, with respect and esteem. Your friend and very humble servant, LYDIA WATKINS."

But to return, I have collected and thrown together these disconnected anecdotes and traditions concerning Theophilus Whale, in this confused manner, though something as they at various times came to my knowledge. baving been above thirty years in picking and adjudication, and was among those who across them. From all which we may make

1. That Theophilus Whale, dying about 1719 or 1722, aged 103, was born in England about 1616 or 1619, of a good family, and well educated in grammar learning, and other studies of a young gentlemen. That when aged about 18, or 1637, he came over to Virginia, a spirited young gentleman, and went an officer into the Indian wars; but returned liament wars, and through the protectorate. And after the Restoration, 1660, he might

abdicate to Virginia, having by some action I remember Judge Hopkins seemed a little others of the same family concerned in the tha was born in Narraganset. public affairs, "during the government of

he came to Virginia a second time, yet he to his wife then still living. I never was able must have been there, and married about to determine this to certainty till 1785 from 1670. For he had certainly two and proba- Judge Hopkins; having for twenty years bebly four children at Virginia. Joane was the fore entertained some apprehension that this oldest, and old enough to have a child by Whale and Goffe might possibly be the same.

or other rendered himself obnoxious to the at a loss concerning the order of the children royalists. Noble, in his memoirs of the house from Joane to his mother. It is enough, of Cromwell,* gives the history of Major however that Joane and Elizabeth were born General Whalley, the judge, and enumerates in Virginia before the year 1680, when Mar-

3. It is thus at length ascertained that The-Charles I. the commonwealth and protectors." ophilus Whale could not have been William One he mentions was "Lieutenant Whalley, Goffe, or one of the Hadley judges, as Colowho served in Hacker's regiment." Hacker, nel Willet formerly conceived. For though though not a judge, yet commanding at the Whale's appearance at Narraganset might execution of the king, was himself executed agree well enough with Goffe's evanescence in 1660. And Goffe's journal mentions Rob- from Hadley, both being about 1680, yet it is ert Whale. Supposing Theophilus then an certain that Whale was in Virginia, and had officer in Hacker's regiment, and active at the a wife and children there in 1673, while Goffe king's execution, he might be in danger, and was at Hadley, and from thence wrote a letter so fled to escape from vengeance, and consid-ered himself a man of blood. to his wife in England, 1674, and another 1679, and never was out of Hadley from 2. Though it cannot be ascertained when 1674 to 1679, when he wrote his last letter

1692, as she was the mother of Lawrence by Hill; and Elizabeth dying 1752, aged 79, must have been born in Virginia about 1673.

4. Any other abdicating judge would not have taken the name of Whale; and therefore whatever Theophilus was, he was not one of the king's judges, as Colonel Willet and all Narraganset uniformly believed .- judges.

There is a mystery in Theophilus's character which can never be cleared up, further than to ascertain that he was not one of the judges. He was doubtless a disappointed and mortified man; hut what his true history and disappointments were must remain in oblivion.

5. That he was however of respectable character and connexions, and that there were those here during his life who knew his history, seems justly and conclusively to be inferred from the singularly respectful treatment he received from the Boston gentlemen who used to visit him at Colonel Willet's father's; and which convinced Colonel Willet, who was knowing to it, nor can this treatment be accounted for on any other supposi-

Thus I have collected and brought together all the various and scattered information to be found concerning this singular person: whose history is not even hitherto known by his family and the inhabitants of Rhode Island, nor by any one else, in the light in which I have now set it: while however I trust I have exhibited such documents and proofs as will enable every one to make a decided judgment, that Mr. Theophilus Whale, whoever he was, was not one of King Charles's

[&]quot; Noble V. 2. P. 188



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

TO THE

INDIANS.

In making a selection for our "Library of American History," we have promised to select such portions of the uncient records, as will give the reader an insight to the rise and progress of our national existence.

The history of the aborigines of this country, is deeply interwoven with our own. Our ancestors, lived with them, fought with them, made peace with them, and at length drove them from the sea-board to remote wilds; and, even now are there contending, with them as fiercely as ever. The contest is not of the same importance to us now, as then, but quite as much so to them.

The historians of former days, however pious, did not treat the Indians with fairness. Many of these historians thought they had a right to extirpate the Indians, as wolves, or any wild beasts of the forest; and, not unfrequently, showed their own malignity, in raving against the malignity and treachery of their enemies. We cannot get at our own history, without giving theirs; and if we could, it certainly would be a matter of curiosity, to learn something of their manners, habits and customs.

The savages of North America, were of a higher grade in the scale of intellect, than the primitive inhabitants of most other countries; whether this came from the knowledge and character of their progenitors, or from their possessing such an extent of country, is, and long will be, a subject of inquiry. Different writers, have given quite different accounts of the Indians, and this arose from viewing them through dissimilar mediums. In the refinements of civilized life, they had made but few advances. They had reached no luxuries of the table; they fed without system or regularity; they knew nothing of conveniences, or comforts, although they sometimes had a luxury in a surfeit. Their architecture extended no further than the erecting a rude cabin, far inferior in ingenuity to the beaver dams, which they found in crossing the streams, in the bosom of the wilderness.

It was not for want of talents, that their wigwams were so wretched; for their canoes, weapons of war, baskets, and moccasins, exhibited no small degree of art. They were ingenious in catching fish, and in trapping game; and the weirs they made on the rivers, are models, for the same purpose now. They had a scanty agriculture, not extending beyond the cultivation of a few bushels of corn and beans, and a little patch of the tobacco plant for their pipes. War and hunting were the great objects of their existence. If, viewed in the progress of civilization, the Indian stands low in the ranks of the human race, yet, look at him, as a patriot, a warrior, an orator, and a philosopher, and he is seen in bold relief, and lifts his head among men.

To prove them patriots, we have only to look to the pages of our history, and learn how they poured out their blood like water, rather than leave their birth place, and the graves of their fathers, for other lands; where they never had hunted, and where their children were not born. It has been, in their history, universally true, that to migrate was to end; and if not entirely to perish, to sink and be forgotten. This love of our native land, is written, by the finger of God, on the hearts of his creatures; and can never be entirely effaced by time, or circumstances. Civilized man is so connected with the whole world, by his intelligence, that he may migrate without all the pangs an Indian feels who knows but one country: but even civilized man, unless he migrates early in life, can never forget the land of his fathers; but to the Indian, the land of his birth is still more dear; the mountains, the streams, and forests, and all around him, are so many remembrancers of his ancestors, and their deeds. From ardent patriotism flows that courage, for which our aborigines are so remarkable; they glory in dying for their country; and their annals furnish more instances of exalted prowess, and unconquerable patriotism, than all the records of antiquity. The blood of the patriot martyr has flowed through every age of Indian warfare, from Cononecus to the present day.

The eloquence of the Indian is of a high order; it is bold, direct, and often impassioned and comes with a sincerity, that gives it a charm that the orator of refinement often loses in his subtlety. There is too a decorum in the eloquence of the council-fire, which far exceeds in grace and courtesy, all that ever was enforced by parliamentary usages or congressional rules and orders. No personalities disgrace their debates; they listen attentively, as long as the orator holds out. They strictly adhere

to the truth, and for this they are answerable to the people: their opinions are their own, undaunted from the fear of the loss of office, and free from the influence of party trammels.

The Indians are admirable historians, considering they have no records but their memories and observations; but they have many accurate traditions. They have no landmarks to remove, and no inducement to lie. Truth is their object, and they strictly adhere to it. Their traditions, carried down for ages, are often more accurate than the pages of our history. Their method of making known every event to the whole tribe, makes every member of their family an historian.

The first settlers of this country underrated the talents of the red men, and would not believe they had any virtues under heaven. They made inaccurate calculations upon the aboriginal population; but it was policy for them to do this, to keeps down the apprehensions of the whites, in regard to their numerical strength. A general sickness had swept off a great number of the aborigines, a short time before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth; and this was seized on as an omen of the intention of the Deity, to give the land of the red man to the white: in fact, the latter took the impression from the former, and made use of it, until it became a settled belief among all the inhabitants. The Indians are most certainly diminishing at the present day, but still there are more of them remaining than is generally believed. The milder climates of the West, from the first settlement of the country, had a denser aboriginal population, than the colder regions of the North. But whether the Indians are fast fading away or not, there is a great curiosity, in that part of our country from whence they have receded, as well as in Europe, to obtain all the information in regard to this race of men, that can be gleaned from ancient and modern records.

Our ancestors would have smiled, if any one had told them that these terriffic Indians, who annoyed them so abominably, would be held in any consideration by their descendants. The historians supposed that they had preserved to perpetuity, the atrocities of the savages; but they could not have anticipated, that their posterity would have selected some of them for tragic heroes, and patriot martyrs. Could Colonel Church, that dread warrior whose name was a host, have anticipated when he conquered Philip, and allowed one of his followers to exhibit the head and hand of the sachem, slain in his own kingdom, that in a coming age of intelligence, the disgraced chief should tread the stage, a hero, when he would only figure as a secondary character? Philip had the soul of a hero, with some of the visions of a prophet. He foresaw the destruction of his race, but he could not have anticipated the extent of his own fame. Could he have foreseen that historians, novelists, and poets, would arise to ensure him a lasting fame, it would have sweetened the cup of his miseries. The historians of an early age were reluctantly obliged to give notoriety at least, to some of the sachems; but little did they suppose, that the leaders in fiction, of tale, novel and song, would take these Indian warriors and orators, as heroes, to celebrate in epic pride: yet, they have done it; but none with more effect than Sands and Eastburn, in their poem of Yamoyden. They have described the burning eloquence of Philip, in strains that give equal immortality to the orator and the poets. If any charm can appease the ghosts of the sons of the forest, it would be the inspiration of such a muse. We quote

"Up started Metacoma;-the train Of all his wrongs, -his perished power, His blasted hopes,-his kindred slain,-His quenchless hate which blazed in vain, So fierce in its triumphant hour, But now to his own heart again Withdrawn, but ran like liquid flame,-All, all seemed rushing on his brain; -Each trembling fibre told the strife, Which quelled that storm with madness rife, Gathering in horrors o'er his brow, And flashing wildly bright below: While o'er his followers faint and few, On inquest stern his glances flew, Across his quivering lips in haste A smile of bitterness there passed ;-As if a beam from the lamp had stole That burnt within his immost soul, As in a deep sepulchral cell, It seemed with transient curl to tell, How in his triumph or his fall, He doubted, and he scorned them all! But silence straight the Sachem broke, And thus his taunt ubrupt he spoke.

"Still do we live? to yonder skies Yet does our warm breath buoyant rise,-To that great Spirit, who ne'er inhales Incense from all the odorous gales, In the world of warrior souls, more blest, Than that respired from the freeman's breast? Yet do we live? or struck by fear, As the wretch by subtle sorcerer near, Palsied and pining must we lie In you dark fen, and dimly spy Our father's hills, our native sky :--Like the coward ghosts, whom the bark of stone Leaves in the eternal wave to moan, And wail for ever, as they descry The blissful isle they can come not nigh; Where the souls of the brave from toil released, Prolong the chase, the dance, the feast, And fill the sparkling chalice high, From the springs of immortality! Say, has oblivion kindly come, To veil remembrance in its gloom! Have ye forgot, that whilome here, Your fathers drove the bounding deer; Where, now so works the Evil One,

Like heartless deer their children run
Or trembling in their darksome lair,
While fenr's cold dews gush full and fast,
One venturous glance no longer dare
Round on their native forests cast.
The hunters came, the charm they brought;
The tempting lure they senseless sought,
And tamely to the spoiler gave
The ancient birthright of the brave!

Oblivion! O! the films of age Shall shroud you sun's resplendent eye; And waning in his pilgrimage, His latest beam in heaven shall die, Ere on the soil from whence we fled The story of our wrongs be dead! Could the tall trunk of peace once more, Lift its broad foliage on our shere; And on the beaver robe outspread Our remnant rest beneath its shade; From stainless bowls and incense high Amid the blue and cloudless sky; Mark round us waves unrimpled flow, And o'er green paths no brambles grow :-Say, where in earth profoundly deep, Should all our wrongs in darkness sleep? What art the sod shall o'er them heap; And rear the tree whose verdant tower Aloft shall build, beneath embower,---Till men shall pass and shall not knew The secrets foul that rest below? The memory ne'er can die, of all For blood, for vengeance that can call, While feels a red man in his breast The might, the soul his sires possess'd. Toil, death, and danger can defy. Look up to heaven, and proudly cry, Eternal and almighty One, Father of all I am thy son!

"Poor, cronching children of the brave!
Lo! where the broad and sparkling wave
Anointed once the freeman's shore,
Your father's tents arise no more.
There lie your masters in their pride;
And not so thick, o'er torpid tide,
The blessed light that beams on earth
Warms the cold vipers into birth,
And not so loathsome do they spread
Their slime along its sedgy bed,

As glittering on my aching eyes The dwellings of the white men rise. I rave ;---ye are cold and tame; Forget ye Massasoit's shame? Forget ye him, who, snared and caught, Seared on the chainless wings of thought, A lowly captive might not be, For his heart broke, and he was free! Last, poorest of a mighty race, Proscrib'd, devoted to the chase, I hold this cumbrons load of life, Avenging powers! from you; The remnant of its dreary strife To hearded vengeance due! But ye---live on; and lowly kneel, And crouching kiss the impending steel, Which in mere weariness of toil, Full sated with your kinsmens' spoil, May haply grant the boon to live ;-For this your cringing taubant give: And oe'er your FATHERS' hallowed grave Drag the foul members of the slave! O slaves! the children of the free! The hunted brute cries shame on ve! At bay each threatening horn she turns, As fierce the enclosing circle burns ;---And ye are baited in your lair, And will ye fight not for despair?"

Thus spake the Sachem in his ire, Bright anger blazing in his eye; And as the bolt of living fire Streams through the horrors of the sky, Kindling the pine, whose flames aspire In one red pyramid on high, In all his warriors, as he spoke, The rising fury fiercely woke; Each tomahawk, in madness swayed, Gleamed mid the forest's quivering shade; Loud rose the war whoop, wild and shrill; The frowning rock, the towering hill Prolong'd the indignant cry: Far o'er the stilly ether borne, By the light pinions of the morn, It fell on the lonely traveller's ear, Round on the wilderness in fear He gaz'd with anxious eye; On distant wave the wanderer well Knew the loud 'larum terrible And trembled at the closing swell, As slow its echoes die."

If we search for instances of fortitude in death, can we find any in Greek or Roman history superior to many which are authentically told of Indian chiefs. Their women too, although the female character among the Indians was generally degraded as much as possible by the males, yet there are numerous instances of Sachem Squaws who were distinguished for high qualities as rulers and warriors; Massachusetts alone, produced three or more.

The original work upon the Indian wars, which I have selected for re-printing, must, by modern readers, be examined

with a full view of the feelings and prejudices of the age in which they were written, or they will feel indignant at their executions. Church fought Indians, and might be excused for feeling an enmity against them; but even the soldier smarting with his wounds, is not half as vindictive in his disposition, as the pious Hubbard, or the bigotted Mather, and many of their contemporaries.

One of the most splendid orators of this country, William Wirt, of Virginia, sometime attorney-general of the United States, has, in a work of high literary taste, called "The British Spy, poured out the warm current of his soul, in a deep lament, upon the fate of the aborigines of his native land. It does honour to his head and heart. I offer no excuse for transferring it to our columns, for the extract is full of literary beauty, and exulted feeling; and which loses nothing by the sad recollection, that he too has passed away as the race of men he so eloquently mourned: but with this difference—they gave their deeds to tradition only, and their eloquence to echo; while his are impressed on an imperishable page, and will go down to the latest posterity for the benefit of the human race.

"Richmond, September 22.

"I have just returned, my dear S....., from an interesting morning's ride. My object was to visit the site of the Indian town, Powhatan; which you will remember was the metropolis of the dominions of Pocahontas's father, and, very probably, the birth-place of that celebrated princess.

"The town was built on the river, about two miles below the ground now occupied by Richmond; that is, about two miles below the head of tide water. The land whereon it stood is, at present, part of a beautiful and valuable farm belonging to a gentleman by the name of William Mayo.

"Aware of the slight manner in which the Indians have always constructed their habitations, I was not at all disappointed in finding no vestige of the old town. But as I traversed the ground over which Pocahontas had so often bounded and frolicked, in the sprightly morning of her youth, I could not help recalling the principal features of her history, and heaving a sigh of mingled pity, and veneration to her memory.

"Good Heaven! what an eventful life was hers! To speak of nothing else, the arrival of the English in her father's dominions must have appeared (as indeed it turned out to be) a most portentous phenomenon. It is not easy for us to conceive the amazement and consternation which must have filled her mind, and that of her nation, at the first appearance of our countrymen. Their great ship, with all her sails spread, advancing in solemn majesty to the shore; their complexion; their dress; their language; their domestic animals; their cargo of new and glittering wealth; and then the thunder and irresistible force of their artillery; the distant country announced by them, far beyond the great water, of which the oldest Indian had never heard, or thought, or dreamed—all this was so new, so wonderful, so tremendous, that I do seriously suppose, the personal descent of an army of Milton's celestial angels, robed in light, sporting in the bright beams of the sun and redoubling their splendour; making divine harmony with their golden harps, or playing with the bolt and chasing the rapid lightnings of heaven, would not excite more astonishment in Great Britain, than did the debarkation of the English among the aborigines of Virginia.

"Poor Indians! Where are they now? Indeed my dear S....., this is a truly afflicting consideration. The people here may say what they please, but on the principles of eternal truth and justice, they have no right to this country. They say they have bought it—bought it! yes;—of whom? Of the poor trembling natives who knew that refusal would be vain; and who strove to make a merit of necessity, by seeming to yield with grace, what they knew they had not the power to retain. Such a bargain might appease the conscience of a gentleman of the green bag, "worn and backneyed" in the arts and frauds of his profession; but in heaven's chancery, my dear S....., there can be little doubt that it has been long since set aside on the ground of duress.

"Poor wretches! No wonder they are so implacably vindictive against the white people; no wonder that the rage of resentment is handed down from generation to generation; no wonder that they refuse to associate and mix permanently with their unjust and cruel invaders and exterminators; no wonder that in the unabuting spite and frenzy of conscions impotence, they wage an eternal war, as well as they are able; that they triumph in the rare opportunity of revenge; that they dance, sing, and rejoice, as the victim shricks and faints amid the flames, when they imagine all the crimes of their oppressors collected on his head, and fancy the spirits of their injured forefathers hovering over the scene, smiling with ferocious delight at the grateful spectacle, and feasting on the precious odour as it arises from the burning blood of the white man.

"Yet the people, here, affect to wonder that the Indians are so very unsusceptible of civilization, or, in other words, that they so obstinately refuse to adopt the manners of the white man. Go, Virginians; erase from the Indian nation, the tradition of their wrongs; make them forget, if you can, that once this charming country was theirs; that over these fields and through these forests their beloved forefathers, once, in careless gaiety, pursued their sports and hunted their game; that every returning day found them the sole, the peaceful, the happy proprietors of this extensive and beautiful domain. Make them forget, too, if you can, that in the midst of all this innocence, simplicity and bliss—the white man came; and lo!—the animated chase, the feast, the dance, the song of fearless, thoughtless joy were over; that ever since, they have been made to drink of the bitter cup of humiliation; treated like dogs; their lives, their liberties, the sport of the white men; their country, and the graves of their fathers, torn from them, in cruel succession, until, driven from river to river, from forest to forest; and through a period of two hundred years, rolled back, nation upon nation, they find themselves fugitives,

vagrants, and strangers in their own country, and look forward to the certain period when their descendants will be totally extinguished by wars, driven at the point of the bayonet into the western ocean, or reduced to a fate still more deplorable and horrid, the condition of slaves. Go, administer the cup of oblivion to recollections and anticipations like these, and then you will cease to complain that the Indian refuses to be civilized. But, until then, surely it is nothing wonderful that a nation even yet bleeding afresh from the memory of ancient wrongs, perpetually agonized by new outrages, and goaded into desperation and madness at the prospect of the certain ruin which awaits their descendants, should hate the authors of their miseries, of their desolation, their destruction; should hate their manners, hate their colour, their language, their name, and every thing that belongs to them. No; never, until time shall wear out the history of their sorrows and their sufferings, will the Indian be brought to love the white man, and to imitate his manners.

"Great God! To reflect, my dear S...., that the authors of all these wrongs were our own countrymen, our fore-fathers, professors of the meek and benevolent religion of Jesus! Oh! it was impious; it was unmanly; poor and pitiful! Gracious heaven! what had these poor people done! The simple inhabitants of these peaceful plains; what wrong, what injury had they offered to the English? My soul melts with pity and shame.

"As for the present inhabitants, it must be granted, that they are comparatively innocent; unless indeed, that they also have encroached under the guise of treaties, which they themselves have previously contrived to render expedient or necessary to the Indians. Whether this has been the case or not, I am too much a stranger to the interior transactions of this country to decide. But it seems to me, that were I a president of the United States, I would glory in going to the Indians, throwing myself on my knees before them, and saying to them, "Indians, friends, brothers, O! forgive my countrymen! Deeply have our forefathers wronged you; and they have forced us to continue the wrong. Reflect brothers; it was not our fault that we were born in your country; but now we have no other home; we have nowhere else to rest our feet. Will you not then permit us to remain? Can you not forgive us, innocent as we are? If you can, O! come to our bosoms; be, indeed, our brothers; and since there is room enough for us all, give us a home in your land, and let us be children of the same affectionate family." I believe that a magnanimity of sentiment like this, followed up by a correspondent greatness of conduct on the part of the people of the United States, would go further to bury the tomahawk, and produce a fraternization with the Indians, than all the presents, treaties, and missionaries, that can be employed; dashed and defeated as these latter means always are, by a claim of rights on the part of the white people, which the Indians know to be false and baseless. Let me not be told that the Indians are too dark and fierce to be affected by generous and noble sentiments, I will not believe it. Magnanimity can never be lost on a nation which has produced an Alknomok, a Logan, and a Poncahontas.—The repetition of the name of this amiable princess brings me back to the point from which I digressed.

"I wonder that the Virginians, fond as they are of aniversaries, have instituted no festival or order in honor of her memory. For my own part, I have little doubt, from the histories which we have of the first attempts at colonizing their country, that Pocahontas deserves to be considered as the patron deity of the enterprize. When it is remembered how long the colony struggled to get a footing; how often sickness or famine, neglect at home, mismanagement here, and the hostilities of the natives, brought it to the brink of ruin; through what a tedious lapse of time it alternately languished and revived, sank and rose, sometimes hanging like Addison's lamp, quivering at a point, then suddenly shooting up into a sickly and short-lived flame; in one word, when we recollect how near and how often it verged towards total extinction, maugre the patronage of Pocahontas; there is the strongest reason to believe that, but for her patronage, the anniversary cannon of the Fourth of July, would never have resounded throughout the United States.

"Is it not probable, that this sensible and amiable womnn, perceiving the probability of the subjugation of her countrymen, and anxious as well to soften their destiny, as to save the needless effusion of human blood, desired by her marriage with Mr. Rolfe, to hasten the abolition of all distinction between Indians and white men; to bind their interests and affections by the nearest and most endearing ties, and to make them regard themselves as one people, the children of the same great family; If such were her wise and benevolent views, and I have no doubt but they were, how poorly were they backed by the British court! No wonder at the resentment and indignation with which she saw them neglected; no wonder at the bitterness of the disappointment and vexation which she expressed to Captain Smith, in London, arising as well from the cold reception which she herself had met, as from the contemptuous and insulting point of view in which she found that her nation was regarded.

"Unfortunate princess! She deserved a happier fate! But I am consoled by the reflection, that she sees her descendants among the most respectable families in Virginia; and that they are not only superior to the false shame of disavowing her as their ancestor, but that they pride themselves, and with reason too, on the honour of their descent."

If I were president of the United States I would make no such confession; but saying nothing of the past, would do all in my power to prevent their being barassed and oppressed in future. They have not been without blame; but all the resentment which we, as a great nation, feel, should be forgotten, and we should say to them, live, and leave the precarious business of hunting; cultivate the soil; clothe yourselves with manufacture made by your own hands; become acquainted not only with primitive arts, but also with the sciences, and all that gives refinement and elevation to the masters of the world, in either hemisphere.

Vol. 11.-12.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE INDIAN WARS

IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM HUBBARD, A. M.

PREFACE.

with the Indians in New England, a very numerous and barbarous people, dispersed land.

These savages began a war with the first improvement. English adventurers, while they were few in event truly great and memorable.

loss of men and substance, compared with their claim was made. numbers and ability, was very great, and long severely felt.

Heavy as the public expenses were to supwhich particular towns, families and individuals were necessarily subjected, in guards, garrisons, and watchings in their own defence.

The whole country was the seat of war. and every man procured his bread in jeopardy of his life

Like Nehemiah's builders, each one toiled with his weapon of war in one hand, and his instrument of labour in the other; exposed tribes of savages within the limits of New every moment to death, from a watchful unseen | England, were drawn into this war against us,

In the frequent alarms which spread from town to town, some escaping from danger, ran into greater: others met their own fate in their attempts to relieve their neighbours, in the same, or different scattered settlements.

This was the deplorable state of the New England colonies, a very few towns excepted; a distress, more easily conceived than expressed, and indeed scarcely conceivable by the this Head Quarters were at Mount Hope, now Bristol.

greater part of the present generation, since in faith, fortitude and patience, to endure the then hideous wilderness is become a fruit- hardships beyond a parallel, until they obtainful field, and well settled towns overspread the ed deliverance: And some of the first adven-

The reader unacquainted with this country in its uncultivated state, may here inquire, The gracious hand of Divine Providence in Why the first settlers thus exposed themthe preservation of the New England colonies selves, by making disjoined and very distant in their infant state, gloriously appears from settlements? Necessity led to this: The the facts, briefly, but faithfully transmitted lands near the sea coasts were generally less down to us, by one of our venerable forefath- fertile and found hard to subdue: therefore, men of whom the world was not worthy. ers in the following narrative of the troubles for present subsistence in their feeble condition, they were obliged to seek the borders of rivers and streams, for the sake of intervals and meathrough the wilderness in every part of the dows, both on account of their fertility, and of

They were also encouraged in making number, yea very few, and strangers in the these scattered settlements by the general land. This rendered their deliverance an friendly disposition of the natives, who freely sold their lands, for which a valuable consid-They were saved indeed as by fire: Their eration was paid, without exception, where a that no instance can be produced, in the pre-

The Indians perceived their interest in admitting their English neighbours, as they furnished them with means of much easier subport the war, these were but a very inconsid-sistence; and the utmost care was taken by erable part of the burdens and charges to the several governments of the united colonies,

to prevent any occasion of distrust.

The Pequod war was confined to the westerly parts of Connecticut.*

Philip's war, as it is called, began in Plymouth colony, but spread through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Province of Maine, in extent above 300 miles. And within the compass of one year, the numerous a very few excepted.

Surely we may say, had not the Lord been on our side, when men thus rose up against us, they had quickly swallowed us up.

tribulation, into this wilderness, which, under providence, was a means of improving them

turers lived to see the wilderness become a fruitful field.

But this was not their intended rest: They had sublimer views; They looked for another and better country, that is an heavenly. And however they may have been misrepresented, by ignorant or ill designing persons, they were

The cruel charges of peculiar bigotry, and a persecuting spirit, wantonly alleged against them, are founded on facts not truly stated.

According to the natural course of things their being open and prepared for immediate in this depraved and mutable state their deseendents at this day, as might be expected. have in a measure, departed from that simplicity of manners, by which their renowned ancestors were justly distinguished; But notwithstanding it may with truth be asserted, sent or any past age, among like numbers. where good order has so universally prevailed, as in the New England colonies, even in populous and opulent towns, especially our capital.

> We of this province, with inconsiderable intermissions, from that early period, at unknown expense and loss, have been called to defend our lives and properties against the incursions of more distant savages. Our trust hath been in the name of the Lord our fathers' God and Deliverer; and hitherto he hath delivered us. May we never be unmindful of of his signal benefits!

We are now under the smiles of divine Providence increased to a multitude of people.

Our many frontier settlements are continually exposed to savage invasion: And though we trust not to our own bow; yet as prudence directs, we are all armed and prepared for a defensive war. And yet having the worm-Our fathers indeed had come out of great wood and the gall still in remembrance, no people more ardent, wish and pray, that wars may forever cease, and peace on earth, and good will among men universally prevail.

Boston, May 20, 1775.

A NARRRATIVE

to us, only by the events of time, that fruitful the great charge and vast expenses the first mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at least did bring to light the the whole Province of Maine and others, knowledge of this western world, called (reaching from the head of Casco Bay north America, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obscure and remote region covered with a veil of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledge of all the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. To whom the honour and inheritances by those new acquired posof its investigation doth of right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the history and reports of such as were eye witnesses thereof and not intended to be any part of the present disquisition. The most considerable part of all the north side of America, is callel, New England. In the fertility of the said salubriousness of the air, and many other commodious advantages, most resembling the country from whence it borrowed its appellais most beholding to the discoveries of the English, under the conduct of Sebastian Cabot, a famous Portuguese, sent out under the commission of Henry the VIIth, about the year, 1497, though since much perfected by the industry and travels of Capt. Gosnold, Capt. Hudson, Capt. Smith, and others of the Enbirth of time, is as to its nativity, of the same Mexico, vet was suffered to lie in its swadling clothes, one whole century of years, nature having promised no such dowry of rich mines of silver and gold to them that would espouse her for their own, as she did unto the other two, which possibly was the reason why she was not so hastily courted by her first discorerers, nor yet so early secured by any of the princes of Europe, lying wholly neglected as New England. it were until a small company of planters, under the command of Captain George Popham, and Captain Gilbert, were sent over at the charge of Sir John Popham in the year 1607, to begin a colony upon a tract of land priest, and without law; and no wonder a new colony began to be planted upon Conabout Sagadehock, situate on the south side of the river Kennebeck and about that called Shipscot river and about twenty miles south west from Pemmaquid, the most northerly although they had been courteously entertain-terest of a patent purchased of that honourable bound of all New England. But that design ed by the Dutch, as strangers sojourning gentleman, Mr. Fenwick, agent for the lord within two years expiring with its first founder, amongst them, yet forseeing many inconvesoon after some honourable persons of the west of England, commonly called the Council of Plymouth, being more certainly informed of several navigable rivers and commodious havens, with other places fit either for traffic or planting, newly discovered by many skilful navigators, obtained a grant by patent, under of his royal authority, to place themselves in the great seal, from King James, of all that some part of New England, then newly dis-Haven, from the first town erected therein, part of North America, called New England, covered; wherefore having obtained some seated near the midway betwixt Hudson's from the 40 to the 48 deg. of north latitude, kind of patent or grant, for some place about river and that of Connecticut. The sea coast From which grant and original patent, all Hudson's river, they set sail from Plymouth from the pitch of cape Cod, to the mouth of other charters and grants of land from Peni- in September, for the southern parts of New Connecticut river, inhabited by several nations maquid to Delaware bay, along the sea coast. England but as they intended to bend their of Indians, Wampanoogs (the first authors of derive their lineage and pedigree. Thus was course thitherward, per various casus, per tot the present rebellion) Narragansets, Pequods, that vast tract of land, after the year 1612, discrimina rerum, they were at last cast upon Mohegins, as the more inland part of the councantoned and parcelled out into many lesser a bosom of the Massachusetts hay, called try by the Nipnets (a general name for all in-

reports of them that travelled thither, did many some encouragement from the hopefulness of of the Indian wars in New England, &c. of them interfere one upon another, to the the soil, and courtesy of the heathen, they prejudice of the proprietors themselves, as is Known unto God are all his works from to stay ever so little among them, many of the foundation of the world, though manifest whom are yet surviving. For notwithstanding they called New Plymouth; containing no adventureres were at, the first proprietors of east, to the mouth of Piscataqua river about sixty miles westward) and the liopes they might have conceived of being the first founders of new colonies, and of enlarging their estates reaped from thence after the rich fleeces of beaver were gleaned away, nor any great improvement made of those large portions of lands, save the crecting of some few cottages for fishermen, and a few inconsiderable buildings for the planters which were on those occasions drawn over the sea, to settle upon the most northerly part of New England.

But whether it were by the imprudence of tion. For the knowledge thereof the world the first adventurers, or the dissoluteness of the persons they sent over to manage their affairs, or whether for want of faithfulness or skill to manage their trust, they were by degrees in a manner quite deserted almost of law and government, and left to shift for themselves; by which means at last they fell under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, glish nation. North America, this posthumous not by usurpation, as is by great mistake suggested to his majesty, but by necessity, and more of the persons interested in the said pastanding with her two elder sisters, Peru and the earnest desire of the planters themselves; tent (thence commonly called patentees) with to accept of whom, those of the Massachusetts several other persons, intended to venture colony were the more easily induced; in that their lives and all with them, transported they apprehended the bounds of their own themselves and their families into the said patent, by a favourable interpretation of the Massachusetts, who did in a short space of words describing the northern line (three miles beyond the most northerly branch of Merimac river) do reach somewhat beyond Pemmaquid, the most northerly place of all there were twenty considerable towns built

> New England, at which time they were not unlike the times of old, when the people of

> Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, in Holland, niences like to increase, and that they could not so well provide for the good of their posterity, under the government of a foreign nation, they resolved to intreat so much favour from their own sovereign prince King James, as to grant them liberty under the shelter of

divisions and parcels, according as adventurers cape Cod, about the 11th of November, from presented, which said grants being founded whence the winter so fast approaching, they upon uncertain, or false descriptions, and had no opportunity to remove; and finding great disturbance of the first planters, and resolved there to make their abode for the future which they did, laying the foundation too well known by any that have had occasion of a new colony, which from the remembrance of the last town in England, they sailed from, very considerable tract of land scarce extending an hundred miles in length through the whole cape, and scarce half so much in breadth where it is the broadest. The first founders of that colony aiming more at religion than earthly possessions, aspiring not to any large dimension of land in their settling upon those coasts.

At Weymouth also was a plantation begun sessions and lordships, there was little profit by Mr. Weston in the year 1622, but it came

The north and south border of Massachusetts hay being thus planted, the middle part was the more easy to be filled up, which was thus brought about. Some gentlemen and others, observing how it fared with those of-New Plymouth, were desirous upon the like ground to make the same attempt for themselves, wherefore having by a considerable sum of money purchased of some gentlemen that had a grant for the council of Plymouth all their right and interest in a plantation begun in the Massachusetts bay, and having attained a confirmation thereof by patent from King Charles, in the year 1628, they sent over a governor with several other persons to lay some foundation of another colony in the Massachusetts bay: And in the year 1630, time by the accession of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make such an increase, that in the space of five or six years, and peopled; and many of the towns first This was the first beginning of things in planted became so filled with inhabitants, that that like swarms of bees they were ready to swarm, not only into new plantations, but into Judah were said to be without a teaching new colonies, insomuch that in the year 1635, things were no more successfully carried on. necticut river, partly by combination amongst In the year 1620, a company belonging to themselves, removing from some towns about the Massachusetts bay, and party by the in-Say, and lord Brook, the lords proprietors of the said river Connecticut, at the mouth of which river they built a fort, (called after their own titles. Say Brook fort) commanding the passage of the said river. Yea, such was the confluence of people making over into those parts, that in the year 1637, a fourth colony began to be planted, bear the name of New

exiled, others of their friends accompanying them, settled themselves upon a fair Island to at a place called Providence, and so by degrees planting towards Narraganset bay, made another plantation called Warwich, which places are since by patent conferred upon the inhabitants of Rhode Island; the rest of the country from Pequod river to the river Connecticut, falling within the bounds of Connecticut colony have since by patent also, been confirmed to the said colony. Things had been very prosperously and successfully carried on in all the aforesaid colonies and jurisdiction, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the war with the Pequals began. The following account was either left under the hands of such as com- Connecticut they should give up their right to ham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pemanded in chief, or is taken from the mouths them. of faithful witnesses, that were not only then present but personally concerned and engaged in the service.

southern parts of New England, called Pequods, seated on a fair navigable river, twelve miles to the eastward of the mouth of the great and famous river of Connecticut; who (as was commonly reported about the time when New England was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the continent, and to them, standing so much upon their honour, by force seized upon one of the goodliest that they would not be seen to give any thing places near the sea, and became a terror to all themselves; such wasthe pride and height of their neighbours, on whom they had exercised several acts of inhuman cruelty; insomuch that being flushed with victories over their the dross of mankind. fellow Indians, they began to thirst after the blood of any foreigners, English or Dutch, the guilt of it, falsely adding that there were that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of trade, or upon other accounts.

In the year 1634, they treacherously and cruelly murdered Capt. Stone, and Capt. Norton, who came occasionally, with a bark into the river to trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in a like treacherous manner, slew one Mr. Oldham (formerly belonging to new Plymouth, but at that time an inhabitant of Massachusetts) at Block Island, a place not far from the mouth of their harbour, as he was matter was thus. fairly trading with them: Besides some other such like acts of perfidious cruelty towards to St. Christophers in the West Indies, occasome of the Dutch that had formerly been trading up Connecticut river; by which practices perceiving that they began to stink in the nostrils of their neighbours whose revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to to have to deal with too many enemies at once, they imitated the subtlety of the children of Ammon, when they began to stink had formerly provoked, that by their assistance ciled to their Indian neighbours, the Narra- ready for his use, accidentally took fire, by gansetts or other home-bred enemies, and which fatal accident he was so burned, and his could but fortify themselves by a league of eyes so blinded that he could not make any

Connecticut river.) The sea coast south west bours that were newly come to plant in these hands of these cruel and blood thirsty wretchfrom Plymouth was first possessed by some parts. To this end they sent messengers es, who after they had taken away his life discontented with the government of Massa- with gifts to the Massachusetts in the latter made a prey of all that was in the vessel. chusetts colony, from which some being end of the same year 1634; the first messengers were dismissed without an answer: But Island called by the Indians, Manisses (since they being sensible of their own danger, and known by the name of Block Island) but those the south west of cape Cod, now called and of the great importance a peace with the that murdered him (probably inhabitants of Rhode Island; others settled upon the main English of the Massachusetts might be, pur-said Island) fled presently to the Pequods, by sued the business very earnestly, sending mes- whom they were sheltered, and so became sengers a second time, who offered much also guilty themselves of his blood. Wampam (Indian's money) and beaver, with these second messengers: The governor and Oldham* was so manifest that it could neicouncil of the Massachusetts had much conference many days; and at last after the best advice they could take among themselves, conthese conditions.

1. That they should deliver up to the Enwere with him.

chiefthing aimed at; the said Pequods being There was a nation of the Indians in the at that time at war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neighbours, on the reasons forementioned. To these conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their desire that their new confederates, the Massachusetts, should mediate a peace for them with the Narragansetts; intimating likewise their willingness that a part of the present which they promised to send should be given spirit lodged in this company of treacherous

> but two left that had any hand therein, and slain: For, said they, he surprised some of denly blown up: Whereas the truth of the

between this place and Virginia put in at that river, where the Indians after they had often took the opportunity to murder him as he lay,

land Indians betwixt the Massachusetts and friendship with any of their foreign neigh-longer resistance, but forthwith fell into the

As for Mr. Oldham, he was murdered at an

ther be coneealed nor excused, the discovery whereof being remarkable, is here inserted.

One John Gallop, with one man more, and cluded a peace and friendship with them. upon two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbor glish those persons amongst them that were was forced by a sudden change of the wind to guilty of Capt. Stone's death, and the rest that to bear up for Block Island, or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met 2. That if the English desired to plant in with a pinnace which they found to John Oldquods, (to make trial of the realty of their preten-3. That if the English should henceforward ded friendship after the murder of Captain Store trade with them as their friends, which was a they hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians (14 in all) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods, whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only only two boys and two Narraganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather because they let slip, and set up sail (being two miles from the shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the Island, whereby they drove toward the main land of Narraganset) therefore they went alread of them, and having nothing but two pieces, and two pistols, they hore up near the Indians, who stood on the villians, the dregs and lees of the earth, and deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, the dross of mankind.

deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, swords and pikes; but John Gallop, a man As for Capt. Stone's death they slily evaded of stout courage, let fly among them, and so galled them, that they got all down under the hatches, and then they stood off again, and rethat it was a just quarrel wherein he was turning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her. our men, and would by force have compelled which so affrightened the Indians, as six of them to shew him the way up the river, them leaped overboard, and were drowned, whereopon the said Stone coming ashore, yet they durst not hoard her, but stood off with two more, was watched by nine of our again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming men (say they) who finding them asleep in the her the second time, they bored her bow night, slew them to deliver our own men, one of through with their anchor; and sticking fast whom going afterward to the bark, it was sud- to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft (being but inch hoard) as they must needs kill or The said Capt. Stone formerly belonging hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and sionally coming to these parts as he passed then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned; whereupon there being but four left in her, been on board his vessel to trade with him, at they boarded her; when an Indian came up the last came friendly on board as they used and yielded; him they bound and put into to do, but finding the capt. asleep in his cabin, the hold: then another yielded; him they also bound, but Gallop, being well acquainted with easting a covering over him that he might not their skill to unloose one another, if they lav before David; endeavouring to strengthen be discerned by the rest whom they presently near together, and having no place to keep themselves with alliance of some of those they after dispatched one after another, all but them asunder, flung him bound into the sea; Captain Norton who made stout resistance, then looking about, they found John Oldham they might defend themselves against the rest, for a long time defending himself in the cook under an old sail, start naked, having his head not doubting but to make their part good with room of the bark till the gunpowder which cleft to the brains; his hands and legs cut as their foreign enemies, if they could be recon- he had set in an open vessel, to be more if they had been cutting them off; yet warm:

well tell how to come at the other two Indians (who were in a little room underneath with their swords) so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the whild carried her to the Narraganset shore, where they left her.

On the 26th of the said July, the two Indians which were with John Oldham, and one other Indian, came from Canonicus (the chief sachem of the Narragansets) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended: and that Miantonimo (the second sachem of the Narragansets) was gone with 17 canoes and 200 men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the sachems of the Narragansets, except Canonicus and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death, and the occasion was because he went to make peace, and trade with the Pequods last year; the prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it; but because they were sent as messengers from Canonicus, they would not imprison them: but the governor wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narragansets know, they expected they should send home John Oldham's two boys, and take revenge upon the Islanders, and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be occasion to make war with the Narragansets (for Block Island was under them) and the next day he wrote to Canonicus, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger; but did expect, if he should send for the two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after John Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the sacheni of Niantic to send to Block Island for them, and that he had near 100 fathom of peak, and much other goods of Oldham's which should be reserved for them. And three of the seven that were drowned were sachems, and that one of the two which was hired by the Niantic sachem, was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were necessary to be sent, and the rest of the goods, and that he should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other sachems were guilty.

Lieut. Gibbons and Mr. Higginson were sent after, with Cushmakin the sachem of the Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of John Oldham. They returned with acceptance and good success much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers; and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

The English of Massachusetts, after the peace concluded with the Pequods, sent a

which the said Indians perceiving, made no further acts of hostility, or else fight them. account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief, not only by har- his company, by a message sent them by an bouring those who had murdered Mr. Oldham, interpreter, obtained little speech with a great but surprising many of the English in the year number of them at a distance; but after they 1636, when Connecticut river began first to understood what was propounded to them, planted, divers of whom were killed (nine at first cunningly getting behind a hill, they preone time in April, 1637) by them about Weth- sently ran away into the woods and swamps, ersfield, when the plantation there first began, so as they could not pass up and down the ever, one discharging a gun among them as river without a guard, but they would be in they were taking their flight, stayed the course danger of being cut off or carried away, as of one, which was all that could be done against two maids were said to be; thirty men have them at that time. been killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured, after a most barbarous manner, by insulting over it was resolved better to return back for the their prisoners in a blasphemous wise, when in their dying agonies under the extremity of their pains (their flesh being first slashed with knives, and then filled with burning embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping groans, resigning up their souls into their hands; with which words these wretched caitiffs used to mock the English afterwards, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the same time, some agents sent over hy the lord Say and the lord Brook, built a fortat the month of Connecticut river, wherein was placed one Lieutenant Gardiner, and a convenient number of soldiers to secure the place, intended soon after to be planted, but rather in love to him whom they concealed, all the winter following, being the end of the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said savages, not daring to stir out of the command of the fort, but they were ready to be seized by these barbarous enemies: at one time the lieutenant himself, with ten or twelve of the soldiers, marching out of the fort with intent to pass over a neck of land, to burn the marshes; as soon as they had passed over the streight of the neck, they espied a company of Indians making towards the said isthmus, which if they could not recover, they saw they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all speed, they narrowly escaped, and were two or three of them killed notwithstanding, before they could get back to the fort, which was presently surrounded with multitudes of them but the discharging of a piece of ordnance gave them warning to keep further from the Sometimes they came with their canoes into the river in view of the soldiers within the fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of the reach of their guns, they would imitate the dying groans and invocations of the poor captive, which English soldiers were forced with silent patience to bear, not being then in a capacity to requite their insolent blasphemies. But they being by these horrible outrages justly provoked to indignaof their business; observing in the sachem tion, unanimously agreed to join their forces God's assistance.

The governor and council having soon after and his neighbours of the murder, and offering assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed it should be done with all expedition; and accordingly on the 25th of August following, bark thither for trade, that trial might be made 80 or 90 men were sent out under the comof the reality of their friendship, but they mand of Capt, Endicot of Salem, who went went up the river about four miles to fetch found them treacherous and false, and that no to the Pequod country by water, with com- hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side: the

so they put him into the sea; but could not with them, insomuch as they took up a reso-loffering terms of peace, if they would surrenlution never more to have to do with them; der the murderers of the English, and forbear

> The captain aforesaid coming ashore with where there was no pursuing of them: how-

> Winter approaching, and no encouragement presenting further to pursue them at thattime, present, and wait a further season, when more forces could be gathered together to pursue the quarrel to the utmost.

Miantonimo soon after sent a message to them with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him (asthey had before sent to him for that end) and that the other had stolen away (not knowing it seems that he was their prisoner) and that according to their promise they would not entertain any of that Island, which should come to them; but they conceived it was for he had been his servant formerly, but when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came: but the Pequods harboured those of Block-Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers that were sent under Capt. Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook-fort, land were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods: after the said capt and the rest were departed, those twenty lay wind bound in the Pequod harbour, and in the meanwhile went all of them ashore, with sacks to fetch some of the Pequads' corn; and having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves the Indians set upon them, so they set down their corn, and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them; the place was open about the distance of a musket shot; the Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth at a time and discharged their arrows: the English put themselves in a single file, and ten only that had pieces that could reach them, shot, the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon; the English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others; and the Indians wounded together, to root them out of the earth, with but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without: for they shot their arrows compass-wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single, then always gathered up their arrows: at the last the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English feave to retire to their boat.-This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook advantage was to be had by any commerce mission to treat with the said Pequods, first grass was so high as some Pequods hiding

themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back, the rest fled to their boat, one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered: he that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield: whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's meadow.

Icarus Icariis nomina dedit aquis.

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house which they had set up in a corn-field, about two miles from the fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the lieutenant had strictly forbidden, two had pieces, and the third only a sword, when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert and set upon them, he who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house which was not above a how shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow, but they stayed still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their nieces.

Soon after they beat down the said house, and out houses, and hay stacks, and within a bow shot of the fort, killed a cow, and shot diverse others, which came with arrows stick-

ing in them.

After Mr. Endicot's departure, the Pequods perceiving that they had by several late injuries and outrages, drawing upon themselves the hatred of all the English, as well as of their own people by former wrongs, and distrusting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtle insinuations and persuasions, try to make their peace with the Narragansets, using such arguments as to right reason seemed not only pregnant to the purpose but also (if revenge, that bewitching and pleasing passion of man's mind had not blinded their eyes) most cogent and invincible: but they were, by the good providence of God, withheld from embracing these counsels, which might otherwise have proved most pernicious to the design of the English, viz. That the English were strangers, and began to overspread the country, which would soon be possessed by them to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their right, if they were not timely prevented; and Pequods without the other's consent. that the Narragansets would but make way for their own ruin, by helping to destroy the Pequods; for after themselves were subdued, the murderers of the English. it would not be long ere the Narragansets themselves, would in the next place be rooted out likewise: whereas if they would but join when they got out against the Pequods, and times was said of Luther, (in reference to together against the English they could demonstrate how the English might easily either be destroyed or forced to leave the country, and that without any danger to themselves: telling them also that they never need come to any open battles, they might destroy them only by firing their houses, and killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary occasions; which course, if it were pursued, they said their new and unwelcome neighbours could not long subsist; but would either be starved with hunger and cold, or forced to forsake their country.

Machiavel himself if he had sat in council with them could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace.

It is said that so much reason was appre-

thought of that was so sweet, that it turned friends at Connecticut. the scale against all other considerations whatsoever.

eers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the governor had called together all magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceed-After dinner, Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them in several propositions, ways loved the English, and now desired a continue war with the Pequods, and their confederates, till they were subdued, and were solicited thereunto. And for the other desired the English would do so to: Proshould have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon articles subscribed by cause they could not make them well underwith a volley of shot.

The Articles here follow.

I. A firm peace betwixt them and their friends on either part (if they consent) and their confederates (if they will observe the mined to send an hundred and sixty, of whom articles) and their posterity.

Il. Neither part to make peace with the

Ill. Not to harbour any of the Pequods. IV. To put to death, or deliver up any of

V. To return fugitive servants.

VI. The English to give them notice the other to send them guides.

VII. None of them to come near the English plantations during the war with the Pe-

IX. To continue to the posterity of both

These Articles were indifferently well observed by the Narragansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued;

English.

hended in these motives, that the Naragan-forementioned, which had been perpetrated sets were once wavering, and were almost by the Pequods filling the ears of the English persuaded to have granted an ear to their adthroughout the country; it was agreed by vice and persuasion and joined all against the the joint consent of the English throughout English; but when they considered what an the three colonies to unite all their forces toadvantage they had put into their hands by gether for suppressing the common enemy, the strength and favour of the English, to early in the spring, A. D. 1637, who were take a full revenge of all their former inju- also moved thereunto by their own necessiries, upon their inveterate enemies, the ties as well as by the earnest request of their

Those of Plymouth being written unto by the governor of the Massachusetts, appeared Soon after this, Miantonimo, sachem of the very cordially willing thereunto, to which Narragansets, came to Boston, (being sent for end they agreed to send fifty men at their by the governor) with two of Canonicus's own charge, with as much speed as the matsons, and another sachem, and near 20 of ter required, with sufficient leaders appoint-their men, whom they call Sannaps. The ed, and a bark provided to carry them progovernor, having notice by Cushamakin, the visions, and tend upon them on all occasions; Massachusetts sachem, sent twenty musket- but before they could be dispatched away the next spring, news was brought that the enemy was wholly routed, so as their journey was stopped, and their good will accepted for the deed; as if they really had been there to ings, and to advise about the terms of peace. have borne their part in the service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their which were to this effect, that they had al-minds, but to their too late invitation to the service; the motion fetching a large compass firm peace with them, and that they would from the Connecticut down to the Massachusetts; from whom in the last place they mising to deliver their enemies to them, or quickened by the spur of necessity, and prekill them, and two months after to send them sent sense of the insolence daily acted at a present. The governor told them that they their very doors, were soonest upon their march, and by the good hand of God upon them, they had given the main stroke before him, and they also subscribed with him, the friends of the Massachusetts could come wherein a firm peace was concluded, but be- up with them, yet there was no repining for the want of the glory of the victory, nor was stand the articles, they told them they would there any cause, those that were the chief send a copy to Mr. Williams, who could best actors therein being forward to give God the interpret the same to them. So after dinner glory of the whole, and not willing to pocket they took leave, and were conveyed out of up any thing thereof themselves, acknowtown by some musketeers, and dismissed ledging that they never saw more of God, or less of man in any business of that nature, as may more fully be understood by particulars ensuing.

The colony of the Massachusetts deteran hundred and twenty were ordained under the conduct of Capt. Patrick of Watertown, and Capt. Trask of Salem, Capt. Stoughton of Dorchester being to command in chief; with whom was sent that holy man of God, Mr. John Wilson, (pastor of the church of Boston) the chariots and horsemen of our Israel, by whose faith and prayer, as some-Germany) the country was preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no enemy should break in upon a place whilst he surquods without some Englishman or known vived, which as some have observed accord-

ingly came to pass.

The matter requiring good expedition, and it being long before the whole company could be dispatched away, Capt. Patrick with forty men were sent beforehand, to be sure to meet with those of Connecticut in case they should but then they began to grow insolent and be in action, before the rest of our forces treacherous, especially this Miantonime him-self; as will appear in the sequel. came to pass; for the main business in taking Cushmakin also, the sachem of Massa- the fort was over, even before the said Pachusetts, subscribed these articles with the trick could get thither. Capt. Underhill was sent by Mr. Vane the governor to Saybrook The report of the unheard of cruelties the winter before to strengthen the garrison

there. The assaulting and surprising of this would be: which being considered and de-came in fair view of the fort, standing on the of service in that whole expedition; take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful and prudent commander, Capt. Mason, chief in the action, who lived long after benefit of that day's service, having an inheritance given him in that part of the country, Pequod by nation, but disgusted by the sa-frequent recourse between them by certain chem, proved a good guide to the English, squaws (who have mutual intercourse) by whose direction they were led to a fort near Mystic river, some miles nearer than ward towards the Pequods, with seventyassault.

On the second Wednesday of May, being the tenth day of that month, we set sail with ninety men of the English in one pink, one that night: the sachem of the place adding pinnace, and two boats, towards the Pequods, with seventy river Indians; having somewhat a long passage to Saybrook fort, about forty of our Indians desired to go down by furth from the fort, and meeting seven Pequods and Nianticks they slew five outright, took one prisoner, and brought him into Say-Underhill, the other escaped.

On Monday we landed at Saybrook fort, and stayed there until Tuesday; Capt. Underhill joining nineteen men with himself to

and Lieut. Sealy, with our guard marched to Canonicus by land, being about five miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner: Having had party with him, we sent to Miantonimo, who would give no present answer; and so our sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until Monday, at which time there assembled Miantonimo with the chiefest of them about two hundred men; and being solemnly set for consultation after their manner, told them we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the wrong committed and bloodshed by their and our enemies, upon our native countrymen, not any way desiring their aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of: Moreover we told them that the English and they had always been friends for aught we knew, and so were we with the Indians that had not wronged Englishmen, which they acknowledged, and so made a large description of the Pequod's country, and told us they would send men with us; so we resolved there to keep our rendezvous at Canonicus's plantation, on the morrow night, being Tuesday; but the wind being stiff, we could not land our men until five or six of the clock in the aftermoon, at which time I landed on Narraganset shore with thirty-two men, and so marched to the place of rendezvous formerly appointed: Capt. Underhill and my lieut. landed the rest, and came up to me that night. About two hours before day, came an Indian with a letter from Capt. Patrick, being then at Robert Williams's plantation with forty the Lord being pleased wonderfully to assist men, who desired us to stay for his coming and encourage us, after a tedious march of and joining us, not intimating when that three or four miles: about break of day we

sistance was much desired) for these reasons.

also that Englishmen did talk much, but not whereupon we were constrained to set forand as I suppose near two hundred Narragansets, and marched that night to the eastern Nianticks, where we kept our rendezvous about an hundred of his men unto us.

We set forward and marched about ten miles, where making an alta (or halt) there we held a consultation with the Indians, who told them that we resolved to assault Sassacous's fort, at which they were all stricken and as it were amazed with fear, as they pressing of them, taxing them with cowardice, some of them resolved to go along with us, though I supposed they had no such intention, as appeared afterward; some of them to strengthen our plantations; and so set sail dred or less; and marching on five miles furtack Saccacous's fort, as we concluded in our most likely to be accomplished.

much desired; for it was dreadful to them to our men slain, and sixteen wounded.

hear the name of Sassacous.

From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvous, sup- one hour not knowing what course to take or posing we had been within one mile of the fort: an Indian having been sent beforehand, brought us news that they were secure, having been fishing with many canoes at sea, and divers of them walking here and there.

About two hours before day we marched toward the fort, being weary and much spent; many of us having slept none at all.

And as we began to march towards the fort,

Indian fort being the most remarkable piece bated, we thought it could not be our safest top of an hill not steep; the Indians all fallcourse to wait for him, (though his present as- ing back, were suddenly vanished out of sight, so we made an alta, and sent back for our 1. "Because the day before when he had guide who had promised to go with us to the absolutely resolved to go, the Indians plainly fort, but his heart we saw much failed him; to reap the fruit of his labour, and enjoy the told us they tho't we were but in jest, and we asked him what they intended who promised to wing us, and to surround the fort; fight; nay, they concluded they would not go he told us they were much afraid; but he, as a just reward of his faithful service on that on; and besides, if we should defer, we fear- seeing our resolution, went to them and preday as well as at other times. Weguash, a ed we should be discovered by reason of the vailed with divers of them to come up to us; we told them their best course would be to flank the fort on both sides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded; Capt. Underhill to the western entrance with one Sassacous's fort, which they first intended to seven English, and about sixty river Indians, division, myself to the eastern as silent as possibly we could: so it pleased God we came up within two rods of the palisado, before we were dicovered, at which time a dog beganto bark, and an Indian cried out, but not being myself rightly informed by the Indian guide, of the right entrance, though there was a little postern door, which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my foot; but land on Saturday, but on Monday they went desired to know what we intended? We the Lord directed me otherwise for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our arms, which proved true. So I suddenly hasted to the palisado, and putting in brook fort, where he was executed by Capt. plainly confessed; after a long debate and the muzzle of my piece, and discharged upon them, and so did the rest with all celerity; we then suddenly hastened on toward that side which stood toward the water; where I concluded there was an entrance, and instantly us: Whereupon we sent back twenty of ours left us to the number, as I suppose of an hun-fell upon it, being only barred with two forked boughs, or branches of some trees, and on Thursday towards Narraganset, and ar- ther, we made another alta, where they told hastening over them, I drew one after me: rived there on Friday.

On Saturday, myself, with Capt. Underhill, fort, as we gathered by their relation; we We suddenly fell upon the wigwams; the were constrained to alter our resolution, and Indians cried out on a most hideous manner, resolved to attempt that fort, which they had some issning out of their wigwams, shooting formerly described to be three or four miles at us desperately, and so creeping under beds nearer; and also one of Capt. Underhill's that they had. We had resolved awhile not men failing put it out of doubt. But who-to have burned it, but seeing we could not soever saith that Capt. Underhill had any fall- come at them, I resolved to set it on fire, after ing out about that or any thing else, doth divers of them were slain, and some of our speak an untruth; for we both resolved to at- men sore wounded; so entering one of their wigwams, I took a fire brand [at which time consultation at Narraganset, and so continued an Indian drawing an arrow had killed him, our resolution till we received the former rea- but one Davis, his sergeant cut the bowstring sons as grounds sufficient to persuade us to with his cutlass] and suddenly kindled a fire in the contrary, and to prosecute that which was the matts where with they were covered, and fell to a retreat and surrounded the fort; the fire They drew a plot of the situation of the increasing violently, insomuch that they were Pequods, and described Saccacous's fort to constrained to climbto the top of the palisado; be the nearest, which was the chief cause we from whence they were soon fetched down I determined to assault that first, and had no suppose to the number of an hundred and forty. reason leaning till our last alta, where, upon Many of them issuing forth were suddenly the reasons formerly mentioned, we changed slain by the English or Indians, who were in our resolution: This greatly pleased the In- a ring without us; all being dispatched and dians that were with us, as it was what they ended in the space of an hour, having two of

Being very hot and dry, we could very hardly procure any water, we continued there which way to go, our pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far or which way to go them, our interpreter, being an Indian, we could hardly come to speak with him: when we did, he knew nothing of what his countrymen intended, who were allhurried and distracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the enemy.

"The enemy approaching, they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think durst not leave us.

"Our pinnaces then coming in view with a

necessity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently seen in a matter of like moment, and less of man in several passages. Then we set our men in order, and prepared for fight, and began to march toward the harbour where the pinnaces were to ride: the enemy approaching, Capt. Underhill, with divers Indians and certain English, issued out to encounter them, but they would not stand to it, for the most part they lay behind rocks, trees and bushes. marched on, they still dodging of us; sometimes hazarding themselves in open field, where some of them were slain in open view, and as we hear, many wounded. I was somewhat cautious in bestowing many shot upon them heedlessly, because I expected a strong opposition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our pinnaces, where they wholly left us, which was nearly six miles as I conceive, it being then about two miles more to the river.

"Four of our wounded men we were forced to earry ourselves, while at length we hired the Indians to bear them both in this and all the following enterprises against the

Pequods."

This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that came from Connecticut; within a while after, the forces sent from the Massachusetts under the conduct of Capt. Stoughton as commander in chief, arrived there also, who found a great part of the work done to their liands, in the surprisal of the Pequods' fort as aforesaid, which was yet but the breaking of the nest, and unkennelling those savage wolves; for the body of thein, with Sassacous the chief sachem (whose very name was a terror to all the Narragansets; were dispersed abroad all over their dispersed abroad and scattered all over their country, yet so far were the rest dismayed, that they about in pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. Stoughton's soldiers came up, before news was brought of a great number of the enemy, that were discovered by the side of a river up the country, being first trappanned by the Narragansets, under pretence of securing them, but were truly hemmed in by them, though at a distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not stir, from the place, by which means our forces of the Massachusetts made an easy conquest of some hundreds of them, who were there nor able to fly away, and so were all taken without any opposition. The men among them to the number of 30, were turned pre-sently into Charon's ferryboat under the command of skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbour; the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors, some being given to the Narragansets, and other Indians that assisted in the service.

of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in the places where they intended to have hid themplantation. Our soldiers being resolved by plantation. Our soldiers being resolved by *Sassacons's scalp was sent down to the English-God's assistance to make a final destruction Hubbard's Massachusetts History.

thoy were informed of a great number of But to return: The rest of t but upon search, they found fifty or sixty wigwams, but without an Indian in any of the Dutch plantation; whereupon our solbable they should either find or hear of them; there with sundry of them, whom they slew eight days before he returned, in which somethe sea side, he accidentally met with a canoe never durst make any assault upon the Eng. he paddled by some shift or other so far out were in danger of the enemy's arrows that lish, who in several parties were scattered of the harbour, that making a sign he was dis-flew very thick about them, others were in as cerned by some on board one of the vessels ered. But after he was gone, Sassacous susmatter was, made his escape from the rest, with 20 or 30 of his men to the Mohawks, by thereunto by the Narrragansets, as was confi-mire and danger. dently affirmed and believed.*

cooped up as in a pound; not daring to fight, his companions, having against his faith and quods into the swamp did not love their promise, as well as contrary to the laws of friendship so well as to be killed with them nature and nations, murdered several others, also for company sake, wherefore they besame manner himself, against the laws of hosfor refuge. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, derstood one another by the means of Thomas

I will repay it.

It is worthy our observation, this that Sassacous, the chief sachem of the Pequods, as afterwards Philip of Mount Hope (both of The rest of the enemy being first fired out them in their several times and places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel mischiefs, yet) escaped the hands of those whom they had so many ways provoked to the utmost selves, the rest fied out of their own country degree of indignation, that so they might not over Connecticut river, up towards the Dutch too much gratify their own spirit in taking such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that

fair gale, being guided as it were to serve our of them, were minded to pursue them which revenge; but it must be brought about by way soever they should think to make their those means by which the glory of divine escape, to which end in the next place, our vengeance and justice shall more eminently soldiers went by water towards New Haven, shine forth, that it might be truly said of them, whither they heard, and which in reason was as Adonibezek confessed of himself, As I have

> But to return: The rest of the Pequods them, that had betaken themselves to a neigh-from whom Sassacous had made an escape, bouring place not far off, whither they might shifted every one for himself, leaving but three hope it was not likely they should be pursued; or four behind them (when a party of soldiers according to the direction of him that was sent as a spy came upon the place) who would not them, but heard that they had passed toward or could not tell them whither their company were fled; but our soldiers ranging up and diers that were before, all embarked for down as Providence guided them, at the last, Quillepiack, afterwards called New Haven, July 13, 1637, they light upon a great numand being landed there, they had not far to her of them, they pursued them to a small march unto the place where it was most pro- Indian town seated by the side of an hideous swamp (near the place where Fairfield or accordingly in their march they met here and Stratford now stands) into which they all slipt, as well Pequods as natives of the place, beor took prisoners, amongst whom were two fore our men could make any shot upon them, sachems, whom they presently beheaded; to having placed a sentinel to give warning, Mr. a third that was either a sachem or near akin Ludlow and Capt. Mason with half a score to one, they gave his life upon condition that of their men happened to discover this crew. he should go and enquire where Sassacous Capt. Patrick and Capt. Trask with about an was, and accordingly bring them word: this hundred of the Massachusetts forces came in Indian, overlooking all other national or natu- upon them presently after the alarm was given; ral obligations, in consideration of his life that such commanders as first happened to be there was received on that condition, proved very gave special orders that the swamp should be true and faithful to those that sent him; his surrounded (being about a mile in compass) order was to have returned in three days, but but Lieut. Davenpert belonging to Capt. not being able within so short a time to make Trask's company, not hearing the word of a full discovery of the business, and also to command, with a dozen more of his company, find a handsome way to escape, he made it in an over eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the swamp, where they were thing fell out not a little remarkable; for very rudely entertained by those evening those he was sent to discover, suspecting at wolves that newly kennelled therein, for Lieut. the last by his withdrawing himself, that he Davenport was sorely wounded in the body, came for a spy, pursued after him, so he was John Wedwood of Ipswich in the belly, and forced to fly for his life, and getting down to laid hold on by some of the Indians; Thomas Sherman of said Ipswich in the neck; some a little before turned adrift, by which means of their neighbours that ventured in with them much hazard of being swallowed by the miry that attended on our soldiers, by whom being boggs of the swamp, wherein they stuck so taken up, he made known what he had discov-fast, that if Sergeant Riggs, of Roxbury, had not rescued two or three of them, they and pecting (and not without just cause) what the fallen into the hands of the enemy : but such was the strength and courage of those that came to their rescue, that some of the Indians whom himself and they that were with him, being slain with their swords, their friends were all murdered afterward, being hired were quickly relieved and drawn out of the

But the Indians of the place, who had for Thus this treacherous and cruel villian with company sake run with their guests the Peboth of the Dutch and English nation, is in the gan to bethink themselves they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parley, pitality murdered by those to whom he fled which was granted, and they presently un-Stanton, an exact interpreter then at hand. Upon which the sachem of the place with several others and their wives and children, that liked better to live quietly in their wigwams than to be buried in the swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them: After some time of further parley with these, the interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were possessed with they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there; and to that end began

to let fly their arrows thick against him as in- the worthy governor of Massachusetts; who tending to make his blood some part of the price of their own; but through the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetch-

By this time night drawing on, our commanders perceiving on which side of the swamp the enemies were lodged, gave orders to cut through the swamp with their swords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our soldiers standing at twelve feet distance could surround it, the enemy kept in all the night; but a little before day-break (by reason of the fog that useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers, and escaped away into the woods, some by violence and some by stealth cropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit; the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their selfwilledness and madness sit still to be snot or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning entering into the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them: so, besides those that were found dead (near twenty it was judged) many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe; of those who were not so desperate or sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas, of the females some were distributed to the English towns, some were disposed of among the other Indians, to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to ourselves.

This overthrow given to the Pequods struck such a terror into all the Indians in those parts (some of whom had been ill affected to the English before) that they sought our friendship, and rendered themselves to be under our protection, which they then obtained, and have never since forfeited it any of them, till the late rebellion of Philip, the subject of the following discourse. Amongst the rest of the prisoners special notice was given of the wife of a noted Indian called Mononotto, who with her children submitted herself, or by the chance of the war fell into the hands of the English: it was known to be by her mediation that two English maids (that were taken from Weathersfield, upon Connecticut river) were saved from death. in requittal of whose pity and humanity, the life of herself and her children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the care of that honorable gentle-

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and christian disposition.

After this slaughter at the swamp, the Pequods being upon every turn exposed to the revenge of the Mohegins on one side, and the Narragansets on the English,* by whom they were put, some under the Mohegins and some under the Narragansets, which at last tonimo, as will be hereafter related.

branch of the Narragansets) came to Boston with seventy of his own men: he made divers propositions to the English, which they took into consideration, and promised to give demanded the delivery of them, which he

Pequods, came to the governor at Boston cause it was not first accepted: But afterwards about his innocency, they accepted it, whereupon he promised to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narragansets and himself, and confirmed all with this compliment; this heart, said he, (laying his hand upon his through the English plantations.

and knowledge of the present age,

After subduing the Pequods in the year taking notice of her modest countenance and 1637, the Narragansets, the most numerous behavior, as well as of her only request (not of the other Indians, either out of discontent, to suffer wrong either as to the honor of her that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the body or fruit of her womb) gave special Indians was not adjudged to belong to them, charge concerning her, according to his noble or out of envy, that Uncas the chief sachem of the Mohegin Indians, had insinuated further than themselves into the favour of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, notwithstanding a firm agreement was made between the English and the said Narragansets in the year 1637, when they had helped to destroy proved the occasion of the present quarrel as the Pequods, and also notwithstanding the is conceived, through the ambition of Mian-triple league between the said Narragansets, the Mohegins, and the English at Hart-On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo, a ford (the chief town of Connecticut) made in sachem of the Niantick Indians (who were a the year 1638, wherein the said Indians were solemnly engaged not to quarrel with the Mohegins or any other Indians, until they first asked the advice of the English, to whose determination, they had likewise obliged themhim an answer the next day: but finding that selves to stand in all following differences he had rescued divers of the Pequods, sub-among them. They carried it subtilely and mitted to him since the last defeat, they first underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrels with the said Uncas, against sticking at, they refused further conference whom they had always an inveterate malice, with him: But the next morning he came ever since the agreement made about disand offered what they desired. So the go-tributing the Pequods, after the war with vernor referred him to the captains at the them had ended, expecting in all probability Pequod country, and writ instructions to them that all should have been left to their sole how to deal with him. So receiving his ten arbitrament. The Mohegins on the other fathoms of wampum, they friendly dismissed side, though not so numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politic, always made In July 1638, Uncas the sachem of the their recourse to the English, complaining of Mohegins, having entertained some of the the insolence of the Narragansets, contrary to their league, so as they would hardly be with a present, and was much dejected be- kept from making open war against them, when they saw all other attempts to kill and the governor and council being satisfied destroy Uncas the Mohegin sachem, by treachery, poison and sorcery prove ineffectual. luasmuch that at last the malice of Mianto-nimo and his Narragausets grew to that height, that they began to plot against the English themselves, for defending Uncas.

The Narragansets were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of Miantoheart) is not mine but your's, command me nimo, the heir apparent of all the Narraganset any difficult service and I will do it, I have people, after the decease of the old suchem, no men but they are all your's, I will never Canonicus, who was his uncle. This Mianbelieve any Indian against the English any tonimo was a very goodly personage, of tall more; and so he continued for ever after, as stature, subtle and cunning in his contrivemay be seen in the following transactions be- ments, as well as haughty in his designs. It tween the Indians and the English: where- was strongly suspected that in the year 1642, upon he was dismissed with some small re-he had contrived to draw all the Indians ward, and went home very joyful, carrying a throughout the country into a general conletter of approbation for himself and his men, spiracy against the English; For, the first of September, 1642, letters came to the This was the issue of the Pequod war, court of Connecticut, and from two of the which in the day of it here in New England magistrates there, that the Indians had conwas as formidable to the country in general as spired to cut off the English all over the the present war with Philip; the experience country: Mr. Ludlow certified as much from of which, because it may administer much the place where he lived near the Dutch. comfort and encouragement to the surviving The time appointed for the assault, was said generation as well as of praise and thanks to be after harvest; the manner to be by giving to Almighty God, from all those who several companies, entering into the chief have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit men's houses, by way of trade, and then to and reaped the fruit of their labour and kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, courage who engaged therein, the more pains and others should be at hand to prosecute the bath been taken to search out the broken massacre: This was also confirmed by three pieces of that story and thus put them to- Indians that were said to reveal it in the gether, before the memory thereof was buried same manner, and at the same time, to in the ruins of time, and past the recovery Mr. Ludlow and to the governor of New Haven. It was added also that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr. Haines man Mr. John Winthrop, at that time being . Seven hundred of them were thought to be destroyed, of Connecticut by some special circum-

(which usually there are drawn with oxen) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, return home. and sent Englishman's cow (meaning the exen in the cart, or wayne) to kill him because he had concealed a plot against the English, and so told him all as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them and enter upon a war presently, and that if Massachusetts would send 120 men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number. This was a very probable story, and very likely it was, that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business among themselves. But the general court of Massachusetts when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the governor and magistrates as many as could convene together before the court ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly vielded unto: and upon all the enquiries and examinations which were made by the court when assembled together, they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to the ground of a war. Besides, it was considered, that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another; who may be very ready to accuse one another to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantenimo, sachem of Narraganset, was sent unto, and by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy; though his quarrel with the Mohegins (who bordered upon Connecticut colony) might very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report, or an occasion of it.

The said Miantonimo when he came before the court peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer, what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death, his reasons for which were very plausible. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law against his accusers; alleging, that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about: and if they did believe it, equity required, that they who accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegins, that the report was raised either by him or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmen's houses, which might be a sufficient ground to disarm; and with that he was something satisfied. The Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts to lay it aside.

Miantonimo when he was at Boston was

very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal; but though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were

counsellors were present, that they might, as sign against the English, intended to begin he said, bear witness of all his speeches at their 1671, did not take place, out of mere malice

at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf, that if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the governor, telling him, that was for the magistrates that were absent.

While he was at Boston one of his own followers had been a principal evidence against him; he however promised to deliver him to the Mohegin sachem whose subject he was; notwithstanding which promise, going homeward he cut off his head to prevent his telling more tales. And with great discontent, as he was going home said, he would come no more to Boston, wherein he proved a truer prophet than he himself believed when he uttered the words, for in the end of the same year, 1643, making war upon Uncas, he was taken prisoner by him, and soon after by the advice of the commissioners of the four colonies (at that time firmly united into a league offensive and defensive, on which account they were after that time called the united colonies of New-England; though since that time they are reduced to but three colonies; that of New Haven and Connecticut by the last patent being united in one) his head was cut off by Uncas, it being justly feared, that there might not wrong them, but might likewise be would never be a firm peace, either betwixt the English and the Narragansets, or betwixt the Narragansets and the Mohegins, while Miantonimo was left alive: However, the Narragansets have ever since that time bore an implacable malice against Uncas, and all the Mohegins, and for their sakes secretly against the English, so far as they durst dis-

In the year 1645, and 1646, they grew so insolent, that the commissioners of the united his eldest son, afterwards called Alexander. colonies were compelled to raise forces to go against them, but when they perceived that the English were in good earnest, they began to be afraid, and sued for piece, submitted to to Mr. Brown's, who lived not far from Mount pay tribute to satisfy the charges of preparation for the war, but were always very backward to make payment until the English were forced to demand it by new forces, so that it and them, as there had been betwixt himself appeared they were unwilling to hold any and them in former times; yet it is very refriendly correspondence with the English, yet durst never make any open attempt upon them, until the present rebellion, wherein they had no small hand, is too evident, notwithstanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will ap-

pear in the sequel of this history.

Thus it is apparent upon what terms the English stood with the Narragansets, ever since the cutting off Miantonimo, their chief

stances, viz. that being much hurt by a cart he would never speak but when some of his posed being vexed in his mind that the deand spite against them, slew an Englishman They spent two days in the treaty, wherein travelling along the road, and the said Malast he gave them satisfaction in all things, tooms being a Nipnet Indian, which Nipnets were under the command of the sachem of Mount Hope, the author of all the present

> Upon a due enquiry into all the preceding transactions between the Indians and the English, from their first settling in these coasts, there will appear no ground of quarrel that any of them had against the English, nor any provocation upon one account or another; for when Plymouth colony was first planted, within three months aftertheir first landing, March 16, 1620, Massasoit, the chief sachem of all that side of the country, repaired to the English at Plymouth, and entered into a solemn league upon sundry articles, (printed in New-England's Memorial, 1689) which are as follows, viz.

> 1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

> 2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

> 3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.

> 4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they should aid him, and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind

7. That in so doing, their sovereign lord, King James, would esteem him as their friend

and ally. This league the same sachem, September 26, 1630, a little before his death, coming with did renew with the English at the court of Plymouth, for himself and his son, and their heirs and successors: And after that he came Hope, bringing his two sons, Alexander and Philip with him, desiring there might be love and amity after his death, between his sons markable that this Massasoit, called also Woosamequen, (how much soever he affected the English) was never in the least degree well affected to the religion of the English, but would in his last treaty with his neighbours at Plymouth, when they were with him about purchasing some land at Swanzey, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his people from their old pagan supersachem's head by Uncas, it being done with stition, and devilish idolatry, to the christian the advice and counsel of the English, Anno religion, and did much insist upon it till he saw 1643. As for the rest of the Indians, ever the English were resolved never to make any since the suppression of the Pequods, in the treaty with him more upon that account, which year 1637, until the year 1675, there was al- when he discerned, he did not further urge ways in appearance amity and good correstit: but that was a bad omen, that, notwithpondence on all sides, scarce an Englishman standing whatever his humanity was to the was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by English, as they were strangers, (for indeed any of them, until after the year 1674, when they had repayed his former kindness to them, drawn swords. It was observed also, that the son of one Matoonas, who, as was sup- by protecting him afterwards against the inso-

they were christians; which strain was evident more in his son that succeeded bim, and all his people, insomuch that some discerning persons of that jurisdiction have feared that nation of Indians would all be rooted out, as has since come to pass. The like may be observed concerning the Narragansetts, who were always more civil and courteous to the English than any of the other Indians, though never have as yet received the least tincture of the christian religion, but have in a maoner run the same fate with their neighbours of Mount Hope, there being very few of them left standing. Nor is it unworthy the relation, what a person of quality amongst us hath lately affirmed, viz. One much conversant with the Indians about Merrimac river, being Anno 1660, invited by some Sagamores or sachems to a great dance, (which solemnities are the times they make use of to tell their stories. and convey the knowledge of some past and most memorable things to posterity) Passaconaway, the great sachem of that part of the country, intending at that time to make his last and farewell speech to his children and people, that were then all gathered together, addressed himself to them in this manner:

"I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more : I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the earth if you do; for I was as much an enemy to the English, at their first coming into these parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them sitting down here, but I could no way effect it, therefore I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them:" And accordingly his eldest son Wanalancet by name, as soon as he perceived that the Indians were up in arms, withdrew himself into some remote place, that he might not be hurt by the English, or the enemies, or be in danger

by them.

This passage was thought fit to be inserted here, it having so near an agreement with the former, intimating some secret awe of God upon the hearts of some of the principal amongst them, that they durst not hurt the English, although they bear no good affection to their religion, wherein they seem not a little to imitate Balaam, who, whatever he uttered, when he was under the awful power of divine illumination, yet when left to himself, was as bad an enemy to the Israel of God as ever before.

But to return.

After the death of this Woosamequen, or Massasoit, his eldest son succeeded him about 20 years since, Alexander by name, who notwithstanding the league he had entered into with the English, together with his father, in the year 1639, had neither affection to the Englishmen's persons, nor yet to their religion, but had been plotting with the Narragansets, to rise against the English; of which the governor and council of Plymouth being informed, they presently sent for him to bring

nences of the Narragansets) he manifested no resolute gentleman, the present governor of small displacency of spirit against them, as the said colony, who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said Alexander's dwelling, distant at least forty miles from the governor's house, but by a good providence, he found him whom he went to seek at a hunting-house, within six miles of the English towns, where the said Alexander, with about eighty men, were newly come in from hunting, and had left their guns without doors, which Major Winslow with his small company wisely seized and conveyed away, and then went into the wigwam, and demanded Alexander to go along with him before the governor, at which message he was much appalled, but being told by the undaunted messenger, that if he stirred or refused to go he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief counsellors, in whose advice he most confided, persuaded to go along to the governor's house, but such was the pride and height of his spirit, that the very surprisal of him, so raised his choler and indignation, that it put him into a fever, which notwithstanding all possible means that could be used, seemed mortal; whereupon entreating those that held him prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his son as hostage till he could do so; on that consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died helore he got half way home. Here let it be observed, that, although some have taken up false reports as if the English had compelled him to go further and laster than e was able. and so he fell into a fever, or as if he was not well used by the physician that looked to him, while he was with the English; all which are notoriously false; nor is it to be imagined that a person of so noble a disposition as is this gentleman (at that time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any one else to be uncivil to a person allied to them, by his own, as well as his father's league, as the said Alexander also was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to by the English of Plymouth, by the said Alexander's brother, by name Philip, commonly for his ambitious and haughty spirit nicknamed King Philip, when he came in the year 1662, in his own person with Sausaman and secretary and chief counsellor, to renew the former league that had been between his predecessors and the English of Plymouth; but there was as much correspondence betwixt them for the next seven years as ever had been in any former times. What can be imagined, therefore, besides the instigation of Satan, that envied at the prosperity of the church of God here seated, or else fearing lest the power of the Lord Jesus, that had overthrown his kingdom in other parts of the world, should do the like here, and so the stone taken out of the mountain without hands, should become a great mountain itself, and fill the whole earth; no cause for provocation being given by the English! For once before this, in the year 1671, the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, had so filled the heart of this savage miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to him to the court; the person to whom that break out in open war against the inhaservice was committed, was a prudent and bitants of Plymouth, pretending some trifling at present.

injuries done him in his planting land, but when the matter of controversy came to be heard by divers of the Massachusetts colony, yea, when he himself came to Boston, as it were referring his case to the judgment of that colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear, whereupon in way of submission, he was of necessity by that evident conviction forced to acknowledge that it was the naughtiness of his own heart, that put him upon that rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the English; and to a confession of this nature with a solemn renewal of this covenant, declaring his desire, that this covenant might testily to the world against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of Plymouth, or any other of the English colonies therein, himself with his chief counsellors subscribed in the presence of some messengers sent on purpose to hear the difference between Plymouth and the said Philip. But for further satisfaction of the reader, the said agreement and submission

shall here be published.

Taunton, April 10, 1671. "Whereas my father, my brother, and myself have formerly submitted ourselves and our people unto the king's majesty of England, and to this colony of New Plymouth, by some solemn covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends, and my father's friends abovementioned, and do desire this may testify to the world against me if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness towards them (whom I have now and at all times found kind to me) or any other of the English colonies; and as a real pledge of my true intentions, I do freely engage to resign up unto the go-vernment of New Plymouth, all my English arms, to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of these premises, I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my council.

The mark P. of Philip, chief sachem of Pakanoket, The mark V. of Tavoser, The mark M. of Capt. Wispoke, The mark T. of Wookaponchunt, The mark S of Nimrod."

In presence of WILLIAM DAVIS WILLIAM HUDSON THOMAS BRATTLE.

Philip also in the same year signed the following Articles:

1. "We Philip and my council and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his majesty the king of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their

2. "I am willing and do promise to pay unto the governor of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have: But I would intreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it

3. "I do promise to send unto the governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them: Or, as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves

4. "If any difference fall between the mouth, to rectify the difference amongst us.

5. " I do promise not to make war with any, but with the governor's approbation of

Plymouth.

lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the governor of Plymouth.

"For the true performance of the said sachem, Philip of Paukamakett, do hereby hind myself and such of my council, as are present, ourselves, our heirs, our successors, faithfully, do promise, in witness thereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the day and year above written.'

The mark P. of Philip, the sachem of Pokanoket, The mark [of Uncomdaen, The mark tof Wocokom, The mark 7 of Samkama,"
In the presence of the court and divers of the magistrates and other gentlemen of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

To which, for the further clearing the justice of the present war the result of the debate of the commissioners of the united colonies about the matter of the war shall be here inserted.

At a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies held at Boston, September 9th,

"We having received from the commissioners of Plymouth, a narrative, shewing the rise and several steps of that colony, as to the present war with the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progress into Massachusetts, by their insolencies and outrages, murdering many persons, and burning their houses in sundry plantations in both colonies. And having duly considered the same, do declare that the said war be both just and necessary, and its first rise only a defensive war. And therefore we do agree and conclude that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united colonies, and the charges thereof to be borne and paid as is agreed in the articles of confederation.

JOHN WINTHROP. JAMES RICHARDS THOMAS DANFORTH. WILLIAM STOUGHTON, JOSIAH WINSLOW THOMAS HINCKLEY."

But whatever his submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his people to our king, or his engagement to pay a sum of money in part of the charges then occasioned by him (and notwithstanding the English in or about Plymouth, since, or before that time were never any ways injurious to him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a narrative given by the commissioners of the the colony of Plymouth, wherein they also signified that the settlement and issue of the former controversy between Philip and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and inposed advice and counsel of the other two confederate colonies, and also in a letter under the governor's hand, in the following words:

them long since. And our neighbours at would have been so ungrateful, perfidiously Rehoboth and Swanzy, although they bought their lands fairly of this Philip and his father The occasion of Philip's so sudden taki their lands fairly of this Philip and his father and brother, yet because of their vicinity, that up arms the last year was this—there was one they might not trespass upon the Indians, did John Sausaman a very cunning and plausible at their own cost set up a very substantial Indian well skilled in English language, and fence quite across that great neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due damage if at any time an unruly horse or other beast broke in and trespassed.

"And for divers years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be secretary, and his chief counsellors whom prevented) the English agreed with Philip and he trusted with all his affairs and secret counhis, for a certain sum yearly to maintain the said fence, and secure themselves. And if at his own conscience, or by the frequent soliciany time they have brought complaints before tations of Mr. Elliot, that had known him from us, they have had justice impartial and speedi- a child and instructed him in the principles ly, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them over much favour.

JOS. WINSLOW."

Marshfield, May 1, 1676.

tiff still harbour the same or more mischieveus for all his former offences, and made a serious thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that time plotting with all the Indians round about, to make a general in he was better gifted than any other of the insurrection against the English in all the co- Indian nation, as he was observed to conform lonies which, as some prisoners lately brought more to the English manner than any other in have confessed, should have been put in Indian; yet having occasion to go up with execution at once, by all the Indians rising as some others of his countrymen to Namasket; one man, against all those plantations of the (now Middleborough) whether the advantage English, which were next to them. The of fishing, or some such occasion, it matters Narragansets having promised, as was con- not; being there not far from Philip's country. fessed, to rise with four thousand fighting men he had occasion of being in the company of in the spring of 1676. But by the occasion Philip's Indians, and Philip himself; by in the spring of 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about Sausaman, Philip was necessitated for the safety of his own life to begin the rebellion the year before, when the design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the murder of the aforesaid Sausaman, his heart might have failed him; when it should concurrent testimonies from others making it have come to be put into execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of captains, of far better courage and resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, fling down his arms calling him a white livered cur, or to that purpose, and saying that he would never ewn him again, or fight under him; and from that time hath Sausaman's death, which was strangely disturned to the English, and hath continued to covered netwithstanding it was so cunningly this day a faithful and resolute soldier in their effected, for they that murdered him met him

"I think I can clearly say, that before these firmed by some of the Indians about Hadley, al present troubles broke out, the English did though the plot was not come to maturity when not possess one foot of land in this colony, but Philip began, the special providence of God what was fairly obtained by honest purchase therein overruling the contrivers: for when of the Indian proprietors: nay, because some the beginning of the troubles first was reportof our people are of a covetous disposi-ed from Mount Hope, many of the Indians English and myself, and people, then I do promise to repair to the governor of Ply-prevailed with to part with their lands, we what to do, sometimes ready to stand for the first made a law that none should purchase or English, as formerly they had been wont to receive by gift, any land of the Indians with- de; sometimes ready to strike in with Philip. out the knowledge and allowance of our (which at the last they generally did) which court, and penalty of a fine, five pounds per if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief 6. "I promise not to dispose of any of the acre, for all that should be so bought or ob- might have been prevented that fell out in tained. And lest yet they should be straight- several places, more by perfidious and treachened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pecasset, erous dealing than any other ways; the Enand several other necks of the best land in glish never imagining that after so many obligthe colony, because most suitable and conve-ling kindnesses received from them by the Innient for them, should never be bought out dians, besides their many engagements and of their hands, or else they would have sold protestations of friendship as formerly, they

> bred up in a profession of the christian religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a sels: but afterwards, whether upon sting of of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and return back to the christian Indians at Natick, where he Yet did this treacherous and perfidious cai- was baptized, manifesting public repentance profession of the christian religion; and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherewhich means he discerned by several circumstances, that the Indians were plotting anew against us; which out of faithfulness to the English, the said Sausaman informed the governor of, adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information, some inquiry was made into the husiness, by examining Philip himself, and several of his Indians, who although they would own nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion .-Philip therefore soon after contrived the said quarrels.
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> That the Indians had a conspiracy amongst themselves to rise against the English, is con

the ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the ice and was drowned; were slain in or about Swanzey; they first them to make a halt, for a little repast, till but being missed by his friends, who finding making a shot at a company of English as the moon recovered her light again. Some some of his friends, particularly one David, and then likewise they slew two men on the observed some bruises about his head, which highway, sent to call a surgeon; and the made them suspect that he was first knocked same day barbarously murdered six men in down before he was put into the water, how- and about a dwelling-house in another part ever they buried him near the place where he of the town; all which outrages were comwasfound, without making any further inquiry mitted so suddenly, that the English had no at present: nevertheless David his friend, time to make any resistance: for on the 14th reported these things to some English at day of the same month, besides endeavours Taunton (a town not far from Namasket) used by Mr. Brown, of Swanzey, one of the which occasioned the governor to inquire fur-imagistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction, an amither into the business, wisely considering that cable letter was sent from the council of as Sausaman had told him that if it were Plymouth shewing their dislike of his pracknown that he related any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains: wherefore, Indians, and not to suffer himself to be abused by special warrant the body of Sausaman being by false reports, concerning them that intend digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned. And by a strange providence, an was hoped might have been prevented, as Indian was found, that by accident standing heretofore it had been, when things seemed unseen upon a hill, had seen them murdering too look with as bad a face as they then did. the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it, for fear of losing his own life likewise, until Plymouth, understanding that Philip conhe was called to the court at Plymouth, or tinued in his resolution, and manifested no inbefore the governor where he plainly con-fessed what he had seen. The murderers what forces they could to secure the towns being apprehended, were convicted by his thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion undeniable testimony, and other remarkable might be; and also dispatched away messencircumstances, and so were all put to death, gers to the Massachusetts governor and counbeing three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his about Mount Hope, and desiring their speedy futher (one of the counsellors and special friends assistance; upon which care was immediately of Philip) was one of the two that murdered taken with all expedition to send such sup-Sausaman, himself only looking on. This plies as were desired: But in the meantine was done at Plymouth court, held in June, two messengers were dispatched to Philip, 1675, insomuch that Philip apprehending the to try whether he could not be diverted from danger his own head was in next, never used his bloody enterprize, so as to have preventany further means to clear himself from what od the mischief since fallen out, hoping, that his plotting against the English, nor yet about mediation a stop was put to the like tragedy, Sausaman's death; but by keeping his men so the present war might by the same means continually about him in arms, and gathering have been now turned aside: For in the said The English of Plymouth, hearing of all this, such an height, that they began not only to more particularly related.

use threatening words to the English, but also

On the 26th of June, a foot company unto kill their cattle and rifle their houses; der Capt. Daniel Henchman, with a troop the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth they camo up to the Neponset river, about the weather not suffering any further action at

his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the they returned from the assembly where they melancholy fancies would not be persuaded, place, where his body was found under the were met in a way of humiliation on that day, ice.-When they took him up to bury him, whereby they killed one and wounded others, tices, and advising him to dismiss his strange him no hurt ; but no answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatening of war, which it

However, the governor and council of cil, letting them know the state of things was like to be laid to his charge, either about as once before, viz. in the year 1671, by their what strangers he could to join with him, year Philip had firmly engaged himself, when marching up and down constantly in arms, he was at Boston, not to quarrel with Plyboth while the court sat as well as afterwards, mouth until he had first addressed himself to Massachusetts for advice and approbation: yet took no further notice than to order a But the two messengers aforesaid, finding the inilitary watch in all the adjacent towns hop-men slain in the road, June 24, as they were ing that Philip, finding himself not likely to going for the surgeon, apprehended it not safe be arraigned by order of the said court, the to proceed any further, considering also, that present cloud might blow over as some others a peace now could not honourably be concludof like nature had done before: but in concluded after such barbarous outrages committed sion, the matter proved otherwise, for Philip upon some of the neighbour colony: Wherefinding his strength daily increasing by the fore, returning with all speed to Boston, the flocking of neighbouring Indians unto him, Massachusetts forces were dispatched away and sending over their wives and children to with all imaginable haste, as the exigence of the Narragansets for security (as they used to the matter did require, some of them being do when they intended war with any of their then upon, or ready for their march, the rest enemies) they immediately began to alarm were ordered to follow after, as they could be the English at Swanzey (the next town to raised. The sending forth of which, because Philip's country) as it were daring the English it was the first engagement in any warlike to begin; at last their insolencies grew to preparations against the Indians, shall be

but that the eclipse falling out at that instant of time was ominous, conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discerned an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an Indian: As others not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian how, accounting that likewise ominous (although the mischief following were done by guns, and not by bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what Marcus Crassus the Roman general, going forth with an army against the Parthians, once wisely replied to a private soldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching that time, because of an eclipse of the moon in Capricorn, that he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus, meaning tho arrows of the Parthians (accounted very good archers) from whom as things then fell out, was his greatest danger. But after the moon had waded through the dark shadow of the earth, and borrowed her light again, by the help thereof, the two companies marched on towards Woodcock's house, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of volunteers, under the command of Capt. Samuel Moseley, which accordingly came to pass, so that nn June 20, they all arrived at Swanzy, where, by the advice of Capt. Cudworth the commander in chief of Plymouth forces, they were removed to the head quarters, which for that time was ap-pointed at Mr. Miles's house, the minister of Swanzey, within a quarter of a mile of the bridge, leading into Philip's lands. They arriving there some little time before night, twelve of the troops, unwilling to lose time passed over the bridge, for discovery, into the enemies territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the bushes, killing one William Hammond, wounding Corporal Belcher, his horse being also shot down under him; the rest of the troopers having discharged upon those Indians, who run away after the first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded companions, and so retired to their main guard, for that night pitching in a barricado about Mr. Miles's house. The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces both engaging them: for the next morning they shouted twice or thrice, at half a mile's distance, and nine or ten of them showing themselves on this side of the bridge, our horsemen, with the whole body of the volunteers under Capt. Mosely, not at all daunted by such kind of alarms, and not willing to lose the bridge, ran down upon them over the said bridge, pursuing them a mile and a quarter on the other side: Ensign Savage, that young martial spark, scarce twenty years of whereat an Englishman was so provoked, under Capt. Thomas Prentice, were sent out age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only of Boston towards Mount Hope: It being thigh, another shot through the brim of his wound not kill him; whereupon the Indians late in the afternoon before they began to hat, by ten or twelve of the enemy dischargimmediately began to kill all the English they march, the central eclipse of the moon in ingupon him together, while he boldly held could, so that on the 24th of June, 1675, was Capricorn happened in the evening before up his colours in front of his company: But

that time, those that were thus far advanced of them upon a plain, they slew four or five | Philip as there might be occasion, if he offerwere compelled to retreat back to the main of them in the chase, whereof one was known guard, having first made a shot upon the In- to be Thebe, a sachem of Mount Hope, anodians, as they run away into the swamp near ther of them was a chief counsellor of by, whereby they killed five or six of them, Philip's; yet in this attempt the lieutenant as was understood soon after at Narraganset: lost one of his company, John Druce by This resolute charge of the English forces name, who was mortally wounded in his upon the enemy made them quit their place bowels, whereof he soon afterward died, to on Mount Hope that very night, where Philip the great grief of his companions. After the was never seen after; till the next year, when said troops came to head quarters at Swanzy, he was by a divine mandate sent back; there they understood from Capt. Cudworth that to receive the reward of his wickedness the enemy were discovered upon Pocasset,* where he first began his mischief: The next another neck of land lying over an arm of the day Major Savage that was to command in sea more towards Cape Cod: However it chief over the Massachusetts forces being was resolved that a more narrow search come up with other supplies, about six should be made after them, both upon Mount o'clock over night the whole body intended Hope and upon the ground between Swanzy to march into Mount Hope, and there beat up and Rehoboth to scout the swamps and asthe enemy's quarters, or give him battle, if he sault them if they could find where they durst abide it: But the weather being doubt ful, our forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a troop of horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the enemy's ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and a half, they passed that they should be sure to leave none of the by some houses newly burned: Not far off enemy behind them, when they should reone of them found a bible newly torn, and the move to pursue them elsewhere. leaves scattered about, the enemy, in hatred of our religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some heads, scalps, and hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon poles near the highway, in that barbarous and inhuman manner bidding us defiance; the commander in chief giving order that those monuments of the enemy's cruelty should be taken down and buried; The whole bedy of the forces still marched on two miles further, where they found divers wigwams of the enemy, among which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the owners; half a mile further, as they passed on through many fields of stately corn, they found Philip's own wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the enemy's hasty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the seaside, yet in all this time meeting with no Indians, nor any signs of them, unless of them, unless of their flight to some other places. The sea-forces over to the Narraganset country, to parties, or deliver the offenders. Indians, nor any signs of them, unless of son being likely to prove very tempestuous and rainy, Capt. Cudworth with some of the men of Plymouth passed over to Rhode-Island. The forces under Major Savage were forced to abide all night in the open field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that fell, and in the morning despairing to meet with an enemy on Mount Hope, they retreated back to their head quarters at Swanzy, in their way meet-chems, three or four days were spent in a ing with many Indian dogs that seemed to treaty, after which a peace was concluded have lost their masters. That night Capt, with them by the messengers of Connecticut Prentice's troops for conveniency of quarters as also for discovery, were dismissed to lodge at Seaconk or Rehoboth, a town within six miles of Swanzy. As they returned back in the morning, Capt. Prentice divided his troops, delivering one half to Lieut. Oakes, and keeping the other himself, who as they rode along, espied a company of Indians burning It being always understood, that Plymouth a house: but could not pursue them by rea- colony was included in the said agreement, son of several fences, that they could not go although their forces were not then present, over till the Indians had escaped into a swamp. Those with Lieut. Oakes had the horders, to secure their towns, and oppose like discovery but with better success, as to like discovery but with better success, as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing Island, where now Tiverston is, was called Pocasset.

were entrenched. Capt. Henchman and Capt. Prentice were ordered to search the swamps, while Capt. Mosely and Capt. Paige with their dragoons attended on Major Savage, should return back into Mount Hope,

About ten o'clock the next morning, July 4th, Capt Henchman, after a long and tedious march, came to the head quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the enemy had newly been that night, but were escaped out of the reach: But the folup from Boston with new orders for them to pass into Narraganset, to treat with the sachems there that if it might be so to prevent their joining with Philip. Capt. Cud- both the abovesuid colonies. worth by this time was come up to the head fight them if they should be needed; Capt. Mosely passed over by water to attend Capt. Hutchinson in his dispatch; the other companies with the troopers riding round about. Pomham's country (next adjoining to Philip's borders) all fled, and their wigwams without any people in them.

After they came to the Narraganset sawith them by the messengers of Connecticut colony (who were ordered to meet with those of Massachusetts (and the commanders of the forces sent against Philip: Hostages were also given by the said Naragansets for the performance of the agreement. A copy of the said agreement, and the articles on which a peace was concluded, here follow. but remained at home near the enemy's

ed to make any new attempt in the mean-

Articles, covenant and agreements had, made and concluded by, and between Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the government of Massachusetts colony, and Major Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith, on behalf of Connecticut colony the one party; and Agamaug, Wampash alias Corman, Taitson Tawageson, counsellors and attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret Matataog, old queen Quiapen, Quananshit and Pomham, the six present sachenis of the whole Narraganset country on the other party, referring to several differences and troubles lately risen between them; and for a final conclusion of settled peace and amity between the said sachems, their heirs and successors forever, and the governors of the said Massachusetts and Connecticut, and their successors in the said governments

1. That all and every of the sachems shall from time to time carefully seize, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the above said governments, all and every of sachem Philip's subjects whatsoever, that shall come, or be found within the precinct of any other lands, and that with great dili-

gence and faithfulness.

II. That they shall with their utmost abillowing night before they were determined ity use all acts of hostility against the said Phion any other motion, Capt. Hutchinson came lip and his subjects, entering his lands or any other lands of the English, to kill and destroy the said enemy, until a cessation from war with the said enemy be concluded by

III. That the said sachems, by themselves quarters, having left a garrison of 40 men and their agents, shall carefully search out upon Mount Hope neck. The next morning and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken was spent in consultation how to carry on by any of their subjects from any of the Enthe treaty; it was then resolved, that they glish, whether formerly or lately, and shall should go to make a peace with a sword in make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injutheir hands, having no small ground of sus- ries done to the estate of any of the subjects picion that the said Narragansets might join of the several colonies, according to the judgwith the enemy, wherefore they thought it ment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfac-

1V. That all preparations for war or acts of hostility against any of the English suljecti, shall forever for the future cease; together with all manner of thefts, pilferings, As they passed they found the Indians in killing of cattle, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever shall with the utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a guard round about the Narraganset country, for the English inhabitants safety and security.

V. In token of the abovesaid sachems' reality in this treaty and conclusion, and for the security of the several English governments and subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid gentlemen, in the behalf of the abovesaid colonies, John Wobequod, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, four of their nearest kinsmen and choice friends, to be and remain as hostages in several places of the English jurisdictions, at the appointment of the honourable governors of the abovesaid colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as prisoners, but otherwise at their honour's discretion, until the abovesaid articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several governments, the departure of any of them

the peace, and of these present articles.

VI. The said gentleman in the behalf of the governments to which they belong, do engage to every the said sachems and their subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either of the abovesaid English governments, or to Mr. Smith inhabitant of Narraganset, Philip Sachem alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains, forty trucking cloth coats, in case they bring his head, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them: For every living subject of said Philip's so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction, that the heads or persons are belonging to the enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

VII. The said sachenis do renew and confirm unto the English inhabitants or others, all former grants, sales, bargains or conveyances of lands, meadows, timber, grass, stones, or whatever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their heirs, and assigns forever; as also all former articles made with

the confederate colonies.

Lastly, The said counsellors and attornies do premeditately, seriously, and upon good advice covenant, and conclude and agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true friends to the English governments, and perform the above said articles puntually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein: In witness whereof they have set their hands and

Petaquamscot, July, 15, 1675. Tawageson, his C mark Tayston, his D mark. Agamoug, his T mark. Wampsh alias Corman, his X mark. Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us underwritten, being carefully interpreted to the said Indians before sealing. DANIEL HENCHMAN, THOMAS PRENTICE, NICHOLAS PAIGE, JOSEPH STANTON, Interp. HENRY HAWLAWS, PECOE BUKOW, JOB NEFF.

During this treaty of peace with the Narragansetts, Capt. Cudworth with the forces from Plymouth, under his command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, viz. to make war whilst the others were (as they thought) making peace; in the first place therefore he dispatched Capt. Fuller (joining Lieut. Church together with him in commission) with fifty in his company to Pocasset, on the same account, as the other went to Narraganset; either to conclude a peace with them, if they would continue friends, and give hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves enemies, and join with Philip; himself intending to draw down his forces to Rehoboth, to be ready for a speedy march to Taunton, and so down into the other side of the country, upon the news small villages lying in the way betwixt Pocas- and carried safe to Rhode Island in spite of set and Plymouth. Upon Thursday, July 7th, all their enemies : yea, such was the bold and

in the meantime to be accounted a breach of | Capt. Fuller and Lieutenant Church went into | undaunted courage of this champion, Capt-Poeasset to seek after the enemy, or else as occasion might serve to treat with those Indians at Pocasset, with whom Mr. Church was very well acquainted, always holding good correspondence with them. After they had spent that day and most of the night, in traversing the said Pocasset neck, and watching all night in a house which they found there, they could hear no tidings of any Indians; insomuch that Capt. Fuller began to be weary of his design: Mr. Church in the meanwhile assuring him that they should find Indians before it were long, yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Capt. Fuller taking down toward the sea side, where it seems, after a little skirmishing with them wherein one man only received a small wound, he either saw or heard too many Indians for himself and his eompany to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to a house near the water side, from whence they were fetched off by a sloop before night, to Rhode Island. Capt. Church (for so he may well be styled after this time) marched further into the neek, imagining that if there were Indians in the neck, they should find them about a pease field not far off. As soon as they came near the said field he espied two Indians among the pease, who also at the same time espied him; and presently making some kind of shout, a great number of Indians came about the field, pursuing the said Capt. Church and his men in great numbers to the sea side: there being not above fifteen with Church, yet seven or eight score of Indians pursuing after them. Now was fit time for this young captain and his small company to handsel their valour upon this great rout of Indians, just ready to devour them: but victory stands no more in the number of soldiers, than verity in the plurality of voices: and although some of these fifteen had scarce courage enough for themselves, yet their captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full. When he saw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight stoutly, and (possibly by some divine impression upon his heart) assured them not a bullet of the enemy should hart any one of them : which one of the company more dismayed than the rest could hardly believe, till he saw the proof of it in his own person, for the captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather rocks together for a kind of shelter and barricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the enemies. It chanced as this faint hearted soldier had a flat stone in his arms, and was earrying to the shelter that he was making upon the bank, a bullet of the enemy was thus warded from his body by which he must else have perished, which experience put new life into him, so as he followed his business very manfully afterward, insomuch that they defended themselves under a small shelter hastily made up, all that afternoon, not one being either slain or wounded, vet it was certainly known that they killed at least fiifteen of their enemies: and at the last when they had spent all their ammunition, and made that some of the enemy were burning and their guns unserviceable by often firing, they spoiling Middleborough and Dartmouth, two were fetched all off by Capt. Goldings sloop

Church, not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, he went back in the face of his enemies to fetch his hat, which he had left at a spring, whither the extreme heat of the weather, and his labour in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his thirst an hour or two before. It seems in the former part of the same day, five men coming from Rhode Island, to look up their cattle upon Poeasset neek, were assaulted by the same Indians; one of the five was Capt. Church's servant, who had his leg broke in the skirmish, the rest hardly escaping with their lives: this was the first time that ever any mischief was done by the Indians upon Pocasset neck. Those of Rhode Island were hereby alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the rest of the English of Plymouth, or the Massachusetts colony.

This assault rather heightened and increased than dannted the courage of Capt. Church; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the sloop aforesaid, after his ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at Rhode Island, but hastened over to the Massachusetts forces, and borrowing three files of men of Capt. Henchman with his lieutenant; Mr. Church and he returned again to Pocasset, where they had another skirmish with the enemy, wherein some few of them (fourteen or fifteen) were slain, which struck such a terror into Philip, that he betook himself to the swamps about Pocasset, where he lay hid till the return of the rest of the forces from the Narragansets, like a wild boar kept at bay by this small

party till more hands came up.

Thus were the Plymouth forces busied, during the time of the treaty with the Narragansetts, which being issued as it was:

On Friday July 15, our forces marched for and arrived at Rehoboth, where having no intelligence of the enemy nearer than a great swamp on Poeasset, eighteen miles from Tannton; they marched next day twelve miles to a house at Metapoiset (a small neck of land in the bottom of Taunton Bay, in the midway between Mount Hope and Poeasset Neck) from whence they marched for Taunton, July 17, whither after a tedious march of 20 miles, they came in the evening, and found the people generally gathered into eight

garrison houses.

On Monday, July 18, they marched 18 miles before they could reach the swamp where the enemy was lodged: as soon as they came to the place, Plymouth forces being now joined with them, our soldiers resolutely entered in amongst the enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a shot at them that first entered, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose wounds proved mortal: after the first shot, the enemy retired deeper into the swamp, deserting their wigwams (about 100 in all) newly made of green bark, so as they would not burn; in one of them they found an old man, who confessed that Philip had been lately there. Having spent some time in searching the swamp, and tired themselves to no purpose, (yet it was said that one half hour more would have at that time utterly subdued Philip and all his power) the commander in chief, night drawing on apace, not thinking it safe to tarry longer in so dangerous

a place, where every one was in as much | leading into the Nipmuck country, altogether | out through the whole jurisdiction of Massato fire upon every bush they saw move, supreturning in the front, it was judged that the upon most of the companies belonging to Massachusetts were drawn off, only Capt. Henchman with 100 foot being left there tothe enemy's motion, being judged sufficient for that end. Major Savage, Capt. Paige, with Capt. Mosely and their companies returned to Boston: Capt. Prentice with his troop were ordered towards Mendham, where it seems, about the middle of July, some Indians, wishing well to Philip's design, had made an assault upon some of the inhabitants, as they were at labour in the field, killing five or six of them; as soon as they had done, flying away into the woods, so as they could not easily be pursued. The inhabitants of the same village, lying in the heart of the enemy's country, began to be discouraged, so as within a little time after, they forsook the place, abandoning their houses to the fury of the enemy, which by them were soon after turned into ashes. But to return to King Philip, who was now lodged in the great swamp upon Pocasset neck, of seven miles long: Capt. Henchman and the Plymouth forces kept a diligent eye upon the enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark swamp, being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal woods, when their eyes were muflled with the leaves, and their arms pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually shackled with the roots spreading every way in those boggy woods. It is ill fighting with a wild beast in his own den .- They resolved therefore to starve them out of the swamp, where they knew full well they could not long subsist; to that end they began to build a fort, as it were to beleaguer the enemy, and prevent his escape out of the place, where they thought they had him fast enough. Philip in the meantime was not ignorant of what was doing without, and was ready therein to read his own doom, if he tarried much longer there, he knew he should fall into their hands, from whom he could ex- desired end. All human endeavours shall perate, he resolved with an hundred or two God hath pre-ordained, that no flesh might Philip began; which if they had then done, of his best fighting men to make an escape by the water, all passages by the land being the water, all passages by the land being the praise of all their successes, and quietly been very difficult, if possible, for the English sufficiently guarded by the English forces. bear whatever miscarriages he hath ordered to have saved any of their inland plantations not far from an arm of the sea, coming up to things, that although this wound was not incura- hath in his wisdom suffered so much of the Taunton, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either waded over one night in the end before it could be healed. But by this means this people here, as sorely to scourge them, of July, or else wafted themselves over upon Philip escaped away to the westward, kind-that by the wrath of men praise might be small rafts of timber, very early before break ling the flame of war in all the western plan-yielded to his holy name, yet hath he in his of day, by which means the greatest part of his company escaped away into the woods,

camped on the other side of the swamp. About endangering also the neighbouring colony of posing Indians were there, ordered a retreat one hundred more of the women and children to be sounded, that they might have time to which were likely to be rather burdensome what by the fury of this flame, though not dispose of their dead and wounded men, than serviceable, were left behind, who soon considerable to what the other colonies have which accordingly was attended to; * Ply- after resigned up themselves to the mercy of mouth forces who had entered in the rear, the English. Philip's escape thus from Pocasset could not long be concealed after the day in and about the colony of Plymouth, the enemy being by this means brought into a appeared, there being much champaign land commissioners of the rest of the colonies were pound, it would be no hard matter to deal through which he was to pass, and being diswith them, and that it would be needless covered by the inhabitants of Rehoboth, they to prevent the mischief threatened from charge to keep so many companies of soldiers presently followed him, together with a party together to wait upon such an inconsiderable of the Mohegins, that a little before came to enemy, now almost as good as taken; where- Boston, offering their services against Philip, Philip only appeared to make the first atand were sent into those parts to be ordered tempt, yet more either already were, or soon by Capt. Henchman, but before they came to him were easily persuaded to go along with gether with the Plymouth forces, to attend any of the English that were engaged in the pursuit of Philip. News also thereof was been done for the securing of the Narragancarried to Capt. Henchman, who as soon as sets, those that were sent as messengers on he could get over with six files of men (row-that errand, always reported that the elder ing hard all or most part of the day to get to Providence) followed after the enemy. The to peace, but seemed very desirable thereof, Molegins with the men of Rehoboth, and some of Providence came upon their rear over night slew about 30 of them, took much plunder from them, without any considerable loss to the English. Capt. Henchman came not up to them (pursuing them only by the track) till the skirmish was over, and having marched 22 miles that day, was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the forces that came from Rehoboth and those belonging to Plymouth, having left their horses three miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of time, and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the morning, returned back ing all their fair pretences; for Ninigret, the the next day, leaving Captain Henchman with old sachem of the Narragansetts, who alone his six files, and the Mohegins to pursue the chase to Nipsachet, which he did the next morning. Capt. Henchman, that he might any hand therein, had threatened, as was the better engage the Mohegins to march with him 30 miles, gave them half his provision, and was himself recruited again by the care of Capt Edminds of Providence, Lieut. Brown who brought provision after him to the Nipmuck forts. Mr. Newman the minister of Rehoboth, deserved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to pursue thus far after Philip animating of them by by his own example and presence: but why Philip was followed no further, it is better to suspend than too critically inquire. This is now a third time when a good opportunity of told his neighbours, that they would all be suppressing the rebellion of the Indians, was ruined if they made war with the English. put into the hands of the Euglish; but time as is since come to pass. However, the good and chance happeneth to all men, so that the hand of God was seen in so ordering things, most likely means are often frustrated of their that the Narragansets were for the present pect no mercy: the case therefore being des- arrive at no other success, than the counsel of lity against the English, at the time when glory in their own wisdom, but give unto God according to the eye of reason, it would have The swamp where they were lodged being to befal them. Itappears by the issue of these from being destroyed. Thus, although God ble, yet much more blood must be taken away rage of the heathen to be let loose against tations of the Massachusetts colony wherever abundant goodness restrained the remainder he came, so that by this fatal accident the fire that it should not consume. that was in a likely way to be extinguised, as The next thing in order to be related is the soon almost as it began, did on a sudden break calamity that befel the village of Brookfield,

danger of his fellows as his foes, being ready unknown to the English forces that lay en- chusetts colony, both eastward and westward, Connecticut, which hath also suffered someundergone.

While things after this manner proceeded consulting and advising what was to be done! spreading any further, fearing, (as indeed there was too much cause) that although might be persuaded to join with him in acting

this bloody tragedy.

It hath been already declared what hath people were in appearance, not only inclinable insumuch as their two elder sachems expressed much joy when it was concluded; but as since hath appeared, all was but to gain time, and cover their treacherous intents and purposes, that they might in the next spring fall upon the English plantations all at once, as some prisoners lately brought in have owned and confessed; nor have any of those Indians with whom the present war hath been, ever regarded any agreements of peace made with the English, further than necessity and slavish fear compelled thereunto, as may be seen by the records of the united colonies from the year 1643 to the present time, notwithstandof all the rest of that country sachems disowned the present war, and refused to have proved to his face before the commissioners, in the years 1646 and 1647, that they would carry on the war against the Mohegins, whatever were the mind of the commissioners, and that they would kill the English cattle, and heap them up as high as their wigwams, and that an Englishman should not stir out of his door but they should kill him; all which he could not deny, yet this old fox made them promises of peace, when the dread of the English ever since the Pequod war moved him thereunto; forseeing as he is said to have restrained from breaking out into open hosti-

^{*} The English lost fifteen men in this expedition-

which, notwithstanding all the care that was who a little before, and at that time, was his father upon his own horse, himself getting taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious doing all the mischief he could in those west-upon another, whose master was killed, by Ninpet Indians, as shall here in the next ern plantations, both by fire and sword. sight of him, the Mohegin Indians in their about the Massachusetts bay eastward, wherethen leaving them, returned also to their own said Nipnets, were sent to sound them, and Capt. Mosely coming to bring him provision, were always in subjection to the sachem of Pocasset, and ordered him to stay there if of the inhabitants of Mendham,* where they rendering the fort he had been building to mischief done upon any of the inhabitants the Plymouth forces, which last was chosen within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, ac-Henchman returning to Boston, was ordered father to him that had committed a murder to disband his men. Captain Mosely was ordered to march to Quabaog or Brookfield, where he continued awbile, with the other captains sent up for the relief of the people there, and to seek after the enemy in those woods; but after some time spent in ranging the country thereabouts, not meeting with any of the infidels, he with his company came downwards, searching the woods betwixt Lancaster (where a man and his wife with two children were slain on the Lord's day, Aug. 22) and Marlboro', where also a lad keeping sheep was shot at by an Indian that wore a sign, as if he had been a friend: the Indian was supposed to belong to the Hassanemesit Indians, at that time confined in Marlborough, where they had liberty to dwell in a kind of fort. The next day the inhabitants sent to demand their guns; Capt. Mosely acquainted therewith, marched to the fort and found much suspicion against eleven of them, for singing and dancing, and having bullets and slugs, and much powder hid in their baskets; insomuch that eleven of them were sent down prisoners to Boston, upon suspicion that they had had a hand in killing the four at Laneaster, and shooting at the Marlhorough shephard: But upon trial, the said prisoners were all of them acquitted of the fact, and were either released, or else were, with others of that fort, sent for better security, and for prethat fort, sent for better security, and for pre-venting further trouble of the like kind, to them to escape, eight of them being shot some of the islands below Boston toward Nantasket.

About this time Capt. Mosely was sent with a company of soldiers to some Indian plantations upon Merrimac river, as high as Pennyeook, but they found no Indians there; shot through the body, so that all manner of those that belonged to the place having with- hopes to escape had been removed from him, drawn themselves from their native place, had it not been for his son, who was, by God's that they might not meddle in the present good providence, near or next unto him, this quarrel, as is confidently believed that Woon-son being of undaunted courage, (notwithalonset the sachem of that company had so re- standing his own arm was broken with a bulsolved. That coast being clear of the ene- let) with great nimbleness and agility of body mies, Capt. Mosely soon after was sent up dismounted himself, and speedily mounted with his men to the towns westward about Hadley, if it might be, to subdue the enemy, 36 miles of Boston. Vol. II-13.

place be declared; only as we pass along, to But to return and pursue the rebellious Inremind the reader in a few words, what was the issue of Capt. Henchman's pursuit of Philip. The Plymouth forces being returned home, as was said before, Capt. Henchman with his six file of men, and the Mohegin of as much danger from the Nipnet Indians, and keep pace with them in our history, though our forces as yet could never overtake them in the woods. The governor and with his six file of men, and the Mohegin of as much danger from the Nipnet Indians, and keep pace with them in our history, though our forces as yet could never overtake them in the woods. Indians, having continued in the pursuit of as from the former; they being the inland those woods, who led them in a by path, by Philip till they had spent all their provision, part of the country betwixt the sea coast and and tired themselves, yet never coming within Connecticut river westward, and the towns company directed them to Mendham, and upon some persons that used to trade with the country. Capt. Henchman in his march to-find how they stood affected, for which also wards Mendham, or at Mendham, met with there was the more reason, because they and advertising him of what success he had Mount Hope, and so were the more like to met with in his pursuit, they altered their engage in the present quarrel; of which there course, for Capt. Henchman was sent down to had been sufficient proof already; when 14th the governor and council, to know what they of July, some of the Nipuet Indians next should do: They presently remanded him to hordering on Philip's country set upon some there was need, or else to draw off, sur-killed four or five persons, which was the first by those of Plymouth, whereupon Captain ted as was said by one Matoonas, who was soon after Philip's first rebellion, Anno. 1671. The messenger that was sent thither, brought word back that they found the said Indians wavering: the young men very surly and insolent, the elder ones shewing some inclination to maintain the wonted peace. Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. Wheeler was sent to assist Capt. Hutchinson with a party of 20 horse to treat further about the peace, who going first to Quabaog, or Brookfield, (a town situate about 60 or 70 miles from Boston, in the road of Connecticut, lying about 25 miles from the said river, and not far distant from the chief seat of the Nipnet Indians) the inhabitants of the said Brookfield had been so deluded by those treacherous villains, that fearing no danger, they obtained of those Nipnets, the promise of a treaty upon the 2d of August; whereupon some of the chief of the town rode along unarmed with the said Wheeler and Hutchinson, with their party of horse, until they came to the place appointed; but finding no Indians, so secure were they, that they ventured along further, to find the infidels at their chief town, never suspecting the least danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an ambush of two or three hundred Indians, laid in such a narrow passage, betwixt a steep hill on after some Indians to the westward, to secure the one hand, and an hideous swamp on the down upon the place (whereof three were of Brookfield) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. Hutchinson was one; Capt. Wheeler was also near losing his life, whose horse was shot down under him and himself

* A town situate northward from Mount Hope, within

which means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover Brookfield, which in all probabilty they would never have done (the common road being waylaid with In-dians on every side as was afterwards known) had it not been for one well acquainted with which means they got thither a little before the Indians, who quickly came flocking into the town, with full intent to destroy it with fire and sword. But hy special providence the inhabitants were all gathered to the principal bouse of the village (there being scarce 20 in the town) before the barbarous miscreants came upon them, immediately setting fire upon all the dwelling houses with most of the other buildings in the town, save that one into which the inhabitants were retired which they several times attempted to burn, hut were almost miraculously defeated of their purpose by the immediate hand of God. In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen. For when they had for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people, both night and day pouring in shot upon them incessantly with guns, and also thrusting poles with fire brands, and rags dipt in brimstone tied to the ends of them to fire the house; at last they used this devilish stratagem, to fill a cart with hemp, flax and other combustible matter, and so thrusting it backward with poles spliced together a great length, after they had kindled it; but as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling, or else all the poor people, about 70 souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that distressed company strangely delivered, who have forever cause to say with the Psalmist, blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers, the snare is broken and we are escaped. For the next night Major Willard, by accident, hearing of the danger the people were in, came with forty-eight dragoons to their relief. The occasion which brought Major Willard, and Capt. Parker of Groton with forty-six more, so timely to their relief, was this; Major Willard in pursuance of his commission from the governor and council, was upon Wednesday, August 4th, in the morning, marching out them: just as they were setting forth, some of the people of Marlborough, who had intelligence (by those that were going to Connecticut, and forced to return) what distress Brookfield was in, and knowing of Major Willard's purpose to go out that morning from Lancaster, sent a post to acquaint him therewith, which, though it did not find him in the town, yet overtook him before he had gone four or five miles from the place: whereupon, conceiving it more needful to succour Brookgeld in so imminent danger, than to proceed further upon his intended design, he altered his course and marched directly thither, being about 30 miles distant when the tidings were brought him; so he arrived there that night very seasonably, about an hour after it was dark, or else in all probability they had all

three days after. The providence of God likewise in bringing in the said majorso safely, as well as seasonably to their relief was very remarkable: for the Indians had subtly contrived to cut off all relief sent before it could come at them, by laying ambushes, and placing their scouts at two or three miles distance round the town: about an hundred of them were lodged at an house not far off in the way toward Boston, to cut off any succour that might come from thence; but it is supposed they were so intense upon the project they were about for firing the house, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or made such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their centinels when they shot off their guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the Indians let the major and his company purposely pass by them, without any opposition, waiting for the blow to be given at their first approach near the house, purposing themselves to have fallen upon their rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the besieged understood any thing thereof. But it pleased God so to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the besiegers, nor were they at all discerned by them, till they had made themselves known to their friends; and were admitted within the court of God. When the enemy had notice of it they poured in their shot abundantly upon them; but they were now sheltered from the danger thereof; only it seems their horses were exposed to their fury, as many of them were maimed and killed, as were most of the cattle belonging to the inhabitants of the place soon after. honoured person, Major Willard, continued at Brookfield, after this famous exploit for the preservation of the poor besieged there, divers weeks, to order such companies as were sent up that way for the securing the plantations on that side of the country; and not long after he went himself also to Hadley upon the like service of the country in the present war; but after sometime spent in those parts, he returned back to his own place, to order the affairs of his own regiment, much needing his presence, and leaving the forces about Hadley under the command of the major of that regiment.

But to return to what was in hand before: after the Indians understood that succours were come in to the besieged, they fired all that they had left standing for their own shelter, while they had besieged the place before mentioned, and ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring woods: however, it was confessed by one of themselves, that the enemy had 80 of their men killed and wounded in this business. But ere we pass any further in pursuit of the history of these matters, it will not be amiss to let the reader understand the horrible, perfidious and treacherous dealings of those Nipnet Indians, who although of all other they had the least reason as to any pretence of injury, yet did most deceitfully and barbarously join with Philip and his Indians, after they had been several times sent unto by the governor and council of Massachusetts, by the advice of Plymouth, to have prevented their rising, as well as the Meminimisset by the Indians, where Capt. fell upon Squakeag, another new plantation. rising of the Narragansets, and also had faith. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were assault.

could have reached them, which was not till as may more fully appear by the engagement those woods and swamps, the company that under the hands of their sachems, sometime came from Springfield, left the soldiers (who before Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler returned to their quarters at Brookfield) and were sent up to them, which by reason of the and went up themselves further northward, haste and unskilfulness of the messengers on at least 20 miles from the said Brookfield, and that behalf sent, is not so fit for public view: finding no track of Indians in all those woods. but the account of it from their return, was they returned back to Springfield, leaving under their hand and oath, July 24, 1675, enough to defend the people of Brookfield, when Lieut. Ephraim Curtice spake with five and the garrison there. of the Nipnet sachems, four too many to govern so small a people, but lying upon the head occasion were driven more westward into the of the principal Indian territories they were, divided into so many small parties, two of whom, viz. Sam, sachem of Weshacum, and Netaump, were executed together afterwards with the same prejudice and malice against at Boston. All of them did at that time the English, with which they themselves solemnly renew their covenant and promise were (though without cause) embittered; for under their hands to come to Boston to speak further with the governor; instead of the Hadley and Deerfield Indians, and was which, what they perfidiously did against presently put in execution by the said Indians Captain Hutchinson and others, hath already been declared.

befel the inhabitants of Brookfield, forces were sent up under the command of Capt. dians pretended real friendship to the English, Lathrop and others, to pursue after those and offered themselves to fight against Philip, Indians harbouring about those places, and if it might be to prevent them from joining with from Hartford began to suspect the treachery the Indians upon Connecticut river, who as of the other, and told the English plainly, vet had not discovered themselves as willing that no good would be done, while any of to espouse Philip's interest, but rather made that company went along with them in pursome semblance to the contrary. There was suit of the enemy, for as was said, they would much time spent by Major Willard, and seve-always give some shout when they came near ral companies of soldiers left under his com- the enemy, as if they should thereby wish mand, about the Nipnet country, but all to no them to look to themselves: insomuch that purpose, for partly by the treachery of some the said Hadley Indians fell into great suspiof the Indians that came to their assistance, cion with the English, and for a proof of their that seemed to favour the English, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the arms to the English, but that very night they subtleties of the enemies themselves, who fled away from their dwellings which was in could easily by their scouts discern the approach a wooden fortification, within a mile of Hatof our soldiers, and by the nimbleness of their field, whereby they plainly discovered that feet escape them, our soldiers could never they had secretly plotted to join with Philip's meet with any of them, but only by that party, as far as they had secretly plotted to means driving them further westward, they join with Philip's party, as far as they had gathered all the Indians they could to their an opportunity to do them any eminent serparty about Pecomptuck, alias Deersfield, vice. Some think the English failed in point Swanscot, and Squeakeag, where some plantations of the English newly bogan, whom warily as they might, which if they had done, they assaulted in the next place, and did what their defection had been prevented, but it is

mischief they could upon them.

worthy patriot and experienced soldier, Major Willard, hearing of the distress of Brookfield by some that were travelling to Connecticut, was the first that relieved the distressed peo-loth at first to engage against the English. In ple of Quabaog or Brookfield, yet Major the conclusion, when they had so falsely left Pynchon of Springfield also by accident hear-their dwellings, and were running after Philip ing of their calamity, had not only sent word and the Nipnet Indians (at that time harboured thereof to Hartford, (from whom he received in these woods) the English were so provoked a supply of 25 or 30 soldiers under Capt. that were under Capts. Lothrop and Beers, Watts, but did also send a band of men under that they pursued after them very early the Lieut. Cooper (afterwards villainously slain next morning, and overtook them about ten by the Springfield Indians) who, with those miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugarsent from Hartford, and some Indians belong-leaf hill, and had a small skirmish with them, ing to Springfield) seemingly forward to help wherein there were nine or ten of the English the English) made up four score or there-slain, and about 26 Indians: yet the rest esabouts: these marched down to Brookfield caped, and so joined with Philip and his comthe same day that Capt. Lothrop and Capt. presently after which accident, they were so Beers came up from Massachusetts who having emboldened, that upon the first of Sept. about spent sometime in searching the woods about seven days after, they set upon Decrfield, kil-Springfield, and finding none of the Indians led one man, and laid most of the houses in did the next day march up to a place called ashes. About two or three days after they

perished before the relief sent up from Boston fully promised not to meddle in the quarrel, ed, and finding no sign of any Indians amongst

By this it appears, that the Indians by this woods between Hadley and Squakhead,* where they soon effected their design, viz. to leaven the Indians on that side the country in a few days the device took place amonst withdrawing form the English and assisting Philip and the Nipnets to spoil and destroy Upon the report of this sad disaster that all the towns westward, as soon after came to pass: yet at the first some of the Hadley Inbut the Moliegin Indians that came afterward always give some shout when they came near fidelity, they were required to bring in their of prudence, not managing that business so most probable that Philip had hired them to It is here to be noted, that although that his own quarrel, by sending them gifts in the spring; and that the body of the said Indians were most readily inclined thereunto: but the sachems and the elder ones of them, seemed

fifteen miles higher up the river, above Deer-1 field, where they killed nine or ten of the people, the rest hardly escaped into the garrison house.

The next day, this disaster not being known, Capt, Beers, for fear of the worst, with 36 men, was sent up to the said Squakeag, with supplies both of men and provisions to secure the small garrison there, but before they came very near the town, they were set upon by many hundreds of Indians out of the bushes by a swamp side. By this sudden surprisal, Capt. Beers (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about 20 of his men, were slain, the rest flying back to Hadley. Here the barbarous villains showed their insolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of some of the slain, and and fixing them upon poles near the highway, and not only so, but one (if not more) was found with a chain hooked into his under jaw. and so hung up on the bough of a tree, (it is feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their relief, and also to terrify those that should be the spectators of so sad an object; insomuch that Major Treat, with his company, going up two days after to fetch off the residue of the garrison, were solemnly affected with that doleful sight, which made them make the more haste to bring down the garrison, not waiting for any opportunity to take revenge upon the enemy, having but 100 with him, too few for such a purpose. Capt. Appleton going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have persuaded them to have turned back, to see if they could have made any spoil upon the enemy, but the greater part advised to the contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the rest for a booty to the enemy, who shall ere long, pay a sad reckoning for their robberies and cruelties, in the time appointed: but the sufferings of the English were not as yet come to their height, for after they were come to Hadley, the commander in chief taking counsel with the officers of the soldiers, ordered them that were then present, to garrison the towns about; some to be at Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield, and some to remain at Hadley, where were the head-quarters of the English. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the enemy in those parts, it was agreed that what corn was left at Deerfield, being threshed out as well as they could in those tumults (above 3000 bushels was supposed to be there standing in stack) should be brought to Hadley, and to wait further time to fight the enemy. It came to Capt. Lothrop's turn, or rather it was his choice with about 80 men to guard several carts laden with corn and other goods. The company under Capt. Mosely then quartering at Deerfield, intended that day to pursue after the enemy. But upon Sept. 18, that most fatal day, the saddest that ever befel New England, as the company under Capt. Lothrop were marching along with the earts, (it may be too securely) never apprehending danger so near, they were suddenly set upon and almost all cut off, (90 killed, teamsters included) not above 7 or 8 escaping: which great defeat came to pass by the unadvised proceedings of the captain who was himself slain in the first assault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill to approach, the enemy, pretty well acquainted lead his soldiers; but having taken up a wrong by this last encounter with the valour of the ber of our men being after this sad rate dimin-

notion about the best way and manner of fighting with the Indians (which he was always went to argue for) viz. that it were best to deal with the Indians in their own way, i. e. by skulking behind trees, and taking their aim at single persons, which is the usual manner of the Indians fighting one with another; but herein was his great mistake, in not considering the great disadvantage a smaller company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude: for if five have todeal with one, they may surround him, and every one take his aim at him, while he can level at but one of his enemies at a time: which gross mistake of his, was the ruin of a choice company of young men, the very flower of the county of Essex, all culled out of the towns belonging to that county, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate: their dear relations at home mourning for them, like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted, not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost. The like mistake was conceived to be the reason of the loss of the former persons slain with the said Lothrop, pursuing the Indians that ran away from Hadley, and of the 20 slain with Capt. Beers, men, who betook themselves, at first to the trees, and at the last a few got to their horses soon after the captain was shot down. For had he ordered his men to march in a body, as some of his fellow commanders, advised, either backward or forward, in reason they had not lost a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the sword. For the Indians, notwithstanding their subtlety and cruelty, durst not look an Englishman in the face in the open field nor were they ever yet known to kill any man with their guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered; so that it was judged by those that escaped, that there were 7 or 800 Indians at least that encountered the company of 80 English, yet if they had kept together in a body, and fought marching, they might have escaped the numbers of the enemy, with little loss in com-parison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Capt. Mosely, and his lieut. coming (though too late) to their rescue, marched through and through that great body of Indians, and yet came off with little or no loss in comparison of the other. And having fought all those Indians for five or six hours upon a march, lost not above two men all that while, nor received other damage except that 8 or 9 were wounded, who were carried to their quarters at night at Hadley, whereas if these had proceeded in the same way of fighting as Capt. Lothrop did in the morning, they might have been surrounded, and so have been served as the former were: but God had otherwise determined in his secret counsel, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a means to preserve the other com-

Other relief was also seasonably sent in, viz. a company of English and Mohegin or Pequod Indians under the command of Major Treat, who was in the morning marching another way, viz. up toward Squakeag to seek after the enemy that way, with about 100 soldiers, Indians and English, upon whose

English, immediately went clear away, giving Major Treat and Capt. Mosely, who returned to Deerfield that night, an opportunity to bury the slain the next day. As Capt. Mosely came upon the Indians in the morning, he found them stripping the slain, amongst whom was one Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, having been sorely wounded by a bullet that raised to his skull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, was left for dead by the savages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet when Capt. Mosely came near, he almost miraculously, as one raised from the dead, came towards the English, to their no small amazement; by whom being received and clothed, he was carried off to the next garrison, and is living and in perfect health at this day. May he be to the friends and relations of the rest of the slain an emblem of their more perfect resurrection at the last day to receive their crowns among the rest of the martyrs that have laid down and ventured their lives, as a testimony to the truth of their religion, as well as love to their country.

This sore defeat of Capt. Lothrop and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other of the like nature) it so emboldened the enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable towns, though well garrisoned with soldiers, and gave them occasion of most insolently braving the garrison at Deerfield the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the soldiers, yet on the other side of the river. However, it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the garrison house at Deerfield, wherein were not left above 27 soldiers) their captain using this stratagem, to cause his trumpet to sound, as if he had another troop near by to be called together, they turned another way and made no attempt upon the house where that small number was, which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small a handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. Lothrop and his men, (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard law of the sword to forego their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could) is not certainly known. It hath since been confessed by some of the Indians themselves, that they lost 96 of their men that day. Capt. Mosely's men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for seven miles together, they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. Perez Savage, and Mr. Pickering, his lieutenants, deserve no little part of the honour of that day's service, being sometimes called to lead the company in the front, while Capt. Mosely took a little breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the midst of the enemy.

The Indians gathered together in those parts, appearing so numerous, and, as might justly be supposed, growing more confident by some of their late successes, and the num-

ished, recruits also not being suddenly expect- from Westfield time enough for their rescue, bullet passing through his own hair, by that the officers, saw a necessity of fighting that next towns below upon Connecticut river. And it was well that counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched caitiffs begin to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the towns thereabouts, as they had already begun: their hopes, no doubt, were not a little heigthened by the accession of the Springfield Indians to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood the firmest to the interest of the English of all the rest in those parts: but they all hanging together, like serpent's eggs, were easily persuaded to join with those of Hadley (there being so near alliance between them, for the sachem of the Springfield Indians was father of Hadley sachem) not only by the success of their treacherous and blood thirsty companions, but by the same inbred malice and antipathy against the English manners and

The inhabitants of Springfield were not insensible of their danger, and therefore had upon the first breaking forth of those troubles been treating with their Indians, and had receive ed from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship that could be imagined or desired, both by covenant, promises, and hostages given for security, so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: yet did these faithless and ungrateful monsters plot with Philip's Indians to burn and destroy all Springfield, as they had done Brookfield before. To that end they sent cunningly and enticed away the hostages from Hartford, where they were perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: then receiving about three hundred of Philip's Indians into their fort, privately in the night time, so as they were neither discerned or suspected. Yea so confident were such of the inhabitants as were most conversant with the Indians at their fort, that they would not believe there Capt. Samuel Appleton was ordered to sucwas any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one Toto, an Indian at in those upper towns, by whose industry, Windsor, (about 18 or 20 miles below Springfield, upon the same river) hetter affected to the English, and so by post tidings brought to Springfield the night before, insomuch that For the enemy growing very confident by the the lieutenant of the town, Cooper by name, was so far from believing the stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to ride up to the fort, to see whether they had done to Springfield. But according things were so or not. The fort was about a to the good Providence of Almighty God, mile from the town; when he came within a Major Treat was newly returned to Northlittle thereof, he met these bloody and deceitampton, Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole were ful monsters, newly issued out of their Equus Trojanus to act their intended mischief; they presently fired upon him, divers of them, and ley, when on a sudden 7 or 800 of the enemy shot him in several places through the body, yet being a man of stout courage, he kept his horse till he recovered the next garrison house, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the town of their intended mischief, which was instantly fired in all places where there no garrisons, The poor people having not an officer to lead them being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole town had been totally

ed, at so great a distance as an hundred miles but wanting boats to transport his men, could whisper telling him that death was very near, from all supplies, the commander in chief with not do so much as he desired. Major Pyn- but did him no other harm. Night coming chon coming from Hadley with Capt. Apple- on, it could not be discerned what loss the enegarrison at Deerfield, employing the forces ton and what forces they could bring along they had to secure and strengthen the three with them, 32 houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the town from being into the water, it being their manner to venturned to ashes, in which the over credulous ture as much to recover the dead bodies of inhabitants might now see (what before they would not now believe at the hurning Major Pynchon's barns and stables a few days before, to the very great damage of the owner) away as fast as they came on, leaving the the faithless and deceitful friendship among these perfidious, cruel and hellish monsters.

Among the ruins of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the house of Mr. Pelatiah Clover, minister of the town, furnished with a brave library, which he had but newly brought back from a garrison wherein it had been for some time before secured, but as if the danger had been over with them, the said minister, a great student, and an hilluo librorum, being impatient for want of his books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for the English the next spring. a bonfire for the proud insulting enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said enemy before that day the burning of this town of Springfield did more than any other discover the said actors to be the children of the devil, full of all subtlety and malice, there having been for about 40 years so good correspon- in the next place pursue it. There was not dence betwixt the English of that town and any great matter acted by the enemy amongst the neighbouring Indians. But in them is the plantations upon the great river during made good what is said in the Psalm, That the winter, after the assault made upon Hatthough their words were smoother than oil, yet were they drawn swords.

the place, and helping the inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English soldiers most of them returned back to Hadley, their head incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to himself, and his neighbours at Springfield, the Dutch river: Others more probably concould not any longer attend the service of commanding in chief as he had done before, wherefore being according to his earnest request of the council cased of that burden; ceed in taking the charge of the soldiers left driven out of the country in February, he was skill and courage, those towns were preserved Lancaster in that month. from running the same fate with the rest. wholly or in part so lately turned into ashes. late successes, came with all their fury the 19th of October following upon Hatfield, hoping no less than to do the like mischief to them, then garrisoning the said Hatfield, and Capt. horses out of their carts, leaving what they Appleton for the like end quartering at Hadcame upon the town in all quarters, having first killed or taken two or three scouts belonging to Capt. Mosely's company: but they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town, that they found it too hot for them. Major Appleton with great courage defending one the same town, as they were at work in a end of the town, and Capt. Poole the other meadow not far from the town: They intendend; that they were by the resolution of the ed also to have burned the mill, but it was too English instantly besten off, without doing well guarded by two files of musketeers much harm. Capt. Appleton's serjeant was lodged there for the purpose, who put them destroyed, but that a report of the plot being much harm. Capt. Appleton's serjeant was lodged there for the purpose, who put them carried about over night, Major Treat came mortally wounded just by his side, another beside their intent. Six or seven persons

my sustained, divers were seen to fall, some run through a small river, others east their guns their friends, as to defend them when alive.

At last after burning of some few barns with some other buildings, the enemy hasted English to bless God who had so mercifully delivered them from the fury of their merciless foes, who had in conceit without doubt, devoured them all: But this resolute and valiant repulse, put such a cheek upon the pride of the enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of those towns for the present, but winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general rendezvous at Narraganset, plotting their general design of accomplishing their intended mischief against

Our western plantations upon Connecticut river, the stage whereon were acted the most remarkable passages of this barbarous war hitherto, was soon after removed into many other places of the country in the winter and spring following, whither our discourse must in the next place pursue it. There was not field, October 19th. It is evident that the body of them returned to Narraganset upon After some little time spent in garrisoning the approach of the winter, which set in more early than it used in other years. Where Philip bestowed himself in the winter season is not so certain; some say that he repaired quarters, and Major Pynchon being so full of further westward, to try his fortune with those Indians that lie towards Albany near ceive that he lay hid in some part of the Narraganset country; for though he was not certainly known to be about the fort at Narraganset, when it was taken by our forces in the winter, yet as soon as ever they were found amongst them that did the mischief at

Some straggling parties of them remained about Northampton, Westfield and Springfield sometime after their defeat at Hatfield: Seven or eight of the inhabitants of Northampton in the end of October, venturing to fetch in some of their harvest, that was left somewhere out of town, were in danger of being surprised, having laid their arms under their cart, so that being destitute of means to make their defence, they were glad to fly away with the were about to the pleasure of the Indians that assaulted them. Major Treat upon hearing the alarm, presently repaired thither, but could not come time enough to destroy any of the enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five houses, with two or three barns that stood somewhat out of the town. Within a little time after they killed three of

at Westfield (that which belonged to their own being burned October 5th) and venturing without arms, three of them were killed by some of the enemy; who took the advantage also to burn four or five houses that belonged to the said Westfield: But by the end of November the coast was pretty clear of them, except some few of them that lay lurking in the swamps thereabouts all the winter, doing some small mischief upon some out dwell-

ings of Springfield.

The expedition into the Narragaoset country following in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice must be taken by the way, of an unsuccessful attempt upon the Indians about Hassanemesit* and Popachuog, whither Capt. Heachman was sent in the beginning of November; where also Capt. Still was ordered to meet him with another company from Cambridge, with intent to have beat up the Indian quarters in those parts: They being known to have had an hand in the outrages committed upon those that belonged to Marlborough and Mendham, cutting off the scalp of a miller's boy, who is yet alive.

November 1st, 1675.—Capt. Henchman marched out of Boston, intending to visit the Indians about Hassanemesit: The third day they saw some fires of the Indians, yet could not meet with those that made them: The 4th day they marched to some part of the Indian plantations called Hassanemesit: The captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this side but some of his officers overruled him, to whose importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further towards the enemy, and by that means saved the miller's youth, taken the week before from Marlborough; for in the morning, very early, as the scouts were looking out they spied a wigwam, where some Indians that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night, or in some wigwam near by. When the Indians saw our soldiers, they hasted away and left the Marlborough youth behind them, who by that means escaped their hands. Our men under capt. Henchman marched on to Poppachuog, and finding the Indians all fled, (although they perceived by a messenger, accidentally sent back, that the Indians followed them all the way they marched) they came back to Mendham to settle things in that town. Some of the inhabitants informed them of some wigwants about ten miles off: The captain with lurking about in the adjacent woods; as once Philip Curtice, his lieut. resolved to give them a camisado in their wigwams that night: To that end they mounted 22 upon horses, riding up ten miles into the woods, and when they came near the wigwams, they dismounted, and intended presently to march up, and give an assault upon them, after they had first gave a shout to fright the enemy: They ordered one half to follow the lieutenant, the other to follow the captain, when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their dogs began to bark, at which they stopped, and by marching again, intended presently to fire it upon them, but the captain's foot slipping, he could hardly recover himself, when suddenly looking behind him, he saw no man tollowing him: The lieutenant had five behind him, who with those five resolutely fired on that side he was appointed to the Dutch river, but the greatest number of " Sometimes called Hassanamisco, now Grafton.

from Springfield soon after going to the mill make the assault upon; but they were repulsed by the Indians, who firing out of their dens, shot down the lieutenant and another, the rest presently ran away to a fence: The captain with all vehemency urged them to stay; they replied, they went back only to charge, yet went clear away by which means, together with the cowardice of the former, so sad a loss befel the company, as could not easily be repaired: However the enemy presently deserted the wigwam and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and so with grief and shame they were constrained to return to their quarters at Mendham, to whose inhabitants they gave notice of 200 bushels of corn belonging to the Indians, that might have been preserved, which for want of hands was lost by the fire, that the enemy might not be benefitted thereby. It appears by the foregoing passage that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further trials to acquaint us with before he would turn his hand upon our enemies. But it pleased the Lord so to order things that they themselves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as shall appear more fully in what

> The English plantations about Hadley being for the present set a little at liberty by the Indians drawing off, like seamen after a storm, counted it their best course to repair their tackling against another that may be next coming, wherefore the inhabitants concluded it the safer way to make a kind of barricado about their towns, by setting up pallisadoes or cleft wood, about eight feet long, as it were to break the force of any sudden assault which the Indians might make upon them; which counsel proved very successful; for although it be an inconsiderable defence against a warlike enemy, that hath strength enough and confidence to besiege a place, yet it is sufficient to prevent any sudden assault of such a timorous and barbarous enemy as these were, for although they did afterwards in the spring break through these pallisadoes at Northampton, yet as soon as ever they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like wolves in a pound, that they could not fly away at their pleasure, so they never ventured to break through afterwards upon any of the towns so secured.

> As for those of Springfield they were now and then alarmed with a few skulking Indians at the Long Meadow, where half a score of them were seen about an house remote from the town, who were pursued by a party of the English towards Windsor, and so escaped, after the English had made one shot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of those barbarous wretches killed a poor man belonging to Springfield, as he was going to his house to look after his corn, on the other side of the river, and after they had killed the man they burnt down his house; yet attempted no further mischief on that part of the town that had escaped the fury of the flames, October 5. By which it is evident, that all the number of Indians that had assaulted them before, had withdrawn themselves now to their winter quarters, some to

the Narraganset fort, where we shall leave them for the present till the forces of the united colonies shall fire them out of their

The soldiers continuing some time at Hatfield after this victory, as we may well call it, (for it seems to have given the first check to the rage of the heathen within the jurisdiction of the united colonies, they have been observed ever since to have been on the losing hand, seldom or ever daring to meet our soldiers in the open field, unless when they had very great advantage as to their numbers or covert of the woods and bushes: Although like some raging beasts they have done much mischief several times since, when they were ready to expire, or when the pangs of death were coming upon them) our forces were all called home, save some left for gar-

risoning the towns thereabouts.

The commissioners of the united colonies taking into serious consideration the present state of things, viz. that there were before this time so many hundreds gathered together into one body, and that there was great reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next spring they might all rise together as one man round about us and that one after another might easily be destroyed, before any help could be despatched to them. On the one hand, the sharpness of the winter in these parts was well weighed, so extreme that it might hazard the loss of a thousand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open field; as also the difficulty, if not impossibility of sending any relief to them at any distance, the depth of snow usually making the ways impassable for divers months together.

On the other hand it was considered, that if the enemy were let alone till the next summer, it would be impossible to deal with them or find them any where, but they might waste one company of soldiers after another, as was seen by the experience of the former year. Considering also that the Narragansets, the most numerous of all the rest, and the best provided for provision of all the other Indians. had now declared themselves our enemies. who if they were let alone till the winter wasover, we should be unable to deal with so many enemies at once, that could on any occasion spread themselves like grasshoppers.

all over the country.

It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the winter quarters of our enemies, by a more considerable army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three colonies, and that with all expedition, at farthest not to exceed the 10th of December, before they should have a thousand men in arms, ready for the design.

As for the late league made or rather renewed with the Narragansets, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had all along from the first day when it was confirmed, broken every article of it, especially in not delivering up the enemies, which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses, to defer it one week after another, till at last they would be excused till the next spring upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. And besides the favouring of those that fled to them to be sure were found in the winter at them, and supplying the whole body of the

was likewise strongly suspected that in all the longing to Connecticut, and Major Bradford undertook must prepare to undergo. late proceedings of the enemy, many of their for those of the colony of Plymouth, and young men were known to be actually in Major Samuel Appleton, for those of Massamen's guns that were lost at Deerfield, were found in the fort when it was fired. Therefore all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war being removed, the only question was, whether it were feasible and expedient in the winter. The exigence was very great, and the choice very hard: But as David when he was straitened with many diffi-

cessary care and so suitable provisions, as had fought them. been desired, if what came afterwards to pass could have been forseen (which peradventure might be the reason things went on so heavily for want of well oiling the wheels) in the meansieners to be gathered by proportion out of burnt 150 wigwams, killed 7 of the enemy, all the colonies, of which number the share of Massachusetts was to be 527 the time a small army of a thousand fighting men, of Massachusetts was to be 527, the rest were ed at night. to be supplied out of Plymouth and Connecticut colonies: All other supplies were taken Jehn, pretended to come from the sachems, care for, as well as the suddenness of the expedition, and difficulty of the season would allow. The said thousand men besides some volunteers of Indian friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be that the English durst not fight them: Whathad, called together, and a commission granted to the honourable Josiah Winslow, Esq. the present governor of Plymouth colony, a man of known ability and integrity, every way so well qualified with courage and reso- to order, and slew his sergeant with one or lution, as well as prudence and discretion, as two more. Two also of Capt. Oliver's men might have preferred him to the conduct of a were killed in like manner; a solemn warnfar greater army than ever is like to be gather- ing for soldiers not to be too venturous in an ed together in this part of the world, in this enemy's country. For preventing the like the swamp, our men following them in amain, or the following generations. And indeed, mischief upon other companies, more care as he was the first governor over any of the was taken as they passed to the head quarters, united colonies in New England, of them that some of the companies being lodged three were born in the place, so may be, he will pass for a pattern to the succeeding race, that inay come after.

Under him as commander in chief, were ordered six companies from Massachusetts, under the command of Major Appleton, Captains Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver, and Johnson; five companies from Connecticut under Major Treat, Captains Siely, Gallop, Mason, Watts, and Marshall; two companies from Plymouth under Major Bradford, and Captain Gorum.

thence with Mr. Smith by water; the rest ferried over the water to Providence.

another upon the scout killed one man and

The next day an Indian called Stone-wall intimating their willingness to have peace with the English, yet could the messenger hardly forbear threatening, boasting of their tle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or numbers and their strength, adding withal how to assault. As they marched, Capt. ever were protonded by this treacherous fellow, some of his crew as he went home met with some of Gapt. Gardiner's men, that were low with the Plymouth forces marched in the straggling about their own business, contrary was taken as they passed to the head quarters, some of the companies being lodged three miles therefrom. Capt. Mosely's, Capt. Davenport's, and Capt. Oliver's companies being also sent about that time to bring Major Appleton's to the general quarters, a few desperate Indians creeping under a stonewall near the place, fired twenty or thirty guns at Mosely in particular, a commander well known amongst them, but the rest of the company running down upon them, killed one and scattered the rest.

The next day Capt. Prentice with his troop, being sent to Pettyquamscot, returned with Under the governor of Plymonth, as com-mander in chief in this expedition, were sent house and killing 10 Englishmen and 5 wo-they might only enter through, not without as major of the forces belonging to each co-men and children, but two escaped in all. the utmost danger and bazard. The fort was

enemy with victuals, upon all occasions. It lony; Major Robert Treat for the forces be-|This is the chance of war which they who

The pext day brought from the same place a little better news, though not enough to arms against us, many of whom were found chusetts, to whom by the honourable major-balance the sorrow of their former, viz. that either wounded amongst them in their wig-general of the colony, were six companies of warms, or elsewhere occasionally seen return-foot; Delivered at Dedham, December the three hundred English, and an hundred and ing back, after exploits abroad, to be healed 9th, 1675, containing in number 465 fighting lifty Mohegins, ready fixed for war on the of their wounds at home. Also some of our men, besides a troop of horse, under the com- behalf of the English against the Narraganmand of Capt. Thomas Prentice, attending upon them. That night they marched to Woodcock's, about 27 miles from Dedham. or six of them and took as many prisoners. The next night they arrived at Seaconk; The whole number of all our forces being now Capt. Mosely and his company went from come, the want of provision with the sharpness of the cold, minded them of expedition, wherefore, the very next day, the whole body of the The next day, December 12th, they passed Massachusetts and Plymouth forces marched culties at once, chose rather to fall into the over Patuxet river, and then marching through away to Pettyquamscot, intending to engage hands of God whose mercies were great, Pomham's country, at night they met with though he might be provoked to cause his jeal-ousy to smoke against those of his own heritage for the place intended for their Connecticut presently consected, as soon as tage for a time; so in this exigence it was about five generally conceived to be most expedient for thither had happily surprised 36 Indians, one o'clock in the afternoon. Bull's house, intendthe country to cast themselves upon the pro- of whom he took along with him as a guide, ed for their general rendezvous, being unhapvidence of a mercifuland gracious God, rather Peter by name, that was at that time under pily burnt down two or three days before, than by delays to expose themselves to the some disgust with his countrymen, or his sa-there was no shelter left either for officers or treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy. chem, which made him prove the more real private soldiers, so as they were necessitated. A war, therefore, speedily to be carried on friend to our forces in that service, wherein to march on toward the enemy through the snow in the very depth of winter, being agreed he faithfully performed what he promised, in a cold stormy evening, finding no other de-upon, care was taken for supplies, as the diffi- and without his assistance our men would fence all that night, save the open air, nor any culty of such an affair so circumstanced did have been much at a loss to have found the other covering then a cold and moist fleece require, though possibly not with so much ne-lenemy, until it had been too late to have of snow. Through all these difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, Two days after, December 14th, five files December 19th, till one of the clock in the of men sent out under Serjeant Bennet, and afternoon, without even fire to warm them, or respite to take any food, save what they one woman, and brought in four more by could chew in their march. Thus having one o'clock: The whole company marched waded fourteen or fifteen miles through the country of the old Queen or Snake Squaw of Narraganset, they came at one o'clock upon and brought in 8 prisoners when they return-ed at night.

the edge of the swamp, where their guide as-sured them they should find Indians enough before night.

Our forces chopping thus upon the seat of the enemy, upon a sudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of bat-Mosely and Capt. Davenport led the plan, Major Appleton and Capt. Oliver brought up the rear of Massachusetts forces: Gen. Winscentre; those of Connecticut came up in the rear of the whole body: but the frontiers discerning Indians in the swamp, fired immediately upon them, who answering our men in the same language, retired presently into without staying for the word of command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any stand till they came to the sides of the fort, into which the Indians that first fired upon them betook themselves.

It seems that there was but one entrance into the fort, though the enemy found many ways to come out, but neither the English or their guide well knew on which side the entrance lay: nor was it easy to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led Israel sometimes by the pillar of fire, and the cloud of his presence, a right way through the wilderness, so did he now direct raised upon a kind of island of five or six acres | wounds dealt on both sides, the English seeing | driven away from their habitations, and put of rising land in the midst of a swamp; the their advantage, began to fire the wigwams by from planting for the next year, as well as sides of it were made of pallisadoes, set up- where was supposed to be many of the enehedge of almost a rod thickness, through firing of at least five or six hundred of their which there was no passing, unless they could smoky cells. have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves, was upon a long tree over a place of water, where but our sudden and unexpected assault put that died of their wounds. The number of but one man could enter at a time, and which them beside that work, making their cook old men, women and children, that perished was so waylaid that they would have been rooms too hot for them at that time, when they cut off that had ventured there; but at one and their mitchin fried together: and probacorner there was a gap made up only with a bly some of them eat their suppers in a colder long tree, about four or five feet from the place that night: most of their provisions as ground, over which men might easily pass: well as their huts being then consumed with but they had placed a kind of block-house fire, and those that were left alive forced to right over against the said tree, from whence hide themselves in a cedar swamp, not far off, they sorely galled our men that first entered, some being shot dead upon the tree, as was from the cold but boughs of spruce and pine Capt. Johnson; and some as soon as they en- trees: for after two or three hours fight, the tered, as was Capt. Davenport; so as they English became masters of the place, but not that first entered were forced presently to re- judging it tenable, after they had burned all tire, and fall upon their bellies, the fury of the they could set fire upon, they were forced to enemy's shot was pretty well spent, which retreat, after the daylight was almost quite some companies that did not discern the dan-spent, and were necessitated to retire to their ger, not observing, lost sundry of their men, quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some but at the last two companies being brought say more, whither with their dead and woundup, besides the four that first marched up, they ed men they were forced to march, a difficulty animated one another, to make another assault, scarce to be believed and not paralleled in any one of the commanders crying out, they run, former age. they run, which did so encourage the soldiers presently beat the enemy out of a flanker on commanders for their wisdom and courage, the left hand, which did a little shelter our leading on in the very face of death.—There and so by degrees made up higher, first into little regimental army, as busy as bees in a the rear, being not aware of the dangerous passage over the tree, in command of the encmy's block-house, were at their first entrance our four hundred at any time within the fort on with as gallant resolution as any of therest, do what the exigence of the service required under the conduct of their wise and valiant in bringing off the dead and wounded men:

it was to lead on their several companies in the very face of death, or else all had been lost; all of them with great valour and resolution of mind, not at all afraid to die in so good their own slain and wounded carcasses. The a cause, bravely led on their men in that desperate assault; leaving their lives in the place the enemy's side, because our men were foras the best testimony of their valour, and of love to the cause of God and their country. No less than six brave captains fell that day in the assault, viz. Capt. Davenport, Capt. besides Lieutenant Upham, who died some itself (in such a season of the year, and at months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. Gallop also, and Capt. Sieley, many of our wounded men perished, which and Capt. Marshall were slain, of those belong | might otherwise have been preserved, if they ing to Connecticut colony. It is usually seen had not been forced to march so many miles that the valour of the soldiers is much wrap-ped up in the lives of their commanders, yet dressed) yet the enemy lost so many of their it was found here, that the soldiers were rather principal fighting men, their provision also was enraged than discouraged by the loss of their by the burning of their wigwams, so much of commanders, which made them redouble their it spoiled at the taking of their fort, and by courage, and not give back after they were surprising so much of their corn about that entered a second time, till they had driven out time also; that it was the occasion of their own ruin and destruction afterwards: for as their enemies; so after much blood and many total ruin afterwards; they being at that time soon as our soldiers were able to march, find-

right, which was compassed about with an my's women and children destroyed, by the

when they were ready to dress their dinner, where they had nothing to defend themselves

It is hard to say who acquitted themselves that they presently entered amain. After a best in that day's service, either the soldiers, considerable number were well entered, they for their manlike valour in fighting, or the men from the enemy's shot, till more came up, might one have seen the whole body of that the middle, and then into the upper end of the hive, some bravely fighting with the enemy, fort, till at last they made the enemy all retire others hauling off and carrying away the dead from their sconses, and fortified places, leav- and wounded men (which I rather note) that ing multitudes of their dead bodies upon the none may want the due testimony of their place. Connecticut soldiers marching up in valour and faithfulness, though all ought to say,

struck a greater terror into the enemy, to see but eight or ten dead bodies of the English left, than to meet with so many hundreds of ced to leave them on the ground: but our victory was found afterwards to be much more considerable than at first was apprehended; such a distance from our quarters, whereby

deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the enemy were slain is uncertain, it was confessed by one Potock, a great counsellor amongst them, It is reported by them that first entered the afterwards taken at Rhode Island, and put to Indians' fort, that our soldiers came upon them death at Boston, that the Indians lost 700 fighting men that day, besides three hundred either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above 80 of the English slain, and 150 wounded, that recovered afterwards.

> There were several circumstances in this victory very remarkable.

> First, The meeting with one Peter a fugitive Indian, that upon some discontent, flying from the Narragansets, offered himself to the service of the English, and did faithfully perform what he promised, viz. to lead them to the swamp where the Indians had seated themselves within a fort raised upon an Island of firm earth, in the midst of a swamp, whither none of the English could have piloted them without his assistance, the place being very near eighteen miles from the place where

> they were quartered.
>
> Secondly, Their being by a special providence directed just to a place where they found so easy an entrance, which if they had missed, they could never have made a way through the hedge, with which they had surrounded the palisadoes of the fort, in half a day's time.

> And Thirdly, If they had entered the way left by the Indians for a passage, they might have been cut off, before they could have come near their fortification.

Lastly, In directing their motion to begin the assault just at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of snow the next day that they could not have passed through it in divers weeks after; and on a sudden, there fell such a thaw, many of them shot down, although they came at once, yet the rest in their turns came up to that melted away both ice and snow, so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place.

leader, Major Treat.

The brunt of the battle, or danger that day, lay most upon the commanders whose part lay most upon the commanders whose part lay means the fort being clear of the dead bodies, it through so many difficulties to accomplish their desired end. For after they had retired to their quarters, but sixteen miles from that place, there was so great a want of provision, their own slain and wounded carcasses. The the vessels being frozen in at the harbour number of the slain was not then known on about cape Cod, that should have brought them relief, and the frost and snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the force they could make (so many of their ablest soldiers being slain and woundfor although our loss was very great not only ed) to have made another onset: But the Gardiner, Capt. Johnson, of Massachusetts, because of the desperateness of the attempt goodness of the Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the hardships they endured that winter, in very cold lodgings, hard marches, scarcity of provision, yet not not one man was known to die by any disease or bodily distemper, save them that perished of their wounds.

Our forces being compelled by the aforesaid occasions, to lie still some weeks after. hoping also that the enemy so sorely broken,

and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time, that they might get away into the woods; they pursued after them, and sometimes came upon their rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred ways at once into swamps, so as our men could not part of the winter, with the short slumber of of them together; so that now there was little good like to be done, unless they could take them at some advantage. At length having spent all their provision, and tired themselves in pursuing of them sixty or seventy miles, up through the woods towards Marlborough and Lancaster, towns that lie on the road to Connecticut, having killed and taken near 70 of towards Boston, to recruit themselves supposing that the Narragansets, and those with them, were so enfecbled that they would have

If any desire a more particular account of the loss which we sustained at the taking of the Narraganset fort, December 19th, 1675, they may take it as here follows:

Besides the six captains mentioned before, that either were slain in the assault, or died that soon discerned their fraud) rather out of afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. Upham, that died lately at Boston of the wounds he then received,

There were out of the company belonging to

kil	lled. ?	vounded.
Major Appleton,	3	22
Capt. Mosely,	9	10
Capt. Oliver,	5	10
Capt. Gardiner,	7	11
Capt. Johnson,	3	11
Capt. Davenport,	4	15
	-	
in all	, 31 in	all, 79

There were slain and wounded of

New Haven company,	
Capt. Seiley's company,	20
Capt. Watts's company,	17
Capt. Marshall's company,	14
Plymouth company under Major	
Bradford and Capt. Gorham,	20

in all, 91

If there had not been so great a distance between the place of the fight and their quarters, and so much cold attending them in their retirement thereunto, some better account might have been given of that expedition, than now they were able to do. For a march of sixteen or eighteen miles is too much to breathe a fresh soldier, unless he were well mounted; but enough to kill the heart of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldness of the weather although it be a good besom to sweep the chamber of the air (which might be the reason there was no more diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcome companion to wearied, and especially to wounded men, in so long a retreat.

But the want of provision failing, in con-junction with the unseasonableness of the weather, and length of the way, our forces were lindered from any new attempt upon the enemy, which if they would have attended, it was thought it might have put an end

ing that all the enemy's overtures of peace, to which side, and by what degrees pleaseth aid Canonchet's brother, one of the hostages at him best.

The rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace : both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining follow them, or if they did, could not see two a pretended peace, at least with a talk or dream thereof: our commanders aim therein was christian and if it had proceeded, i. e. to have prevented the shedding of more blood: and possibly some of the elder and wiser of the enemy, did really desire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full proof of the valour and resolution of the English, which some of them upon former successes might be them, our soldiers were ordered to return ready to question) and they could not but see their destruction already begun, in the loss of our dwellings, and all their provisions, as well as the slaughter of the best part of their fightno mind suddenly to assault any of the English ing men; but through consciousness of their barbarous treachery and falsehood, they could not trust others, and so were willing to run the utmost hazard, as people hardened to their own destruction. The particular passages of the treaty being carried on by the enemy only in pretence, (and by our men necessity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However, though the foot were unable to do any service in the depth of the snow, and sharpness of the cold, the troop was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the country, who brought in daily much of the enemy's corn and beans, which they had hid in the ground under barns, or at least kept them from making use of their own provision, or spoiling the English cattle; now and then bringing in prisoners from their quarters, as they were straggling about to get victuals.

On the 27th of December, Capt. Prentice was sent into Bomham's country, where he burnt near an hundred wigwams, but found

not an Indian in any of them.

On the 28th of December, a squaw was sent to them, who had been taken in the fight, with a proffer of peace, if they would submit to such terms as were propounded; the principal of which was, to deliver up all Philip's Indians, that were with them; the squaw returned, pretending that she was lame and unable to come again; but the 30th of December, an Indian came from the sachems, with with seeming thanks for the peace proffered, yet complained we made war upon them, and gave them no notice; but his mouth was soon stopped, by the answer they made him: he owned, as the squaw had said before, that they lost 300 of their best fighting men, and so did two prisoners of theirs, taken January 14th, whereof one being of Philip's company, was put to death. The messenger that was sent was fairly dismissed, with the express mention of what terms they must expect, if they desired a peace.

January 4th, there came two messengers from them, as they said to make way for a treaty of peace; who laid the blame upon Canonchet, who came to Boston in October last, to confirm the peace with the commissioners of the united colonics, as if he had

Hartford, was released. This was but a mere pretence, for he and they too, better understood the particulars of the agreement: for by chance the articles which they had of the peace concluded with them, were found open (whether purposely or accidentally was not known) in a wigwam in the fort when it was taken, so they could not be ignorant of the articles of the agreement.

January 5th, an English child of about three or four years old, taken from Warwick, was sent in to put the better pretence upon the

treaty mentioned.

January 8th, the messengers were sent back, and told what they must trust to. In the afternoon a messenger came from Ninigret, the old sachem of Narraganset, who brought a letter from Mr. Stanton, the interpreter, signifying the reality of the said Ninigret, in his friendship to the English, and the straits of the enemy, that corn was two shillings a pint with them. Yet notwithstanding all their difficulties, they rather delayed the time till they could get away, than really endeavour to make a peace, as was soon manifest: for that young and insolent sachem, Canoneliet, and Panoquin, said they would fight it out to the last man, rather than become servants to the English.

January 10th, a fresh supply of soldiers came up from Boston, wading through a sharp storm of snow, that bit some of them by the heels with the frost. The next day one that came with them, going out with the scouts, fell amongst the Indians' barns, in one of which, as he was groping to find corn for the relief of his horse, he catched hold of an Indian's hair, under the leaves, who presently held up his hands, (when the soldier was drawing his sword,) to spare his life, which was granted, but after he was brought to the head-quarters, he would own nothing but what was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord, wherefore he was presently judged to die as a Wampanoog.

January 12th, another messenger came from Cononicus, desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treaty, which so provoked the commander of our forces, that they resolved to have no more treaties with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with God's assistance, as soon as ever the season would permit, and it was high time to take up for within a few days after they understood by some that were taken prisoners, that the enemy were gone, or going into the Nipmuch

Within a few days after, about the 16th of January, the scouts brought in one Joshua Tift, a renegado Englishman, of Providence, that upon some discontent among his neighbours, had turned Indian, married one of the Indian squaws, renounced his religion, nation, and natural parents, all at once fighting against them. He was taken by Capt. Fenner, of Providence, who with some of his neighbours were pursuing some Indians that had driven away their cattle. This Tift being one of the company was wounded in the knee, and so was siezed by the English; he had in his habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After examination he was condemned misinformed them, viz. that they were not by to die the death of a traitor. As to his relito our troubles: but he that holdeth the by the former treaty to have delivered up the gion he was found as ignorant as an heathen, scales of the victory in his hand turneth them Wampanoogs, or Philip's Indians, until the which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be

ish pity upon him that had divested himself of nature itself, as well as religion, in a time sufferers.

January 21st, Capt. Prentice's troops being abroad, met with a party of the enemy, of whom they took two prisoners, and killed nine; in which exploit, something happened very remarkable, for one W. Dodge, of Salem, riding in company with another friend, they happened to meet with two Indians, the said Dodge being better horsed than his friend, made after the foremost, leaving his friend to deal with the hindmost, but his pistol missed firing, whereupon the Indian taking him by the leg, turned him off his horse, and getting upon him, was about killing him with his knife, which Mr. Dodge by chance espied, and came time enough to rescue his friend, and dispatch the Indian lying upon him, and yet time enough to do his business also: by that means he did three good offices at once, saved induced our forces to take the first opportunity to pursue the enemy, who, as they undertheir way, that they could not be ready time. And such was the goodness of God to enough to prevent the mischief they did at those poor captive women and children, that Warwick, as they took their farewell of their they found so much favour in the sight of their country: For,

January 27th, they despoiled Mr. Carpenter of two hundred sheep, and fifty head of neat cattle, and fifteen horses; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too Two that belonged to the said Carpenter were wounded and one of the enemy slain. As they marched after the enemy, they found a good house burned, with a barn belonging to it. They perceived also that the enemy dealt much in horse flesh, meeting with no less than sixty horses heads in one place, which they had left behind them. Our soldiers in their pursuit themselves into swamps, and not two of them running together, they saw it was an endless an enemy; but our forces having pursued to the pleasure of the insulting foe. them into the woods, between Marlborough and Brookfield, in the road toward Connecticut, were constrained to turn down to Boston, in the beginning of February, for want of prowhich gave an occasion to the loss of those lesser towns that were destroyed by the Nipnet Indians, who presently joined with the Narragansetts, upon their first approach, as shall be

related alierwards. About the 10th of February after, some hundreds of the Indians, whether Nipnets or Nashaway men is uncertain, belonging to him they call Sugamore Sam, and possibly some of the stoutest of the Narragansets that had escaped the winter brunt, fell upon Lancaster, a small village of about fifty or sixty families,

Mr. Rowlandson, minister of said Lancaster, which was garrisoned with a competent numwhen so much pity was needed elsewhere, and ber of the inhabitants; yet the fortification of nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the the house being on the back side, closed up with fire wood, the Indians got so near as to fire a leanter, which burning the house immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put to the hard choice, either to perish by the flames, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel savages, which last (considering that a living dog is better than a dead lion) they chose, and so were 42 persons surprised by the Indians, above twenty of the women and children they carried away captive, a rueful spectacle to behold; the rest heing men, they killed in the place or reserved for further misery: and many that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The minister himself was occassionally absent, to seek help from the governor and council to defend that place, who returnovertook the first Indian he was pursuing, ing, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children surprised, and being carried away by the enemy, and his house the life of one friend, and slew two of his turned to ashes, yet it pleased God so to upenemies. But within two or three days after, hold his heart, comforting himself in his God the weather much altering from what it was, as David at Ziklag, that he would always say. he helieved he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come stood by messengers from Providence, were to pass within five or six months after; all now upon their flight into the Nipmuc coun- all save the youngest, which being wounded try: But so many difficulties were cast in at the first died soon after, among the Indians.

enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil carriage to any of the females, nor ever attempted the chastity far to be rescued before our forces set out. of any of them, either being restrained of God as was Ahimeleck of old, or by some other accidental cause which withheld them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this disaster, Capt. Wadsworth, then at Marlborough, with about forty resolute men, adventured the rescuing of the town that was remaining: And having recovered a bridge, they got over safe, though came upon the rear, killed and took about the planks were pulled off by the enemy, and seventy of them, yet never could come to being led up in a way, not discovered by charge them, for they would presently betake them, they forced the Indians for the present to quit the place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards work to proceed further in the chace of such it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned

Ten days after they were so flushed with this success, that two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to Medfield, a town twenty miles from Boston, westward from vision, both for themselves and their horses, Dedham, which they surprised very early in the morning (and though there were one hundred and sixty soldiers in it, or more, besides the inhabitants) they burnt near one half of the town, killing about twenty persons, but by the resistance of the soldiers, as soon as they could be rallied together (it being at or before break of day, none in the least suspecting such an assault so early) they were quickly forced to forsake the place, and so (not with out some loss) took their way to Plymouth

shed at his funeral, by being unwilling to lay-most sad and awful to consider, the house of but the scene is now to be changed; and the other towns and villages that lie eastward, nearer Boston, must bear their part in the like tragedies: For as was said before, the Narragansets having been driven out of the country, fled through the Nipnet plantations, towards Watchuset hills, meeting with all the Indians that had harboured all winter in those woods about Nashaway, they all combined against the English, yet divided their numbers, and one of them were observed to bend their course towards Plymouth, taking Medfield in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, February 2I, 1675, as their

fellows had done Lancaster ten days before.
The surprisal of this Medfield, in regard of some remarkable circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular relating as to the manner thereof: The loss of Lancaster had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring villages, all to stand upon guard; and some had obtained garrisoned soldiers for their greater security, as was the case with them in the town of Medfield, within twenty-two miles of Boston. And at that time were lodged therein several garrison soldiers, besides the inhabitants; yet being billetted up and down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the town was set on fire and many of the inhabitants slain, which, how it could be effected is strange to believe: But most of those inland plantations being overrun with young wood (the inhabitants being very apt to engross more lands into their hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated in the midst of a heap of bushes: Their enemies took the advantage thereof, and secretly over night, conveyed themselves round about the town, some getting under the sides of their barns, and fences of their orchards, as is supposed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they suddenly set upon sundry houses, shooting them that came first out of their doors, and then fired their houses: Some were killed as they attempted to fly to their neighbours for shelter. Some were only wounded, and some taken alive and carried off captives: In some houses the husband running away with one child, the wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped. They began at the east end of the town, where they fired the house of one Samuel Morse, that seems to have been a signal to the rest to fall in on other parts: Most of the houses in the west, or southwest end of the town were soon burnt down: And generally when they burnt any out houses, the cattle in them were burnt also. Two mills belonging to the town were burnt also: A poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the houses that were consumed by fire. The lieutenant of the town, Adams by name, was shot down by his door and his wife mortally wounded by a gun fired afterwards accidentally into the house. After the burning of forty or fifty houses and barns, the cannibals were frighted away out of the town, over a bridge that lies upon Charles river, by the shooting of a piece of ordnance two or three times: When they passed over the bridge they fired one end lony.

The western towns above Connecticut were thought to be above five and did much mischief, burning most of the the chief seat of the war, and felt most of the hundred; there were slain and mortally houses that were not garrisoned; and which is mischief thereof, in the end of the year 1675; wounded seventeen or eighteen persons, be-

garrison house was lost in this surprisal; nor foot, was thereby hindred from retiring to any any of the principal dwellings, so as the chiefest and best of their buildings escaped the constrained to fight it out to the last, which he crew, but their rage shall proceed no further smoke to the eyes, and vinegar to the teeth. cry of a kennel of wolves round the town, them to whom it was immediately sent; by which raised some of the inhabitants, and accident only some of Rehoboth understand-was looked upon by divers persons, as an ing the danger, after the evening exercise (it ominous presaging of the following calamity. being on the Lord's day, March 27th, 1676) the soldiers could be gathered together, they to bring help, unless it were to be spectators turned their backs, as if they never intended of the dead carcasses of their friends, and to to visit them more: whither these Indians perform the last office of love to them. went when they left Medfield, is not certainly known; the soldiers in the town not having courage some of the christian Indians, with opportunity to pursue them over the river, by the said Captain Pierce, shewed in the fight. reason that the bridge was part of it burned: One of them, whose name was Amos, after But it is most probable that they took their the captain was shot in his leg or thigh, so as way toward Plymouth, and continued about he was not able to stand any longer, would that side of the country for the future, wait-ing opportunities to do what mischief they times, fired stoutly upon the enemy, till he could to the English in those parts; for within saw that there was no possibility for him to a month after the assault at Medfield, there do any further good to Capt. Pierce, nor yet were six hundred of them seen about Patuxet to save himself, if he stayed any longer; and Providence, were Capt. Pierce, with therefore he used this policy, perceiving that about fifty of his men were lost, though with the enemy had all blackened their faces, he no great advantage to the enemy, who at that also stooping down pulled out some blacking time lost above double that number: Our out of a pouch he carried with him, discolorworthy captains in this and other exploits, ed his face therewith, and so making himself being called to imitate Sampson, who was look as much like Hobamackco, as any of his content to die with his enemies, that he might enemies, he ran amongst them a little while, overthrow them thereby: It having so fallen and was taken for one of them, as if he had out with many of our choice commanders and been searching for the English, until he had soldiers at Deerfield, Narraganset, Patuxet, an opportunity to escape away among the and likewise not long after at Sudbury.

that they were like to be visited this spring pursuer. by their old neighbours, sent out Capt. Pierce, of Situate, about the latter end of March dians, (friends to the English of Plymouth) with about fifty English and twenty christian that being pursued by one of the enemy, he Indians, about Cape Cod, who proved none betook himself to a great rock where he shel-

last expedition will declare.

out to pursue the enemy, marched towards he stirred away from the place where he stood: Patuxet, where he understood the Indians In the issue he thought of this politic stratagem the English remaining in the Narraganset were many of them gathered together: He to save himself, and destroy his enemy, (for being a man of resolute courage, was willing as Solomon said of old, wisdom is better than to engage them, though upon never so great weapons of war) he took a stick, and hung his a disadvantage. Some say the Indians by hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of am-it up, till he thought it would be seen, and so bush; possibly more of them discovered become a fit mark for the other that watched time, yet proved in the issue, but as a lowerthemselves after he began to engage them to take aim at. The other taking it to be his than he was aware of; and being got over head, fired a gun and shot through the hat; the river in pursuit of them, where he dis-which our christian Indian perceiving, boldly covered so great a number of them, he drew held up his head and discharged his own gun down towards the side of the river, hoping upon the real head, not the hat of his adver-

sides others dangerously hurt. The loss sus-|For the Indians getting over the river so tained by the inhabitants amounted to above galled him from thence, that he was not able two thousand pounds. This mercy was ob- to defend himself; thus assaulted on all sides, served in this sad providence, that never a and himself not being able to travel much on fury of the enemy, who as they passed the did with most undaunted courage; and, as is bridge, left a writing behind them, expressing said, to the slaughter of an hundred and forty something to this purpose, that we had pro-voked them to wrath, and that they would pany were cut off. It is said also, that being fight with us these twenty years, (but they fell apprehensive of the danger he was in from short of their expectation by nineteen) adding the great numbers of the enemy, he sent a also, that they had nothing to lose, whereas messenger timely enough to Providence, for we had houses, barns, and corn: These were relief, but as Solomon saith, a faithful messome of the bold threats used by the barbarous senger is as snow in harvest, another is as than the counsel of God hath determined. (Whether through sloth or cowardice, is not The week before was heard a very hideous material,) this message was not delivered to Another assault was feared, but as soon as repaired to the place, but then it was too late

It is worth the noting, what faithfulness and bushes; therein imitating the cuttle fish, which, The governor and council of Plymouth when, it is pursued, or in danger, casteth out perceiving by the report of these outrages of its body a thick humour, as black as ink, committed upon the towns in Massachusetts, through which it passes away unseen by the

It is reported of another of these cape Inof his worst soldiers, as the sequel of this his tered himself for a while; at last perceiving that his enemy lay ready with his gun on the Capt. Pierce, as is said before, being sent other side to discharge upon him, as soon as the better by that means to prevent their sur-sary, whereby he shot him dead upon the rounding him; but that proved his overthrow place, and so had liberty to march away with which he intended as his greatest advantage: the spoils of his enemy.

The like subtle device was used by another of the cape Indians at the said time, being one of them that went out with Capt. Pierce; for being in like manner pursued by one of Philip's Indians as the former was, he nimbly got behind the but end of a tree newly turned up by the roots, which carried a considerable breadth of the surface of the earth along with it (as is very usual in those parts where the roots of the trees lie deep in the ground) which stood above the Indian's height, in form of a large shield, only it was somewhat too heavy too be easily removed; the enemy Indian lay with his gun ready to shoot him down upon his first deserting his station; but the subtle wit taught our christian Netop a better device for boring a little hole through this his broad shield, he discerned his enemy who could not easily discern him; a good musketer need never desire a fairer mark to shoot at, wherenpon discharging his gun, he shot him down. What can be more just than that he should be killed, who lay in wait to kill another man? neque enim lex justior alla est, quam necis artifices arse perire sua.

Instances of this nature show the subtlety and dexterousness of these natives, if they were improved in feats of arms; and possibly if some of the English had not been too shy in making use of such of them as were well affected to their interest, they need never have suffered so much from their enemies; it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very serviceable and helpful to the English; they usually proving good seconds, though they have not ordinarily confidence enough to make the first onset. But to return to the proceedings of the Indians towards Ply-

February 25th, they assaulted Weymouth, and burnt seven or eight houses and barns there, which Weymouth is a town lying to-

wards Plymouth colony.

March 12th following, they assaulted the house of one Mr. Clarke, in Plymouth, cruelly murdering eleven persons that belonged to two families that lodged therein, and then fired the house. The cruelty towards these persons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindness from the said Clarke. It is the custom of such debtors, to use them worst, of whom they have taken up much kindness upon trust beforehand.

March 17th, another party of them fell upon Warwick, a place beyond Philip's land, toward the Narraganset country, where they hurnt down to the ground all but a few houses, which they left standing as a monument of their barbarous fury. The like mischief was acted by them upon the houses of

This 26th day of March, being the first day of the week, as the first of the year after our Julian account, seemed ominous at the first, on sundry accounts, threatening a gloomy ing morning before a lightsome day.

For besides the burning of Marlborough, at least a great part of it, on the same day, a very sad accident fell out the same time at Springfield shall be specified hereafter; besides that which befel Capt. Pierce, which is already related, with whom fell so many of his soldiers on the same day also; yet had the enemy no cause

glish, to give so many of their own lives in exchange; Some few made their escape, as is said, by subtle devices; besides the three forementioned, another by a like shift, not only saved himself, but helped an Englishman to escape also, whom he ran after with his hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him; whereby both of them made a shift to get away; the rest were all lost (the unfaithfulness of the messenger being as was intimated before, the cause of their slaughter) save a few that hardly escaped by the advantage of the bushes giving them opportunity to pass unseen, yet it was confessed by a prisoner of the enemy, taken afterwards by the English, that they lost an hundred and forty in that encounter: and had not the said English by wading after the enemy over a river made their ammunition useless, there had not half so many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards Rehoboth, near Swanzey, when on March 28th, they burnt thirty barns and near forty dwelling houses, thereby as it were threatening the utter desolation of that poor town; and so proceeding on that side the country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houses in Providence, in their way toward Narraganset.

But it was now full sea with Philip's affairs. for soon after the tide of his successes began to turn about the sea coast, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the

For about this time news came to Boston that our neighbours and friends of Connecticut colony, hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that side of the country, sent a party of their soldiers, under the command of Capt. George Denison, with some friendly Indians, part Mohegins and Pequods, part Niantics, belonging to Ninigret, a Narraganset sachem, who never engaged in this quarrel against the English; who in pursuit of the enemy, meeting with a considerable part of them about the Narraganset country, killed and took fortyfive of them, without the loss of their own men. This victory was the more considerable, in that several of the chief captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken; amongst whom was Canonchet (who came down to get seed corn to plant at Squakheag;) he was the chief sachem of all the Narragansets, the son of Miantonimo, and the heir of all his father's pride and insolence, as well as of his malice against the English, a most perfidious villain, who had the last October been at Boston, pretending to make a firm peace with the English, but never intending to keep one article thereof: Therefore, as a just reward of his wickedness he was adjudged by those that took him to die, which was accordingly put in execution at Sonington, whither he was carried; there his head being cut off, was carried to Hartford; the Mohegins and Pequods that had the honour to take him prisoner having the honour likewise of doing justice upon him, and that by the prudent advice of the English commanders, thereby the more firmly to engage the said Indians against the treacherous Narragansets. There are differing reports about the manner of his heing taken, and by whom, whether the Indians or the English first took him; however, it was sufficient matter of rejoicing to all the colonies, of moment diverting himself with the recital of the young sachem of the Mohegins, and two the English, that the ringleader of almost all Capt. Pierce's slaughter, surprised by his of the Pequods of like quality. This was the

the Narragansets and us, died himself by that English at that time heard by himself, put by sword of war which he had drawn against that discourse, appalled by the suddenness

their language and manners of any in New

their chief sachem, having with this people ed it in his council, that all the west planta- so deep that it wet his gun, upon which acci-tions upon Connecticut river, taken from the dent he confessed soon after, that his heart hundred to follow him or meet him about Sea- of body; one of the first English that came conk the week after. The adventure brought up with him was Robert Stanton, a young him into a snare, from whence he could not escape: for Capt. George Denison, of Ston- his age, yet adventuring to ask him a question ington, and Capt. Avery of New London, or two, to whom this manly sachem, looking having raised forty seven English, the most part volunteers, with eighty Indians, twenty replied in broken English, you much child, of which were Narragansetts belonging to no understand matters of war: let your Ninigret, commanded by one called Catapazet, brother or your chief come, him I will anthe rest Pequods, under Cassasinamon and swer; and was as good as his word; acting Mohegins, under Oneco, son of Uncas, being herein, as if by a Pithagorean metempsychonow abroad on their third expedition, which sis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the they began March 27th, 1676, and ended on body of this western Pagan; and like Attilius the 10th of April following: they met with a stout Indian of the enemy's whom they presently slew, and two old squaws, who confessed Nanunttenoo, alias Canonchet (these chief sachems usually changing their names at every great dance, and by the name of Nanunttenoo was he then known) was not far probably he was not willing they should, off, which welcome news put new life into the wearied soldiers, that had travelled hard many days, and met with no booty till now; especially when it was confirmed by intelligence the same instant, brought in by their scouts, that they met with new tracks, which brought them in view of what is called Blackstone's river, the said sachem was at that was shot to death by some of his quality, sc.

to boast, being forced by the valour of the En- | this mischief, and great incendiary betwixt | men a few days before, but the alarm of the thereof, as if he had been informed by secret Concerning the Narragansets, this is fur-litem from Heaven, that now his own turn was ther to be added here, that Mr. Thomas Staun-come; for having but 7 men about him, he ton and his son Robert, who have along time sent up two of them to the top of the hill, to lived amongst them, and best acquainted with see what the matter was, but they affrighted with the near approach of the English, at that England do affirm, that to their knowledge, time with great speed mounting over a fair the Narraganset sachems, before the late champagna on the other side of the hill, ran troubles, had two thousand fighting men under by, as if they wanted time to tell what they them, and nine hundred arms, yet they are at saw; presently he sent a third, who did the this day so broken and scattered, that there like; then sending two more on the same is none of them left on that side of the country, errand, one of these last, endowed with more unless some few, not exceeding seventy in courage, or a better sense of his duty, informed number, that have sheltered themselves under him in great haste that all the English army the inhabitants of Rhode Island, as a merchant was upon him; whereupon having no time to of that place, worthy of credit, lately affirmed consult, and but little to attempt an escape, to the writer hereof. It is considered by what and no means to defend himself; he began to degrees they have been consumed and des-dodge with his pursuers; running round the hill on the contrary side; but as he was run-The first week in April, 1676, Canonchet, ning so hastily by, Catapazet, with twenty of his followers, and a few of the English, lightbeen driven out of his own country, by the est of foot, guessed by the swiftness of his sword of the English, the winter before, motion, that he fled as if an enemy, which breathed still nothing but rage and cruelty made them immediately take the chace after against them: yet as appeared in the issue, him, as for their lives; he that was the swifter himself and they that escaped with him were pursuer put him so hard to it that he cast off not much preserved from the present calamity first his blanket then his silver laced coat (given that befel those in the fort, being reserved to him at Boston, as a pledge of their friendship, another and more ignominious death. For the upon the renewal of his league in October bewhole body of the Indians to the westward, trus- fore) and belt of peag, which made them purting under the shadow of that aspiring bramble, sue as eagerly as the other fled; so that they he took a kind of care of them upon himself: forced him to take to the water, through which Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could as he over hastily plunged, his foot slipping not well subsist without planting, he propound-upon a stone, it made him fall into the water English, should this last summer be planted with turned within him, so as he became as a rotten Indian corn; which was indeed in itself a very stick; void of strength, insomuch as one prudent consideration: to that end he resolv- Monopoide, a Pequod, swiftest of foot, laid ed to venture himself with but thirty men hold of him within thirty rods of the river (the rest declining it) to fetch seed corn from side, without his making any resistance; though Seaconk, the next town to Mount Hope, he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, leaving a body of men, not less than fifteen and great courage of mind, as well as strength man that scarce had reached the 22d year of with a little neglect upon his youthful face, Regulus he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying he knew the Indians would not yield; but more choosing rather to sacrifice his own, and his people's lives, to his private humour of revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their safety, by entertaining the counsels of a peace, so necessary for the general good of all: he continuing in the same obstinate resolution, was soon after carried to Stonington, where he

confusion of a damned wretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the name of the living God, and those that make profession thereof. He was told at large of his breach of faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a Wampanoog, or the paring of a Wampanoog's nail, that he would burn the English in their houses; to which he replied, others were as forward for the war as himself: and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his sentence was to die, he said, he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or had told the English before they put him to death, that the killing him would not end the war; but it was a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least not in those parts; for after Sudbury fight, when the sun of their hopes was at its highest; April the 18th following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared.

The inhabitants of New London, Norwich and Stonington, apprehensive of their danger, my. None knows either love or hatred by by reason of the near bordering of the enemy, and upon other prudent consideration, voluntarily listed themselves under some able gentlemen, and resolute soldiers, amongst themselves, Major Palmes, Capt. George Denison, time four of the inhabitants of Taunton were Capt. Avery, with whom, or under whom, killed as they were at their work in the field. within the compass of the year 1676, they made ten or more several expeditions, in all which, at those several times, they killed and took two hundred and thirty-nine of the enemy, by the help and assistance of the Pequods, Mohegins, and a few friendly Narragansets; besides thirty taken in their long march homeward, after the fort fight, December 19th, 1675; and besides 16 captivated in the second expedition, not reckoned within the compass of the said number; together with fifty guns, and spoiling the enemy of an hundred bushels of corn.

In January they went again in pursuit, and took five men and a boy. Certain Nipnets intended to have sheltered themselves under Uncas; but he perceiving it would be distasteful to the English, soon shabbed them off, so as they were in the beginning of the winter brought into Boston, many of them by Peter Ephraim, and Andrew Pityme, with their fellows.

In all which exploits, neither they nor any of their followers sustained any loss by the sword of the enemy, or sickness; as is expressly declared by the reverend minister of Stonington, Mr. James Noyce, which is a matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such signal testimonies of divine favour, to be ready to pay their vows to the Most High, who alone teacheth the hands of his people to war, and their fingers to fight.

Not long after Capt. George Denison, of Stonington, with sixty-six volunteers, and a hundred and twelve Pequods, killed and took seventy-six of the enemy, amongst whom were two Narraganset sachems, one of whom was the grand-child of Pomham (who is accounted the most warlike, and the best soldier of all the Narraganset sachems) taking at the same time 160 bushels of the enemy's corn, said captain's followers.

was done by the enemy in Plymouth colony, was by burning of houses and barns, which they might easily do, the inhabitants in most of those towns being repaired to garrison houses for their greater security: for about the 20th of April, fifty of the enemy burnt about nineteen houses and barns in Situate, but were so resolutely encountered by a few of the inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing further mischief.

spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He seventeen houses and barns in Bridgewater, a small town in Plymouth colony, twelve miles on this side Taunton; but it pleased God just at the time to send a thunder-shower, which put out the fire, or else it might have

prevailed much further.

It is very remarkable, that the inhabitants of the said Bridgewater, never yet lost one person by the sword of the enemy, though the town is situate within Plymouth colony, yet they have helped to destroy many of the eneall that is before them in things of this nature; nor ought standers by that may escape, think themselves less sinners than those that perish by the sword of the enemy: yet about this whereby it is said that thirty children were made fatherless: So unsearchable are the judgments of the Almighty and his ways past

During these calamities, God's dispensations have been various, as well in references unto towns and villages, as unto persons: as if some places have been by special providence marked out to preservation, as others unto destruction; of which no other reason can be rendered, than the good pleasure of God so to order and dispose of events, which sometimes, as Solomon says, are all one to the good, and to the clean and to the unclean.

And because special notice is taken of the town of Bridgewater, which although it is feared, as it were in the midst of danger, and hath often been assaulted by considerable numbers of the enemy, yet never lost any one of their inhabitants, young or old; a particular account shall here be given of the most remarkable passages of divine providence relating to that plantation since the war began. June 26th, 1675, when Philip's malice against against Governor Winslow, began to boil up to the height of an open rebellion; the people of Swanzcy being likely to be distressed by governor of Plymouth, the way lying through Bridgewater; the said post returned the next day, and about nine or ten o'clock, as he passed through the town, left an order from the governor for the raising of twenty men, well armed, and furnished with horses, to be forthwith dispatched away for the relief of Swanzey; seventeen were all that could be raised on the sudden, who were sent thither that night, and were the first that were upon their march in my's dead bodies in the place afterward. all the country; and possibly they fared not the prophetess, blessed God for them that also for the preservation of most of that garrino small damage to our enemies at that time, offered themselves willingly among the peo son, who with their goods, by their means, and all this without the loss of one man of the ple: these seventeen of Bridgewater, were, with the help of a small party of Plymouth June 21st, ordered by Capt. Bradford of forces, sent thither after the six were killed

The greater mischief which after this time | Metapoiset, a place at twelve miles distance from Swanzey, to strengthen the garrison at one Bourn's house, wherein were seventy persons, amongst whom were only found sixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. Brown's son for their pilot, they met with some Swanzey people, newly turned out of their houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands, and bewailing their losses, very much also persuad-Not long after, May Sth, they burnt about ing the Bridgewater men to turn back, because of the danger, but they having so clear a call, had also more courage than cowardice to desert the cause of God and his people, lest they should thereby betray the lives of so many of their friends into the enemy's hands; and so by the good hand of God towards them, came

safe to Metapoiset that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. Brown, their pilot, back to his quarters; in their return they came suddenly upon a party of Indians, about thirty in all; they were within shot of one another, but the English having no commission to fight till they were assaulted, and not being impeded in their passage they returned safe to their garrison at Metapoiset: the Indians presently drawing off and firing three guns (though not with intent to do them any hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them. When this party of the English drew near to their garrison, they met with a company of carts going to fetch corn from an house deserted near by, about a quarter of a mile from Mr. Bourn's house, the soldiers gave them notice of the Indians which they discovered, and withal advised them by no means to venture any more, because of the danger; they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest persuasions of the soldiers to have another turn, which they soon found to be at the peril of their own lives, six of them being presently after killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the barn where was the corn; these six are said to be the first that were slain in this quarrel. The soldiers at the garrison hearing the guns, made what haste they could to the place, but being most of them in that interim gone to look for their horses, they could not come time enough for. the relief of their friends, yet upon their apappreach, they who had done the mischief presently fled away: one Jones, hard pursued the English, mixed with a particular prejudice by two Indians, was by their coming delivered from the extent of the enemy's cruelty, but having his mortal wound, had only the lavour thereby, to die in the arms of his friends, the Indians, a post was instantly sent to the though by wounds received from his enemies

The next week fifteen of those soldiers looking after their horses, fell into an umbush of twenty of the Indians, but being prepared for the encounter, they discharged their guns upon each other; but our men received no hurt, some of them felt the wind of the bullets passing by their faces; what damage the enemy received is uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their ene-

Thus were they not only preserved in many the worse for their forwardness: as Deborah, perils themselves, but became instrumental (as is mentioned before) were soon after trans-the house and barn where they kept their ported safely to Read Island.

Many outrages were that summer committhe beginning of April following, when them-selves with their neighbours of Taunton and last, which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy, but these things are only in the hands of God, and not to be determined by man.

party of their men to pursue them that night and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7th, the Lord's day also (no doubt but the betterness of the day will increase the badness of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a great body of Indians dispersed that way, with intent to have fallen upon the town that very day, but were easually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before; however, they were resolved not to miss the opportunity, wherefore on the next day (May 8th) about three hundred of them, one Tisguogen being their chief leader, at 8 or 9 in the morning made an assault upon the east end of the town, on the south side of the river: many of the inhabitants stayed at home that morning, because of the intelligence the day before, and so were the more ready to entertain them; some not taking that warning, ventured into the field about their occasions, were in danger of surprisal, but by the special favour of God escaped, and came time enough to help defend their own and their neighbours dwellings, being shot at, and hard pursued a considerable way.

The Indians presently began to fire the town, but it pleased God so to spirit and encourage several of the inhabitants, issning out of their garrison houses, that they fell upon them with great resolution, and beat them off; at the same instant of time, the Lord of Hosts also fighting for them from Heaven, by sending a storm of thunder and rain, very seasonably which prevented the burning of the houses which were fired: The soldiers also fighting were so successful in repelling the enemy, that none of the inhabitants were killed or taken, and but one wounded. The Indians was left from the spoil of the enemy, having skirts of the town, made a fresh onset upon an- from front to rear about two miles, when a to venture out of their fortified houses, who riers, who both died the next night. Had their dwellings, so as in the evening they drew damage to the whole body, it being full an off to an outhouse, three miles distant from the hour before they could be drawn up, which town: The next day the inhabitants expected was done with care and courage; but the In-

rendezvous over night, and one house more not far distant, they marched all clear away ted upon their neighbours at Taunton and Na- for that time. Thus it pleased God so to masket, yet it pleased God to protect the poor order his dispensations toward this small town, town of Bridgewater from any other hurt, till as a brand plucked out of the fire, they did but just taste of this bitter cup, which others drank deeper of; yet had they not such mer-Rehoboth were strongly solicited to desert cy, as these had, mixed therewith: under their dwellings, and repair down to the towns God, the courage of the inhabitants was a by the sea side, but God encouraged them to great means of their preservation, for they keep their stations, notwithstanding the ex-fired so stoutly upon the enemy, that they treme danger then presented. It is reported durst not come very near some of the garrithat Philip gave orders that Taunton and soned houses, saluting them only at a distance. Bridgewater should not be destroyed till the God was eminently seen upholding the spirit of all sorts, men and women, so as no consternation of mind was seen upon any of them, during the whole time of the dispute.

In this assault they lost but thirteen dwell-April 9th, being Lord's day, a small party ing houses, whereof five only were in the of the enemy came down upon the said town (the rest being outhouses, and deserted Bridgewater, burnt an outhouse and barn, for the present) with some few barns, and broke up and rifled several other houses in some of their cattle; all which was a very inthe same quarter of the town, which are not- considerable loss, in comparison of what befel withstanding yet remaining; they sent out a others, and themselves might endured, if God had not by his special favour prevented.

July 14th and 15th, another party of Indians came down upon the northwest side of the town, but with no better success; for they had no commission from the Lord of Hosts to touch any of the persons of the inhabitants, their power reaching only to the slaying of their cattle at this time.

July 18th, 19th, and 20th, they sent our parties after the enemy to pursue them by their track, who fell upon some of them. On the 20th they took sixteen, whereof two were men: On this day they had to assist them, it seems, some of the bay Indians, sent them from Capt. Brattle; some of the eaptives informed that there were but seventy or eighty in the company, and but ten or twelve men amongst them: But within a few days these Bridgewater men shall find better success in pursuit of their enemies, when Philip himself shall hardly escape their hands, as shall be seen afterwards.

While one party of the enemy thus acted their part about Plymouth colony and towards the sea coasts, other parties of them were not idle in the Massachusetts colony, where they assaulted many places, doing what mischief they could by firing of houses, and killing several persons in the inland plantations.

March 2d, they assaulted Groton; the next day over night Major Willard, with seventy horse came into the town; 40 foot also came up to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled, having first burnt all the houses in the town, save four that were garrisoned, the meeting house being the second under the banners of God's special protection, they fired; soon after Capt. Still was sent with a small party of dragoons, of eight files, to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what by this stout resistance, being beaten off to the under his care about sixty carts, being in depth other quarter thereof, on the north side of the party of Indians lying in ambush, at a place river, where they had done much more mischief of eminent advantage, fired upon the front but that God stirred up sundry of the people and mortally wounded two of the first earfired upon the enemy, and beat them from God permitted, they would have done eminent town: The next day the inhabitants expected was done with care and courage; but the Inthree others wounded: Meanwhile another another assault, but the enemy having burnt dians after a few more shot made, without ambush had risen, and come upon the back

doing harm, retired, and made no further assault upon them, being the same party of Indians which the day before had burnt some part of Chelmsford. Soon after this village was deserted and destroyed by the enemy; yet it was a special providence, that though the earts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

The surprisal of Groton was after this manner: On March 2d, the Indians came in the night and rifled eight or nine houses, carried away some eattle, and alarmed the town.

On March 9th, about ten in the morning, a pareel of Indians having two days lurked in the town, and taken possession of three outhouses, and feasted themselves with corn, and divers swine and poultry, which they there seized, lay in ambush for two earts, which went from their garrison to fetch in some hay, attended with four men, two of which espying the enemy, made a difficult escape, the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, stript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the highway, and laid on his back in a most shameful manner: the other taken captive and afterwards sentenced to death; but the enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the night before he was designed to have been slaughtered, and fled to the garrison at Lancaster, the eattle in both towns wounded, and five of them slain.

March 13th was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by their own account four hundred, and thought by the inhabitants to be not many less. The town was at this time, (having been put into a fright by the sad catastrophe of Laneaster, the next bordering town) gathered into five garrisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattle belonging to those families, driven into pastures, which afterwards proved their preservation; the other was

near a mile distant from the rest. This morning the Indians (having in the night placed themselves in several parts of the town) made their onset; which began near the four garrisons, for a body of them having placed themselves in ambuseade, behind a hill, near one of the garrisons two of them made discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon discovery. At this time, divers of the people, not suspecting that any such matter (for the day before, many had been upon discovery many miles, and found no signs of an enemy being so near) were attending their occasions, some foddering their cattle, some milking their cows, of whom the enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two Indians were at length espied, and the alarm given: whereupon the most of the men in the next garrison, and some also in the second (which was about eight or nine poles distant) drew out and went to surprize those two Indians, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the hill, then arose in the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and

pulled down the pallisadoes: The soldiers in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by the next garrison, the women and children meanwhile exposed to hazard, but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified house, without any harm, leaving their substance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and household stuff, (in which loss five families were impoverished) and firing upon the other garrison : Here also they took some cattle. No somer was the signal given by the first volley of town at once, did the smoke arise, they firing

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprised the single garrison, but God prevented. An old Indian Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at wards.-What might be gathered from the passed along the street with a black sheep on his pleasure) with a halter about his neck, foresaid promises is easy to conceive: wherehis back with a slow pace, as one decrepid; they made several shot at him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive, but the watchman seasonably espying an ambush, behind the house, gave the signal, whereby

the town, some of them in the garrison they had surprised, but the body of them in an adjacent valley where they made themselves merry after their savage manner. The next morning they gave two or three vollies at Capt. Parker's garrison, and so marched off,

near at hand.

This assault of theirs was managed with their wanted subtlety and barbarous cruelty; for they stript the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting drew near the garrison house, supposing it another small party of the enemy, of whom off his head, fixed it upon a pole, looking to-wards his own land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug out of his grave, and cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and stript off his winding sheet. An infant which they found dead, in the house they first surprised, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the There were about forty dwelling houses burnt at that time, besides other buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the town, and scattering of the inhabitants, and removal of the candlestick after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprising of Groton, March 13, there was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolence of John Monoco, or one eyed design; who having by a sudden surprisal carly in the morning, seized upon a garrisen house in one end of the town, continued to it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all appearance, call out to Capt. Parker, that was lodged in another garrison house, and entertained a great deal of discourse with him, upon the cause of the war, and putting an end to it by a friendly peace; yet oft mixing bitter sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts, at their praying and wor-

known whether he was there personally pre- forming them that sent him what he had obsent or not) Lancaster, and that now he would served, both the number of the Indians (about burn the town of Groton, and the next time three hundred in all) also their several towns, he would burn Chelmsford, Concord, Water- and what provisions they had; plenty of vctown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, nison, much pork from the Englishmen's hogs Boston, adding at last in their dialect, what which they had taken; they confessed also me will, me do: Not much unlike the proud that he and some of his party had killed the Assyrian (if his power had been equal to his people at Nasaway, the last year, suspected pride) sometimes threatened against Jerusa- to have been done by the Indians of Marlof God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred that time, which accordingly they did; adding and four score (of which he now boasted) and moreover, that some Frenchmen were with shot, but immediately in several parts of the only with a few more braggadocios like himself, Sagamore Sam, old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quabaog, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the gallows (through all this mischief-but more of this afterwith which he was hanged at the town's end, Sept. 26th, in this present year, 1676. So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, and such those parts, under the command of Major contempt be poured on all them that open their mouths to blaspheme thy holy name.

they were prevented.

The night following, the enemy lodged in about those parts at this time, yet though the righteous fall seven times, let not their enemics rejoice, for the righteous shall rise again, those Indian towns about Watchuset Hill, to but their wicked enemies shall fall into mischief, and rise no more. It was ebbing water with New England at this time, and a while after; but God shall turn the stream before it through those woods, they were at one time fearing as was thought, that supply might be be long, and bring down their enemies to

lick the dust before them.

After this, April 17th, Capt. Still being apdians coming to hunt for swine, three Indians marched along they accidentally fell upon to have been deserted, two of them were slain they slew some and took others to the num-

from the garrison.

like to be exposed to from the enemy, after turning down towards Hadley and Northampthey were driven out of the Narraganset ton, whither it was supposed the Indians incountry, was foreseen by the council of Massachusetts, yea, they had some intimation to the relief of the said towns, which else had thereof from the enemy themselves; but they been in danger of being lost. For, were not well able to prevent it in that unseasonable time of the year; no way fit for marching of soldiers, and transporting of provisions (the winter then beginning to break about the town a little before, for their better up in this country) for while our forces were up in the Narraganset country in the winter, a couple of christian Indians were sent as spies into the Nipnet and Narraganset country through the woods, in the depth of winter, many barns, with the loss of many of their John, the chief capt. of the Indians in that when the ways were impassable for any other lives, as was supposed. sort of people: These two, James and Job, ordered their business so prudently, as that they were admitted into these Indian habitations as friends, and had free liberty of disthat day; and at night did very familiarly in course with them; they were at first a little vent mistakes; the matter having through a jealous of them; but by the means of one great oversight been otherwise represented eyed John (a great captain of the Indians, than indeed it was, not only to the prejudice that afterwards led them that spoiled Groton, of truth, but to the disadvantage of some whom he called his old neighbour; dilating who having been a companion of one of the persons concerned therein. While the solsaid spies, both in hunting, and in fighting diers were quartered at a place belonging to against the Mohawks formerly, so esteemed Springfield, called the long meadow, three of him, that he would not suffer any of the miles from the town below, toward Windsor, rest to touch him) they passed through all several of the inhabitants having most of the shipping God in the meeting house, which he the Indian towns lying thirty miles distant winter kept from the public meeting on the deridingly said he had burnt. Among other from Quabaog, and twenty miles northward Lord's day for fear of the enemy, were en-

side of the garrison so descrited of men, and he said he burnt Medfield, (though it be not spies returned about the 24th of January, inlem, but was by the remarkable providence borough: He told them also they intended to burn Lancaster within three weeks after them at Pocomptuck, encouraging of them to go on with their designs, promising them assistance, which made some ready to think the Indians were stirred up by the French to do upon new forces, with as much speed as the season would allow, were raised and sent into Savage in chief: They were dispatched away the beginning of March, and appointed to meet with such as should be sent from Connecticut colony, which they did about Quahaog, and so intended to march directly up to the northwest; but the Indians were gone, and our forces in pursuit of them taking the wrong path, missed of them, yet ranging suddenly assaulted by a small party of Indians firing upon them, wounded Mr. Gershom Bulkly, by a shot in his thigh, and killpointed to keep garrison at Groton, some In- ing one of their soldiers; after which as they by one single shot, made by the captain's own hards, and the third, by another shot made main body of the enemy, who it seems had passed over a great river by rafts, so that our The danger which these inland towns were men could follow them no further, wherefore tended to pass, they came very seasonably

> March 14th, the enemy fell upon Northampton, and in three places broke through the fortification of pallisadoes, set up round security; but the town being at that time full of soldiers, they were quickly repulsed, after they had killed four men and two women, and fired four or five dwelling houses, and as

While our forces under Major Savage continued on that side of the country, a sad accident fell out at Sprinfield, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate to prethings which he boastingly uttered that night, of the road to Connecticut .- One of the said couraged to adventure to the assembly, on

the 26th of March, riding in the company of | that an Indian could hardly be discerned from | passing them around, forced them to the top of the troopers; but having heard of no Indians thereabouts a good while, were more secure than they had cause; for riding some of them with women behind them, and some with children in their arms, yet not so careful as to keep in the middle, but rather in the rear, and at some distance straggling from the rest of the company, a party of Indians lying n the bushes, as they rode along, fired upon the hindmost, and killed two, and wounded others: Those in the front having also women and maids behind some of them, were at a stand to know what to do, fearing they might expose those women they had in their company, if they should ride back (in that winding road through a woody place for near a mile or two together) to look after them that were behind; at the last, one that came riding up, told the foremost company there was no hurt, and that they were all coming: They that were before rode away with all speed to the end of the town, where setting down the wo men, the troopers returned back, but too late to recover two poor women, and two children, who upon the first assault were thrown off their horses, and immediately hauled into the bushes, and through a swamp on the other side of a steep bank, so as they could not be heard of all that afternoon, nor the next day till toward night, although they were diligently searched after by all the troopers in and about the town; at last when they were descried just by a swamp side, the cruel wretches endeavoured to kill them all, but in haste only wounded them with their hatchets, yet so as one of the poor creatures recovered; the other, with the children, died of their wounds before they were brought home, or within a little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power; but by the farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.

There happened no other matter of moment worthy the reporting while our forces tarried in those parts, and the commanders observing that the enemy was turned back again through the woods, towards Massachusetts bay, after a month's time retired back, yet could never meet with the enemy in their return through the woods, although while they were at the towns aforesaid, they understood of several attempts made upon Sudbury and Marlborough, the most part of the latter they destroyed March 26th, which made the inhabitants forsake their dwellings, leaving only a few houses garrisoned with soldiers, the better to secure a passage to the towns westward

upon Connecticut river. The inhabitants of Sudbury, with the soldiers under lieutenant Jacobs, of Marlhorough, sufficiently alarmed by the late mischief done about these towns, resolved to try what work they could with the enemy in the night: whereupon going forth, March 27th, toward morning, they discerned where the enemy lay by their fire, (near three hundred of them)

a hetter man; yet God so directing, they discharged several times upon them; wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either died of their wounds the same day, or soon after, which had been chief agents in this present mischief against the English. Such was the success of this skirmish that the assailants came off without the loss of a man.

After this time the enemy began to scatter about in small parties, doing what mischief they could, about Massachusetts, killing a man at Weymouth, another at Hingham, as they lay skulking up and down in swamps and holes, to assault any that occasionally looked never so little into the woods: sometimes alarming the towns about Boston, by discharging the guns upon particular persons at Billerica, Braintree, and at Wrentham, near to which place, in the road to Rehoboth, they assaulted one Woodcock's house, killed one man and one of his sons, wounded another, and burnt his son's house.

Notwithstanding the little success of former attempts Philip and his men have one piece more to play in Massachusetts colony, before they go off the stage, and then we shall see their power visibly declining every where, until their final overthrow come upon them. There were several small parties of them scattered up and down all over the country, yet the main body of them was still lurking up and down in those woods that lie between Brookfield, Marlborough, and Connecticut river. Possibly they had some hopes of driving all the country before them to the towns upon the sea coast; for having burnt the deserted houses at Marlborough, April 17th, the next day they set upon Sudbury with all their might (hoping, 'tis probable,) to do there as they had done at the towns next beyond it. They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several houses and barns, and kill several persons ten or twelve of the English, that came from Concord to assist their neighbours at Sudbury, a town five miles distant from them, at the first hearing of the alarm, who unawares were surprised near a garrison, in hopes of getting some advantage upon a small party of the enemy that presented themselves in a meadow; a great number of the Indians that lay unseen in the bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the passage to the garrison house, killed and took them all.

But our sorrows and losses that day are not yet come to their height; for on the same day, that resolute stout hearted soldier, Capt. Wadsworth (who not long before, with not above forty men, rescued Lancaster, when it was in danger to have been all lost at once) being sent from Boston with fifty soldiers to relieve Marlborough, having marched twentyfive miles and then understanding the enemy was gone through the woods towards Sudbury: This wearied company, before ever they had taken any considerable rest, marched immediately back toward Sudbury (that lies ten miles nearer Boston) and being come within a mile of the town, they espied a party and within half a mile of a garrison house, of Indians not far from them, about an hunnear the place where they had done so much dred, not more—as they conceived, these they mischief the day before. Such was the courmight easily deal with; who retiring a while, age and resolution of the English, though but drew Capt. Wadsworth and his company forty in number, townsmen and soldiers, that above a mile into the woods, when on a sudthey adventured to discharge upen them as den a great body of the enemy appeared, effected that way; possibly their own present

a hill, where they made very stout resistance a considerable while; but the night drawing on, and some of the company beginning to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, so as the enemy taking the chase, pursued them on every side, as they made too hasty a retreat, by which accident, being so much overpowered by the enemy's numbers, they were most of them lost: The captain himself, with one Capt. Brocklebank (a choice spirited young man much lamented by the town of Rowley to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his company as he marched along, scarce twenty escaping in all; so that another captain and his fifty men perished at that time, as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service.

Thus as in former attempts of the like nature, too much courage and eagerness in pursuit of the enemy, hath added another fatal

blow to this poor country.

The same day another party of the English coming from Broofield, whither they were sent as convoy with provisions for the garrison, were in danger likewise of falling into the hands of the same Indians; yetriding upon a good speed, and keeping their guns always ready presented against them they met, they never durst fire at them; only three or four having unadvisedly first discharged their guns against the enemy, and falling too much in the rear of their company, were cut off and lost. It is reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that night: Yet whatever their success was this day, it was observed by some (at that time their prisoners, and since released) that they seemed very pensive after they came to their quarters, showing no such signs of rejoicing as they were wont to do in like cases; whether for the loss of some of their own company in that day's enterprise (said to be an hundred and twenty) or whether it was the devil in whom they trusted that deceived them, and to whom they made their address the day before, by sundry conjurations of their powaws? Or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty sent upon their execrable blasphemies, which it is said they used in torturing some of their poor captives (bidding Jesus come and deliver them out of their hands from death, if he could) we leave as uncertain, though some have so reported, yet sure it is that after this day they never prospered in any attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken, till they were in a manner all consumed. After this time, however they had braved it before, they seemed to appreliend that it was scarce feasible with them to withstand the power of the English, and therefore seemed more inclinable to a peace by several overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during these encounters they were willing to admit of some kind of treaty with the English, about the releasing of sundry of their captives, which they took at Lancaster and elsewhere': to this end sundry attempts were made by help of several of the praying Indians (as they were called); about the redemption of some of the women and children, which were at that time in their possession, and by degrees something was they lay by their fires, when it was so dark about five hundred as was thought, who com-sufferings and wants that were upon them,

time the spring of the year came on, their provision was all spent, and they were forced to live wholly upon ground nuts, and upon flesh of the English creatures, both horse and neat cattle, which they daily plundered. The ground nuts running up to seed in the summer, begin to grow so sticky, as they were scarce eatable; the flesh also of the English cattle proving unwholesome for their bodies, filling them with sundry diseases: one of them having eaten much horse flesh, complained that he had eaten much horse and now horse began to eat him, meaning some deadly disease growing upon his eating such rank flesh, unwholesome for their bodies, especially without salt, as their usual manner is. The fishing season also began to come in, wherein they used to take abundance of all sorts, with which those great rivers up the country are abundantly stored; they used to take thereof, and drying it in the smoke, make provision thereof for the greatest part of the year; and if the war continued, they could not but see they should utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting season also were lest, they should be in great want of summer fruits, sc. beans and squash (besides their corn) with which they were wont to live all the latter part of the summer. Upon all considerations they seemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a peace, though some were apt to think they would never have kept it further than would stand with their own advantage, and their present desire thereof were only to gain time.

A person formerly acquainted with the Indians about Laneaster, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the minister's wife, taken captive in February last, from Lancaster, and through the favour of him who has the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum, which gave encouragement to the council to send two messengers on the like errand the same week to procure the redemption of others, not without success: The former, viz. Mrs. Rowlandson being brought to Boston upon the election day, May 3d, it was generally looked at as a smile of providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer, and answer of faith with which her husband had been upheld, and supported from the day of her captivity; his two children also were returned back not long after, more by the overruling hand of God (that turns the captivity of his people as the streams of the south; and something inclining them to pity his servants, that are of themselves more cruel than the sea monsters) than by any contrivance of

And yet netwithstanding motions of this nature about the redemption of some of our prisoners still in their hands, there was no cessation of arms between us.

About this time letters were sent down from Connecticut colony, informing the general court then assembled at Boston, that some of the Mohawks (a sort of fierce and savage Indians, yet mortal enemies to these we were at war with) had fallen upon some of Philip's party, and destroyed many of them: Likewise that many of them were destroyed by fevers and fluxes, and other distempers falling amongst of them for haste, being shot at by several of them, which was some reviving to our hopes, the inhabitants from their garrison.

might induce them thereunto: For by this | that the foot of our enemy should slide in due time, and that destruction was hastening upon them though still they were permitted to do mischief in sundry particular places of the country, which must be minded as we pass

along.

Those Indians that were our professed enemies, after they had been beaten out of the Narraganset country, February 1st, tarried a while at Winimazeag, a place two days journey north of Quaboag, where they divided themselves into two companies, one of them tarried on that side of the country, the other made toward Plymouth colony, taking Medfield in their way, from whence as they marched along they met with a notable repulse at Boggisten, a small hamlet, or company of farms not far from the said Medfield, where they attempted a garrison, but meeting with stout resistance they left the enterprise, and kept on their way towards Plymouth colony, where they scattered themselves up and down, waiting for opportunities to spoil and destroy the English plantations on that side of the country.

Besides what is already mentioned, on May, 11th, a party of them assaulted the town of Plymouth, burnt eleven houses, and five barns belonging thereunto: On the other side a small party of the English scouting about in pursuit of the Indians, fell upon a party of them that lay waiting inambush, but being discerned by an Indian in the company of our men that gave timely notice, our soldiers had an opportunity thereby to make the first shot, and thereby not only prevented a mischief to themselves, but killed also some of the enemy (one of whom was observed to be of more note than his fellows, by his attire) the rest fled away from them that pursued, though but a small company; so that there was daily reciprocal acts of hostility in those parts.

Within a few days after this, seven houses and two barns more were burnt by the enemy in and about Plymouth; who did the like mischief about the same time to the remain-

ing of Namasket or Middleborough.

About this time another sort of Indians that belonged to Wamesit, a place near Chelmsford, bordering upon Merrimack, (who had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, eruel acts of some of the English, about Oct. 27th, and Nov. 4th, had fired upon them several guns, both at Chelmsford and Woburn, killing some, and wounding others, upon suspicion that the said Indians were guilty of burning a barn and hay stack not far off) suddenly turned our enemies, after the winter was over; having first withdrawn themselves from the place assigned there, and where they had been relieved all the winter (some of them after a former revolt) and took their opportuty to fire Mr. Faleoner's house in Andover town, early that spring, and wounded one Roger Marks, and killed his horse. Two more houses about Shawskin, beyond the said Andover, were burnt about March 10th: Also they killed a young man of the said town, April 8th, the son of George Abbot; and another son of his also was earried away the same day, who, untwithstanding, was returned some few months after, almost pined to death with hunger.

At the same time they killed some of their cattle, cutting out only the tongues of some

March 10th, at Concord, two men going for hay, one of them was killed. At Chelmsford, the said Warnesit Indians, about March 18th before, fell upon some houses on the north side of the river; burnt down three or four that belonged to the family of Edward Colburn: the said Colburn, with Samuel Varnham, his neighbour, being pursued, as they passed over the river to look after their eattle on that side of the river; and making several shots against them, who returned the like again upon the said Indians, judged to be about forty; what success they had upon the enemy, was best known to themselves; but two of Varnham's sons were slain by the enemy, shot before they could recover the other side of the river. April 16th, also, were fourteen or fifteen houses were burnt

Not long before this, February 1st, 1676, Thomas Eames, that kept a farm at Sudbury, whose dwelling was three or four miles out of town, had his house assaulted and fired, his wife killed, and his children carried cap-

tive among the Indians.

Also two men were killed at a farm about Concord, Isaac and Jacob, about the middle of February and a young maid that was set to watch upon a hill, of about fifteen years of age, was carried away captive, who strangely escaped away upon a horse that the Indians had taken from Lancaster a little before. In the like strange manner did one of Eames' children escape away about May 3d last, travelling thirty miles alone in the woods without any relief till he came to an English town. Eames' house was assaulted when he was from home, by an Indian called Netus, not long after slain at Marlborough, which had been very familiar with the English, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himself. They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the farm, corn hay and eattle, besides the dwelling houses with what was therein; it is possible those at Concord were killed by the same hands about a fornight after.

Many such like remarkable instances of special providences might be mentioned, if it were convenient to insert such particular passages into the general narrative of the late troubles with our barbarous enemies.

On May 3d a party of them killed a man at Haverhill, upon the edge of Merrimack river, and passing over the said river to Bradford, spoiled another family, killing one Thomas Kimball, and carrying his wife and five children captive, forty miles up into the woods; although it was questioned whether this last mischief was done by any of Philip's party, but rather by some that helonged to the eastward Indians, of which there may be occasion God willing, to speak more of afterward.

For the suppressing these insolencies, several companies of fresh soldiers, both horse and foot, were raised in Massachusetts by the governor and council of that colony, and sent out to suppress the common enemy; the foot under the command of Captains Still, Cutler and Holbrook; the horse under the command of Captains Brattle, Prentice and Henchman; the last of whom was commander in chief. These several companies modelled as aforesaid, were sent out April26th, 1676, to range the woods towards Hassanamesit.

The 6th of May they met with a considera-

ble party of the enemy; they were first dis-|soon after engaged in and wherein he acquit-jed in the waters, some getting into canoes covered by the Natick scouts pursuing a bear, and at first not discovering that the Natick Indian scouts belonged to our men, it gave some advantage to our forces; our horsemen falling upon them before they were aware, killed and took of the enemy about 16, which they took no notice of at the present, although it was confessed by themselves that they lost twenty in that encounter. It was reported that the sounding of a trumpet without order did much hurt, but the commander in chief allirmeth that it was no disadvantage to the service in hand, it neither being heard by our own foot, nor yet by the enemy. If any error was committed by the English companies, it was that the horse did not timely enough draw down from the top of the hill, whereby they came to be discovered by the enemy, who thereupon made the more haste to escape; however, it was no small loss to the enemy, some of the slain being known to be considerable persons; and it struck such a terror into them that they never durst face our men aftewards; for although after our men returned to their quarters at Medfield, they saw two hundred fires in the night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any company of them; but the season proving rainy hindered any further pursuit of them at that time. And soon after this the soldiers being visited with sickly distemper by reason of an epidemical cold at that time prevailing through the country, they were for the present released for the recovery of their health with intent to be called together again at a more convenient time; this was done the 10th of May.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the enemy were discovered about Rehoboth, busy in fishing in a river thereabouts, Capt. Brattle was sent up about the 23 of May, who with the help of some of the inhabitants, killed 11 or 12 of them, without the loss of but one of our men. Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite shore, it was conceived a greater spoil might

have been made amongst them.

But in the next place we must take notice of the proceedings of the enemy about Connecticut. The greatest body of them made towards Plymouth colony early in the spring, as was said before, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remain-

ing part of them did westward.

a small number of whom Capt. Holyoke (newly chosen captain of Springfield, in the room of his father lately deceased) handselled his office early in the spring; for having notice of some of them in those woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve young men, and waiting his opportunity, surprised them near were left dead upon the place; another mortally wounded got on an island in the river, where to milk them. it is concluded he took his last night's lodging. The other being sorely wounded was taken alive and brought home to Springfield, where he confessed many things to one of the inhabitants that understood their language, owning the truth in many things against his own

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ted himself beyond expectation, and taking (small boats made of the bark of birch trees) more pains than ordinary in making his re- which proved to them a Charon's boat, being treat, he got a surfeit, which ended his days sunk, or overset by the shooting of our men, the September following, near Boston.

About the beginning of April likewise, ing their tillage at Hockanum, within three miles of the town, and having a guard of soldiers with them, yet three of the company were casually slain by a party of the enemy that lay in wait for such an opportunity. One of them was Mr. Goodman, a deacon of the church, that went a little beyond the command of the soldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land, and two others, that contrary to express orders would venture upon the top of an high hill near by, to take a needless and unseasonable view of the country, were shot down by the enemy guard.

But the great company of the enemy that stayed on that side of the country, and about Watchuset hills, when the rest went towards were loth to lose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore, having seated themselves near the upper falls of Connecticut river, not far from Deerfield, and perceiving that the English forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of Hadley and Northampton, now and then took advanfearing any assault from our soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive by the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their and discovered the small number of them that friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their eattle, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison soldiers, and partly of the inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies, expected from Hartford, might have proved a fatal business to all the sad Indians: yet was the victory obtained more considerably than at first was apprehended; for not having much times in the front, sometimes in the flank and Some scattering parties were skulking above an hundred and fifty fighting men in rear, at a fatal business to the assailants, our about Springfield and those lower towns, upon their company, they marched above twenty loss would have been still greater. The said miles silently in the dead of the night, May 18th, and came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a deep sleep, without any scouts abroad, or but discharging his pistols upon one or two watching about their wigwams at home; for of them, whom he presently dispatched, and in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef, having and so carried off the soldiers without any furthe great river so that two or three or them lately driven away many of their milk cows, as an English woman confessed that was made that were there present at this engagement,

When they came near the Indians' rendezyous, they alighted off their horses, and tied them to some young trees at a quarter of a mile distance, so marching up, they fired briskly into their wigwams, killing many upou the place, and frighting others with the sudden company, and died soon after of his wounds.

This was but a preparative to an higher piece of service which Capt. Holyoke was carrying them down a steep fall, they perish-

delivered them into the like danger, the waters giving them thereby a passport into some of the inhabitants about Hadley, attend- the other world : Others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords: Capt. Holyoke killing five young and old, with his own hands, from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light soon notified them of their error, though it could not prevent their danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number slain; some said they could not in reason be less than two or three hundred of before they could recover their corps du them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above 300 in that Plymouth, though they had been disappointed camisado, some whereof were principal men, in their planting by the death of Canonchet, sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were left, which made the victory more considerable than otherwise it would have been; nor did they seem ever to recover themselves after this defeat, but their ruin immediately followed npon it.* Yet such was the awful hand of providence in the close of the victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet tage to plunder them of their cattle, and not that it might well be called a costly victory to the conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in itself.

> The Indians that lay scattered on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were much disordered for want of the help of the eldest captain that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the rear, so that our men sustained very much damage as they retired. missing after their returns thirty eight of their men; and if Capt. Holyoke had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, some-Captain Holyoke's horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, a friend coming to his rescue, he was saved, ther loss. It is confidently reported by some that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the falls, none of which were observed to get alive to the shore save one.

^{*} There was but one of our men killed in the engage

powder which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. Turner's order. It is also missed their way, it being a cloudy dark morning, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians' hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured. About seven days after this they had a mind to try the chance of war again, and see if they could not recover their loss by returning the like upon the English: For,

May 30th, a great number of them (supposed to be six or seven hundred) appeared before Hatfield, fired about 12 houses and barns without the fortification of the town; a number of houses in the centre of the town were surrounded with palisadoes; these were attacked in the daytime, when the men were all out in the fields, except one aged man; they drove away multitudes of their cattle and sheep, spreading themselves in the meadow near the town; which bravado so raised the courage of their neighbours at Hadley that twenty-five resolute young men ventured over the river to relieve Hatfield in this distress, who charged the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution (Audaces fortuna juvat) that they beat down five or six at the first shot they made; so making way through the thickest of their enemies, that lay ready to take aim at them behind every tree

where they lost five of their number. The enemy being amazed at the resolution lost twenty-five of their men in the enterprise. The council of Massachusetts gathering by these proceedings of the Indians, that their that the forces raised before April 27th, and for a time released, should be hastened out again to range the woods towards Hadley, and those parts, made an agreement with Hartford colony to send forces from thence to meet them about Brookfield, and so to them from fishing in those waters, their hope of planting being now almost over. To this and sent to Brookfield, to meet with those expected from Hartford colony; in the way, ours by direction of Tom Doublet (a Natic the redemption of captives) following tracks of Indians, came upon a party of the enemy fishing in Weshacom ponds, towards Laneaster, of whom they killed seven, and took twenty-nine, mostly women and children; yet belonging to considerable persons, it made the success the more to be valued. Our forces marched directly towards Hadley, where they for the service. met with Connecticut forces; and from thence

The loss that befel our men in the retreat was according to mutual agreement, ours marched occasioned principally by the bodily weak- on the east side of the river, and Connecticut ness of Capt. Turner, unable to manage his forces to the west up towards Squakeag (now charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder which forced them to retire as fast as great falls thereabouts, they sent up their scouts, but not hearing of the enemy, they said by one present at the fight, that seven or marched up no higher, being in no good caeight in the rear of the English through haste, pacity to have gone further if there had been occasion, by reason of a tedious storm of rain which occasioned much damage in their ammunition and provision. While our forces lay about Deerfield, some of our soldiers ranging, lighted upon the body of Capt. Turner, about Green's river, in passing of which stream he was supposed to have received his mortal Providence.

While our forces continued thereabouts, they did the enemy some little spoil, in seizing much of their fish and goods stolen from the English, and hid in their barns under ground; conjecturing also that they found four or five places where some of the English had been tortured to death by cruel burning after they had been fastened between stakes set in the ground; but not meeting with any of the enemy, they all returned home, conceiving that having been forced from their quarters in those parts, they were drawn down lower towards the English plantations eastward viz. Plymouth and Massachusetts. What success Capt. Henchman's forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they observed of the motion of the Indians, may be seen in a letter of his dated June 30th: "Our scouts brought intelligence that all the Indians were in a continual motion, some toward Narraganset, othas they passed by; yet they escaped all their ers toward Watchuset shifting gradually, and shot till they came within a little of the town, taking up each others quarters, and lay not above a night in a place. The twenty-seven scouts brought in two squaws, a boy, and a of our men, being but so small a handful, that girl, giving account of five slain. Yesterday they fled immediately from the town; having they brought in an old fellow, brother to a sachem, six squaws and children, having killed five men, and wounded others, if not killed them, as they supposed, by the blood found desire of peace was only to gain time, ordered in the way, and a hat shot through. These and the others, inform that Philip and the Narragansets were gone several days before to their own places, Philip's purpose being to do what mischief he could to the English. By advice I drew out a commanded party under the conduct of Capt. Sill, viz. sixteen scout along on both sides Connecticut, to dis- files of English, all my troops, and the Indians, rest the enemy what they could, and keep excepting one file, being all we could make provision for, for what with the falling short of the bread promised us, and a great deal of end, about May 30th, 1676, the forces under that we had, proving mouldy, the rest of the Capt. Henchman were called together again, forces had but one biscuit a man to bring them to this place: This party was ordered towards Watchuset, and so to Nashaway and Washakem ponds, where we have notice In-Indian, who was a little before employed in dians were, and so to return unto this place: whereby your honour's letters that came to me yesterday morning, I undestood that provision was ordered for us and which we found to our ing hither, weary and hungry. The commanded party we left at Quonsiquomon where they intended to stay a while for the being by this means retarded, could not meet last scouts we sent out: Eleven prisoners we with those of Connecticut at Brookfield, but had in all, two of the eldest by council we put followed them the week after; having first returned from Weshacom, to Marlborough to dered to convey to Boston, with the baggage, supply themselves with ammunition, and so horses, and some of their attendants not fit

DANIEL HENCHMAN."

It plainly appears by the contents of the said letter, as by many other testimonies, that about this time the Indians, our enemies, who hitherto had been linked together as brethren in iniquity and cruelty were now strangely divided and separated the one from the other; some impute it to an assault made upon them by the Mohawks, who falling upon Philip with the inland Indians, slew about fifty of them; whereupon those of Philip's company resolved to return to their own country and do what mischief they could to the English thereabouts; this was reported by an Indian brought to Seaconk, June 29, 1776, taken at

Others are ready to think that it was upon some quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evil spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, tho more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the time of vengeance was come when they shall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties; for now is the snare hastening upon them wherein they shall be hampered in their own devices so to be taken and destroyed. It cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable providence, that Capt. Henchman in his late expedition to Hadley, killed and took about 84 of the enemy, without the loss of any one of his own men; the like favourable success happened to Major Taleot in his passage from Norwich to Quabaog, as was said before, and soon after his return.

But by the time our forces were returned home as far as Sudbury, they were ordered, upon the solicitation of the governor of Plymouth, two companies of them at least, to march away immediately to Dedham, and so to Seaconk, or Rehohoth, to join Major Bradford in the pursuit of Philip, who was it seems with many hundreds of his barbarous followers fallen upon the English plantations thereabouts, and whither also a little before, Capt. Brattle with a troop of horse, and Capt. Mosely with a company of foot, were sent up from Boston to pursue after them, now flocking in great numbers to those woods. There was at this time no small hopes of surprising Philip; several reports being brought that he was seen in this and that place, not having above twenty or thirty men attending on him; but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that mischief he was like to be suffered to do: For on the 1st of July, 1676, a party of his Indians committed a horrid and barbarous murder upon Mr. Hezekiah Willet of Swanzy, a hopeful young gentleman as any in those parts. They used frequently to keep a sentinel on the top of their house from a watch-house built thereon, whence they could discover any Indians before they came near the house, but not hearing of the enemy in those parts for a considerable time, that necessary piece of circumspecgreat relief, which we met with last night com- tion was omitted that day, whereby that deserving person was betrayed into their cruel hands; for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own door, within sight of his house, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which however was soon after reeovered) leaving the trunk of his body behind, as a sad monument of their inhuman

thirty in number, took away a negro belonging to the same family, who being faithful to his master's and the country's interest, ventured his life to make his escape, which was the preservation of many others; for the said negro being a little acquainted with their language discovered to the English after his escape Philip's purpose to seize such and such places: in the first place to assault Taunton, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purposes had not so wonderfully been made known beforehand. The said negro affirmed, that there that although they killed twenty head of neat cattle over night, yet there was not any part considerable damage to the English in that part of the country. So, after this day, we may truly date the time of our deliverance, and beginning of revenges upon the enemy; now is their own turn come, when it shall be henceforth go into captivity themselves: and they that killed with the sword must themselves be killed with the sword, as in the sequel of this narrative will abundantly be manifest: the history of which before we shall any further pursue, we must a little while wait upon our friends (those forces sent from Connecticut) in their return back into their own colony : before it be done, some things should be premised concerning the occasion of their coming, and the success that did attend them in their march thither.

Our friends and brethren of that colony, although they had never actually felt half of those miseries that befel the people of the other two, yet never denied their assistance to the suppressing of the common enemy, yea, sometimes they did offer it, before it was expressly desired, according to the tenor of the articles of confederation and rules of common prudence; considering that if the fire of this war was not timely extinguished it would endanger their own fabric; therefore according to agreement, the council of that colony ordered their sucessful commander, Major Talcot, to meet our forces at Quabaog, or Brookfield, in order to the pursuing of the enemy in those parts. In the way as they were marching from Norwich thither, divine Providence so far smiled upon the enterprise, as to give them an opportunity to surprize 51 of the enemy, of whom 19 were slain, without the loss of any one of their own company, which could not but much enhance the price of the victory to the conquerors. The like success had their friends which they left behind (the volunteers gathered out of three towns by the seaside, New-London, Stonington and Norwich) and who were some of them released by Major Talcot, when he first began his march, that they might better in the absence of the army guard their own towns; for before the return of their forces under Major Talcot to that side of the country, they had made two expeditions against their enemies, the Narragansets, that were skulking up and down on that side of the country, in one of which this month was spent without any other matthey killed and took above 30, the most of ter of moment happening therein.

cruelty. The same Indians, not being above | whom being men, are said to have been slain probably were women and children, but being all young serpents of the same brood, the subduing or taking so many, ought to be acknowledged as another signal victory and pledge of divine favour to the English. But to return, it was not without the special direction of Providence that those Hartford forces were sent to those western towns a week before those of Massachusetts could get thither: for otherwise one or more of those towns might have been lost; seeing that on the 12th of June, soon after, if not the next day after was near a thousand of them; for he observed they arrived there, the enemy, as if resolved to try the utmost of their power, violently assaulted the town of Hadley, with a body of of them left the next day at eight o' clock in about 700 men, at five or six o' clock in the morning. By this special providence the enemy was defeated of their purpose, and never after had an opportunity of doing any were alarming the other; but the Connecticut of the town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other; but the Connecticut forces being at that time quartered in the towns thereabouts, (who were English, and friendly Indians, Pequods and Mohegins, about 500 in all) that were ready at hand, besides those that had been quartered there done unto them as they have done unto us: ever since March, who had been left by Mathey that before led others into captivity must, jor Savage when he left those parts under the command and charge of Captain Turner slain at the great falls, as is noted before, but since commanded by Captain Swain. These by their joint and ready assistance, wherein the fence of palisadoes surrounding the town was no little advantage, gave the Indians such a smart repulse, that they found the place too hot for them to abide it; for the soldiers or townsmen within firing a piece of ordnance, so affrighted the savages, or a party of them against whomit was discharged, that although they had just before surprised a house on the north part of the town, yet they instantly fled leaving some of their dead upon the place; nordid they any considerable mischief with all their numbers, save firing a barn about that end of the town and killing two or three of our soldiers, or two daring inhabitants, who would against express order, venture to go without the fortification.

It was accounted by some that were present near the time of that assault, a great oversight that having so fair an opportunity to chace the enemy upon so considerable advantage, it was let slip, and not improved, for Connecticut soldiers being all, or most of them furnished with horses, they might have been soon overtaken, and many of them destroyed, but God hid it from their eyes. The commander in chief, it is said, quartered at one end of the town, (Hatfield was then within the limits of Hadley) on the west side of the river, and did not apprehend the advantage till the season was over; nor was any such assault expected from the enemy so early in the morning; it being a general observation heretofore, that they seldom or ever used to make any attempts in the night; part of which could not but be improved in way of preparation for such a design. But the Lord of Hosts who is wise in council, and wonderful in working will find some other way to destroy our enemies, wherein the hand of his providence should more remarkably be seen, that so no flesh should glory in its own wisdom or strength, but tha salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The rest of

The governor and council of Massachusetts, by them. In the other 45, the most of whom taking into serious consideration the many merciful occurrences that had returned upon us, notwithstanding the mixture of many dispensations of a contrary nature, thought themselves bound to make some public acknowledgment thereof, to him whose name alone is worthy to be praised. The 29th of June was set apartas a day of public thanks giving to God, who had thus remembered his people in their lew estate. And that matter of thanksgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were most of our English captives brought back from the Indians, and many more soon after to the number of 16, whose mouths might then well be filled with laughter and their tongues with singing, both of themselves and all that were any way concerned in their welfare.

And as this day appointed for solemn and public thanksgiving was ushered in by several special mercies, so also was it followed with many remarkable benefits. For besides the preserving the town of Northampton, March the 14th, and Hadley June the 12th, by the timely sending our forces the very night before they were assaulted; the saving of the people of Marlborough from being cut off, was very observable, when Mr. Graves hy occasionally going from the sermon with the extremity of the toothache, March 26th, discovered the Indians ready to assault the town, and the people might have been cut off had not the accident happened. It is certain that after the end of this month the power of the enemy began everywhere to fail; for the body of the enemy that lurked about Connecticut river all this spring, being visited with sundry diseases, disappointed of the fishing, and put by their planting, began to be at variance among themselves; the Hadley and Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) Indians quarrelling with Philip for bringing all this mischief about, and occasioning the English and them to fall out, with whom they had always good correspondence, and lived lovingly together, but now they were like to be ruined by the war. This guarrel proceeded to that height, that from that time forward, those several Indians that had for so long a time been combined together, resolved now to part, and every one to shift for themselves, and return to their own homes; Philip to Mount Hope, and the Narragansets to their own country again: the Nipnets and the river Indians bending their course westward, others northward, towards Pennicook, upon Merrimack, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true state of the case with the Indians which were our enemies; for the next news we heard of Philip, was that he had returned back to Mount Hope now like to become Mount Misery unto him and his vagabond crew, and that his friends and allies that had hitherto stood as neuters, waiting only which way the scale of success and victory would turn, began now to sue for mercy at the hands of the English: The Massachusetts' government having understood something of this nature, put forth a declaration, that whatsoever Indians should within fourteen days next ensuing, come in to the English might hope for mercy. Amongst sundry that came in, there was one that was one named James, the printer, the superadded title dis-

who being a notorious apostate, that had learned so much of the English as not only to read and write, but had attained likewise some skill in printing, (and might have attained more had he not like a false villain ran away from his master before his time was out) he having seen and read the said declaration of the English, did venture himself upon the faith thereof, and came to sue for his life; he affirmed with others that came along with him, that more Indians had died since this war began, of diseases (such as other times they used not not to be acquainted with, than by the sword of the English.

Not long after many of them came and offered themselves, to the number of near two hundred, men, women and children; and many more would have done the like; but their consciousness of guilt made them conclude that their cruelties and barbarous murders could never be forgotten by the English. But what occurrences happened next shall appear in their order. About the end of June news was brought to Boston that Philip with a small party of his men lurked about Swansy or Rehoboth, and that he might easily be taken; an Indian offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon soldiers were instantly sent away from Boston, who spent some time in searching all the woods on that side of the country, but at last were forced to return, having missed our soldiers upon the same account, under Major Bradford, who of whom they slew and took, so as their sword where twenty more of the enemy might be surby the help of some Indians of Cape Cod, always true to the interest of the English, not only escaped an ambush laid for them, whereby most of them might have been cut off, but slew many those of that laid in wait for them, without any loss to themselves; yea further, a squaw sachem of Seaconet, one of Phillp's allies, having first sent three messengers to the governor of Plymouth, to sue for life and liberty, promising submission to their government on that condition; but understanding that Plymouth forces were abroad before her messengers returned, she with her people about ninety in number, rendered themselves unto Major Bradford, so that above one hundred and ten, on a moderate computation, were killed that day.

The Connecticut forces had the like success when sent into the Narraganset country under the command of the wonderfully successful Major Talcot, Capt. George Dennison, and Capt. Newbury, with other worthy commanders of the same forces; For, on the 2d of July, 1676, as the said commanders with the forces under them were pursuing the enemy in and about the Narraganset country towards Mount Hope, hearing that Philip with his regiment of Wampanoogs was thereabouts their Indian scouts from the top of a hill disnewly pitched their station within the semicircle of a swamp. The English soldiers were all mounted on horseback, to the number of three hundred; wherefore the commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at down rapidly upon the enemy who were securely lodged in the hollow of a swamp just opposite them, while the horsemen being divided into two squadrons to ride round the

put them into a terrible fright, making a la-did not the unhappy victim ever relent or mentable outcry, some getting into the swamp, show any signs of anguish; for, being asked the rest that were prevented by the horsemen by his tormentors how he liked the war? he horses ran into the swamp after them, where they killed at least an hundred, as was judged by some then present, taking also many prisfor none of the English, and but one or two of the Mohegins and Pequods were hurt in the assault; yet it was affirmed by a captain brains. present on the place that with those they killed and took at Warwick neck on their return home, (which were not above sixty) that they killed and took of the enemy at that time above

They were necessitated with this booty to Pequod Indians that accompanied them, who had done them very good service in the pursuit, having lost one or two of their men in the chase; but their return home was as it proved not yet come although hastening apace) for

returned not empty.

Among the prisoners then taken was a sprightly young fellow, seized by the Mohe- year before; accordingly 8 Englishman took gins, who desired of the English commanders 14 of the said Indians, and the next day that he might be delivered into their hands, brought in all the aforesaid 20 of the enemy that they might put him to death in their own together with; the said murderer, who was way, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius presently after executed, and the rest taken of revenge, in which brutish and devilish pas- into favour. sion they most of all delight in. The English, though not delighted in blood, yet at this Cape Cod, towards the eastern part of it, time were not unwilling to gratify their hu- came with 300 Indians to make peace with mour, lest by a denial they might disoblige the English, on the 6th July, one of the said satheir Indian friends, of whom they lately made chems carnestly desiring the English that none so much use-partly also that they might of them might be suffered to sell any strong have occular demonstration of the savage, liquors to the Indians, the trading of which, barbarous cruelty of the heathen. And in-possibly both in a measure contributed to the deed, of all the enemies that have been the present mischief. preceding narrative, this villain does most deserve to become an object of justice and severity; for he boldly told that he had with his gun dispatched 19 of the English, and that enemy in the woods not far from Dedham, he had charged it for the 20th, but not meet- one of which was a Narraganset sachem, ing with another, and unwilling to lose a fair who either himself informed, or by some other shot, he let fly at a Mohegin, and killed him; at that time certain intelligence was brought with which having completed his number he to Boston, that some of our enemy Indians was fully satisfied. But as is usually said, had got to Albany, informing people there, justice vindictive hath iron hands, though that they might the more easily get powder leaden feet-this monster is fallen into the hands of those that will repay him seven-fold. covered a great number of the enemy that had In the first place therefore, making a great circle they placed him in the middle that all their of his fingers round in the joint, at the trunk of his handwith a sharp knife, and then broke it the top of a hill, upon a signal given to run off, as was formerly the custom to do with a slaughtered beast before he is uncased; and then express the more wrath, because he knew his they cut off another and another after that till time was but short, intended if possible to desthey had finally dismembered one hand of all its troy one more town before his overthrow digits, the blood sometimes spirting out in came; wherefore on the 11th of July, with all hill, so that at the same instant both the horse- streams a yard from his hand; which barbarous the force he could get, or that he had left, he

tinguishing him from others of that name; afoot rushing down suddenly upon the enemy, to bear, it forcing tears from their eyes, yet and friendly Indians coming so suddenly liked it very well, and found it as sweet as upon them, were all taken prisoners; Capt. Englishmen do their sugar. In this frame he Newbury with his troop alighted from their continued till his executioners had dealt with the toes of his feet as they had done with the fingers of his hands before; all the time making him dance round the circle, and sing till oners out of those habitations of darkness, the he had wearied both himself and them. At enemy scarce daring to make any resistance; last they broke the bones of his legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which it is said he silently did, till they knocked out his

> Within a few days after, 200 of the enemy within Plymouth jurisdiction being distressed with famine and fear of danger, came and submitted themselves to the government there; 3000 young and old. At the same time was but three of the company were presently detaken the old squaw of Narraganset colony, tected of a cruel murder, and villanous ascalled the old Queen. tected of a cruel murder, and villanous assault upon one Mr. Clark's house of Plymouth by a well minded squaw that was among return homewards to gratify the Mohegin and them (hoping that such a discovery would be pleasing to the English) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign punishment, which the rest that surrendered themselves, did not in the least resent; such kind in the issue, more beneficial than their longer of villains being always exempted from acts of stay might have been, to have made a fruit-favour and mercy. Those 200 that had new-less pursuit after Philip, (whose time was ly surrendered themselves, that they might give full proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a in their return they met 60 of the enemy, all party of the English to a place not far off, prised, amongst whom also was one known to be a bloody murderer of an Englishman the

It is affirmed also that five or six sachems of

The next day, July 7th, a small party of ours, with a few friendly or christian Indians with them, killed and took seven of the and ammunition, that the English and they were now at peace.

One of the said Indians was the sachem of Springfield, a bloody and deceitful villain; eyes might at same time be pleased with the it is hoped that he is now taken in the snare utmost revenge upon him; they first cut one from whence he shall not be suffered to escape.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruin was near at hand; yet that he might, in imitation of him that stirred up all this mischief men upon the two wings, and the Indians and unheard of cruelty the English were notable intended to set upon Taunton, having as was

but his design being strangely discovered by a before, understood much of their language, who making his escape from them, acquainted the inhabitants with the plot who having timely notice, furnished themselves with soldiers whereby they were able to repulse the enemy two houses, and then fled away: Except the in vain.

The 22d of this month of July, as is hinted before, the companies sent from Concord, May 30th, up toward Hadley, having spent much time and pains in pursuit of Philip all the country over (whom they could not overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious marches through the desert woods before they returned home, some of them were sent towards Mount Hope, yet their labour was well improved, and followed with good success at the last: For in ranging those woods in Plymouth colony, they killed and took (by the help of Capt. Mosely's company of Plymouth colony) an hundred and fifty Indians, without the loss of a man.

It was feared that Philip and his company would have returned into the Nipnet country, to prevent which several horsemen were sent to guard the passage; but he lurked about his own country in swamps and other secret places, where he was as yet hid from the sight of the enemy, although many times they happened to lodge very near him, insomuch as an Indian captive promised in two hours time to bring our soldiers to the very place where he was; but they not being able to pass the nearest way, came a little too late; for they being so closely pursued, hasted away leaving much of their treasure behind them; their kettles boiling over the fire, their dead unburied, and 20 of their party were overtaken, that fell into the English hands: Philip himself, and some few of his straggling followers making their escape by a raft over an arm of the sea, into another neck of land, on Pocasset | murders. side, not daring to trust himself any longer in Metapoiset woods, so full of our English soldiers, as those of Plymouth, as of Massachuchusetts colony, who almost every day meeting with some of his party, much lessened his number. Capt. Church, that active and un-wearied commander of Plymouth colony, was at this as well as long before, out upon the chase with but 18 English, and 22 Indians that were friends, had four several engagements with Philip's party, wherein he spoiled 76 of the enemy, without the loss of one of his own men. In several of these skirmishes those Indians that upon submission had their lives given them, have done notable service in places.

At another time they took Philip's squaw, and one of his chief counsellers; and about the same time another sachem about Pocasset with forty Indians submitted himself to the government of Plymouth, on promise of life and liberty. It seemed that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time also for the destruction of our enemies: For

conceived, many hundreds in his company; most starved for want of victuals, sent a small shot down, and had the soldier that had choice company of 26, with about 9 or 10 christian which to shoot at, known which had been the negro whom they had taken captive a little Indians, who pursued and took 50 of the right bird, he might as well have taken him, before, that having lived near the Indians enemy, without any loss to the English; at as his uncle; but it is said that he had not which time also a great quantity of wampam- long before cut off his hair, that he might not peag and powder were taken from the enemy. be known: The party that did this exploit That which increased this victory was the were few in number, and therefore not being slaughter of Pomham, who was one of the able to keep close in the rear, that cunning most valiant sachems that belonged to the Nar- fox escaped away through bushes undiscernupon his first approach; so that he only fired ragansets, whose courage and strength was so great, that after he had been mortally woun-Lord keepeth the city the watchman watcheth ded in the fight so as he could not stand, yet trembling fear appeared to be upon the Incatching hold of an Englishman that by acci-dians at this time, insomuch that one of them dent came near him, had done him an injury having a gun in his hand well loaded, yet was if had not been presently rescued by one of his not able to fire it off, but suffered an English neighbours. Amongst the rest of the captives soldier to come close up to his breast, and so at that time was one of the said Pomham's shot him down, the other not being able to sons, a very likely youth, and one whose countenance would have bespoke favour for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his father was.

among the Indians, put many of them in a trembling condition, not knowing well how to dispose of themselves. Some that had been less active in these tragedies, and were rather led them by their tracks, fell upon their head-quarby others than any wise inclined to mischief themselves, of which number was one of the Nipnet sachems, called Sagamore John, who, July 27, came to surrender himself to the fight for the English, for the Indians by their governor and council of Massachusets at Boston, bringing along with him 180 of the enemy Indians. This John, that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose fayour he was now willing to seek after, did by a wile get into his hands one Matoonas, an old malicious villain who was the first that did any mischief within Massachusetts colony, they were all dead men; with which they were July, 14th, 1675; bearing an old grudge against them as is thought, for justice that was at the English, which made the victory the done upon one of his sons, 1671, whose head ever since hangs upon a pole near the gibbet escape at that time, being forced to leave his were he was hanged up: The bringing in of treasures, his beloved wife, and only son to this malicious catiff was an hopeful presage that it would not be long before Philip himself, the grand villain, would in like manner receive a just reward of his wickedness and

Sagamore John, who came in the 27th of July, affirmed that he had never intended any mischief to the English at Brookfield the last year (near which village it seems his place was) but that Philip coming over night life should be taken away.-Such a sentence amongst them was forced, for fear of his own life, to join with them against the English. Matoonas also when he was brought before the council, and asked what he had to say for an object of pity, but a spectacle of divine venhimself, confessed that he had rightly deserved death, and could expect no other, adding withal, that if he had followed their counsel, tian religion, afterwards discovered quickly hunting out the enemy in all their lurking that he no had part or portion in that matter.

within Plymouth jurisdiction, were willing to of the English that would follow him, to a have a hand in so good a matter as eatching party of Indians, which they might easily apof Philip would be, who perceiving that he prehend, which 20 persons attempted and acwas now going down the wind, were willing cordingly seized the whole company, 26 in to hasten his fall. Amongst others, a small number, all but the squaw Sachem herself, who party went out of Bridgewater, July 31st, intending to make an escape from the danger, upon a discovery, and by providence were attempted to get over the river, or arm of the directed to fall upon a company of Indians sea near by, upon a raftor some pieces of broken the last week in July, Massachusetts under-standing that some Indians were seen roving and killed some of his particular friends: wood; but whether tired and spent with swim-standing that some Indians were seen roving up and down the woods about Dedham, al- Philip himself was next to his uncle that was stark naked in Metapoiset, not far from the

ed in the rear of the English: That which was most remarkable in this design, was that make any resistance; nor were any of the

English hurt at that time. The like terror was seen in others at that time; for within two days after, Capt. Church, These successes being daily spread abroad the terror of the Indians in Plymouth colony, marching in pursuit of Philip with about 30 Englishmen and 20 reconciled Indians, took 23 of the enemy, and the next day following ters, and killed and took about 130 of them; losing only one man. In this engagement God did appear in a more than ordinary manner to number, and other advantages of the place were so conveniently provided, that they might have made the first shot at the English and done them much damage, but one of their own countrymen in Capt. Church's company espying them, called aloud unto them in their own language, telling them that if they shot a gun so amazed, that they durst not once offer to fire more remarkable. Philip made a very narrow the mercy of the English. Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life. His ruin being thus gradually carried on, his misery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himself acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, 10ss of friends, slaughter of his subjects bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts, before his own passed upon Cain, made him cry out, that his punishment was greater than he could bear. This bloody wretch hath one week more to live geance, his own followers beginning now to plot against his life, that they might make the better terms for their own; as they did also he had not come to this; for he had seemed seek to betray squaw Sachem of Pocasset, to favour the praying Indians and the chris- Philip's near kinswoman and confederate.

August 6th, an Indian willing to shift for About this time several parties of English himself, fled to Taunton, offering to lead any

water side, which made some think she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched life just in that place where the year before she had helped Philip to make his escape; her head being cut off and set upon a pole in Taunton, was known by some Indians then prisoners, which set them into a horrible lamentation; but such was the righteous hand of God in bringing at last that mischief upon themselves, which they had wihout cause longacted against

Philip, like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the Englsh forces through the woods above an hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount Hope, where he retired with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the messenger of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was

thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a peace, insomuch that he caused one of his confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace; which so provoked some of his company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them fled to Rhode-Island, whither the brave Captain Church was newly retired to recruit his for a little time, being much tired with marches all that week, informing them that Philip was fled to a swamp swamp in Mount Hope, whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome news, and the best cordial for such martial spirits; whereupon he immediately, with a small company of men, part English and part Indian, began another march which shall prove fatal to Philip, and end that controversy between the English and him: For coming very early to the side of the swamp, his soldiers began to surround it, and (whether the devil appeared to him in a dream that night as he did unto Saul, foreboding his tragical end, it matters not) as he was endeavoring to make his escape out of a swamp, he was shot through the heart by an Indian of his own nation, as it is said, that had all this while preserved a neutrality until this time, but now had the casting vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had been so long in suspense. In him is fulfilled what was said in the prophet, Wo to thee that spoilest and thou was not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee; when thou shall cease to spoil thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously, with thee.

With Philip at this time fell five of his trustiest followers, of whom one was said to be the son of his chief captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before. This was done the 12th day of August, 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favour to the colony of Plymouth, who had for the former success, appointed the 17th day of August following, to be kept as a day of solemn Thanks-giving to Almighty God. There having been so strange a turn of Providence observed in the late successes obtained in and about Plymouth colony, it may not be amiss here to enquire into the progress and continuance thereof not properly Philip's Indians, but belonged to

been made of one Capt. Church, whom God hath made an instrument of signal victories over the Indians in that colony, and of great advantage in that respect to that whole jurisdiction. It happened that the said Capt. Church some time in June, of this present year 1676, passing over in a canoe from Poeasset to Rhode-Island, as he used frequently to do, (having had much employment upon the said neck of land so called) several Indians whom he had known before at Lackenham, a village near Plymouth, beckoned to him as if they had a mind to speak with him; he having had so much experience as well as others of their treachery, was not willing to adventure too hastily to come near them; but when they seemed to urge very much, and made signs to him, and at last laid down their guns in his sight, he began to think with himself there might be something in the matter more than ordinary, therefore he resolved to go a little nearer to the shore, and then he perceived they had a great mind to speak with him, using much importunity for that end, insomuch that he ventured to go ashore amongst them, having but one Englishman and two Indians with him; he directed them to keep off the canoe while he discoursed with the Indians on shore. As soon as he came among them, they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought so long by Philip's instigation; but they could nottell for what end, and therefore resolved they would fight no longer, and all they desired of him was, that he would make way for them to the gover-nor, that they might live quietly amongst the English as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their arms, or would go out with them if he pleased to accept of them, and fight for him; to that end they desired a time to parley with him further about that business at what time and place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two days after at Seaconet, a place up higher on the said neck, about 12 o'clock; accordingly he came to the said place, found the same Indians with some others, and their Snake squaw, or chief woman of that plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the war, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the war : For, said he, upon this Pocasset July 7th, 1675, you first fought with some of Rhode-Island, whereof one was my own servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at myself and company, before we meddled with you. They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace which they were very desirous to obtain upon any equal terms, as was said before. There were about fifteen of the Indians present, besides their Snake squaw (which is with us their governess or lady) in conclusion they engaged forever after to leave Philip, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them with the

It is here to be observed, that these were

In the preceding narration mention hath to Philip, and her subjects had hiherto fought in Philip's quarrel till they saw nothing but misery and michief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About 20 or 30 of these Seaconet Indians have constantly gone out with Capt. Church ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every enterprize they have gone about, nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other Indians: And it is said that this act of these Indians broke Philip's heart as soon as ever he understood it, so that he never rejoiced after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of those under Capt. Church's command: For at the swamp, when Philip was slain, Capt. Church appointed an Englishman and an Indian to stand at such a place of the swamp, where it happened Philip was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy, the Englishman's gun would not fire; the Indian having an old musket with a large touchhole, it took the more readily, with which Philip was dispatched, the bullet passing directly through his heart, where Joab thrust his darts

into rebellious Absalom.

Thus did divine vengeance retaliate on this notorious traitor, that had against his league and covenant risen up against the government of Plymouth, to raise up against him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the English: The Indian that did this execution was called Alderman of Seaconet, that had never done any act of hostility against the English. By these passages it is manifest, that as the hearts of all are in the hand of God, so he turns them as he pleases, either to favour his people, or to hate and deal subtly with his servants, as seems good to him. Since this engagement with the Seaconet Indians (to leave Philip, and to go with Capt. Church) it is eredibly affirmed, that such hath been their success that since June aforesaid, to the end of October following, there have been 700 Indians subdued, either by killing or taking captive by means of Capt. Church and his company, (part Indians and English) besides 300 that have come in voluntarily to submit themselves to the government of Plymouth. It appears thus by the sequel of things, that after the Lord had accomplished his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemies to an account, and punish them for the pride of their hearts, and for all their treachery and cruelty against his servants. Philip's captains have run the same fate with himself, some before and some since his own fall.

In June last one Tiashq, a great Captain of his, his wife and child, or children being taken though he escaped himself at first, yet came since and surrendered himself. The next noted captain of Philip's Indians that was brought in after Philip's death, was called Tespiquin, a notorious villain, next to Philip, he was called the black sachem's son; It was this Tespiquin that burnt so many houses in Plymouth lately. Capt. Church with his company were in pursuit of him in September last, two days before they could get near him; at the last, on the third day, they found the track made by the English orchards: This was something of a blind track, therefore they wereforced to take up their quarters that night after the slaughter of Philip that grand rebel. the Seaconet squaw, who was nearly related without discovering any place of their ren-

be so stout a man as they reported him to be; notorious wretch) and the girl he missed, before, but not Tespiquin : But within a day or did believe by all those late occurrences that two after the said Tespiquin upon the hopes of there was a great God that overruled all; and being made captain under Capt. Church, that he had found that whatever he had done came after some of the company, and submitto any of those, whether Indians or English, ted himself in the captain's absence, and was the same was brought upon himself in after sent to Plymouth, but upon trial (which was time. He confessed also that he had put to the condition on which his being promised a death several of the English which they had captain's commission under Capt. Church did taken alive, ten in one day, and could not dedepend) he was found penetrable by the En- ny but that some of them had been tortured, glish guns, for he fell down at the first shot and now he could not but see the justice of and thereby received the just reward of his the great God upon himself, with many other former wickedness. About a fortnight after things of a like nature. But whatever his the surprising of Tespiquin, was one Toto-confessions of this nature were, being forced son's company taken, wherein were above 50 from him by the power of conscience, after persons; but Totoson escaped, and is still he was delivered up to authority, he was put out in rebellion, unless vengeance hath over- to death, as he justly had deserved.

ting at the English horses, and cattle; some lived near him, and joined with him in his confessed that he was one of that company of of whom being taken made know the rest. quarrel with the English: But it is certain Indians that went westward the month before, Church at that time had but five Englishmen that there are scarce any that are now left, toward Hudson's river; but after the fight at and twenty Indians. The place where this that belonged to either of them: So although Ausotunnoog, he returned back to Connectiinaccessible but at one place, which by a few scourge to his people, he hath now turned his hid about Farmington, till he was almost starhands might easily have been defended hand against them to utter destruction and exagainst a great number of assailants: But Capt. tirpation from off the face of the earth, peraduse of the oyster bank at Stratford for his re-Church hy direction got up to their wigwams venture to make room for others of his peo- lief, where he was espied by the Indians, and before they were aware of it; and presently ple to come in his stead. told Annawan that he came to sup with him; As for the rest of the Narragansets that joiwhereupon Annawan (who hadfallen flat upned in Philip's quarrel, it is already declared
ting men amongst those Indians that fled weston the earth, expecting to have his head cut off) what end they were come unto. As for the looked up and cried taubut, in their language, rest of the Indians, whether Nipnet, Nashathank you, as one being much affected with way, Pacomptuck, Hadley, or Springfield Inwhere the meeting house now stands.]

they came to their first rendezvous, from found some of the English beef boiling in the them; but after their separation one from which they were just gone: At 1 o' clock they kettle: After supper he had much discourse the other about July last, it was observed by came to the second, and missing them there, with the said Annawan, and they lay down to all the tracks in those woods they went still they soon after came to the third track, where-sleep together in the wigwam; Capt. Church westward; and about the middle of August in, after they had marched a while, they per-ceived they grew very near them, by the cry-ing of a child which they heard: The place was near Lackenham upon Pocasset neck, so night Annawan rose up, and Capt. Church News thereof being brought to Major Talcot, full of bushes that a man could not see a rod was presently awake, and intended to watch he with soldiers of Connecticut colony under his before him: Capt. Church ordered his men to after his prisoner: He thought at first he might command, both Indians and English, pursued march up together in one rank, because he have gone forth upon some necessary occa- after them as far as Ausotunnoog river (in the discovered the Indians were laid in one range sion; but not long after he returned again, by several fires, so that by that time they all came up into an even rank very near together, within a few yards of them as he had appointed; they all suddenly rushed together ered to Capt. Church, in a way of thankful near, without the loss of any one of his company save a Mehocir Indian. upon them, and catched hold of them, not acknowledgment of his courtesy. Amongst pany save a Mohegin Indian: Many of the suffering any to escape, there being about other discourses that passed between them con- rest were badly wounded, as appeared by 50 of them in all: Tespiquin's wife and children were there, but he was absent, as also the Indian would fain have excused Philip, as was observed by those that followed them one Jacob, and a girl that belonged to that com- and laid the blame upon the praying Indians further. pany. The captain's haste would not admit of (as they are distinguished from others by that his tarrying till they came in, (though the In-character) and others of the youngest sort of his dians said they might come that night) where-followers, who coming with their several tales forche thought upon this project, to leave two (which he likened to sticks laid on a heap) till and also that an hundred and twenty of them old squaws upon the place with victuals, and by a multitude of them a great fire came to bid them tell Tespiquin that he should be his be kindled: They make much use of parabo- seems to be pursuing of them as well as the captain ever his Indians if he was found to lical expressions: for so said Solomon, where rest. Several of their friends that belonged no wood is there the fire goeth out; so where to Nashaway, and the places adjoining, refor the Indians had said that Tespiquin could there is no tale-bearers, there the strife cea- paired to Piscataqua, hoping to shroud themnot be pierced by a bullet, for, said they, seth, Prov. 26, 20. But Philip had had large selves under the wings of some honester Inhe was shot twice but the bullets glanced by and long experience of the gentleness and dians about Quechecho, under pretence of a him and could not hurt him. Thus the cap-kindness of the English both to himself and to declaration sent out by the governor and tain marched away with his booty, leaving this his people, so that unless he hadborne an evil Council of Massachusetts in the beginning of trap behind him to take the rest: The next and malicious mind against the English, he morning he came to see what his trap had would never have hearkened to those stories, eatched, there he found Jacob aforesaid (a contrary to his faithful promises of allegiance.

The said Annawan confessed also that he

It is said that Philip when he first began

dezvous. The next morning about 9 o'clock the generosity of our English captain; they dians, it is not so certain what has become of

It is written since from Albany, that there were sundry lost besides the 45 aforementioned, to the number of three score in all; are since dead of sickness; so that vengeance July last: But some of our forces under Capt. Hathorne and Capt. Sill, with the help of Major Walden, Capt. Frost, and others residing in those parts being in readiness, separated the vile and wicked from the rest, and sent them down to the governor at Boston, where 8 or 9 of the ringleaders, such as one eyed John, Sagamore Sam, of Nashaway, chief actors of the late outrages and bloody mischief, had justice done upon them soon after. As for the massacres and calamities that befel the English further eastward, they shall in the second part of this narrative be declared.

The Indians being thus dispersed several ways, were strangely confounded and destroyed one parcel after a nother, until there was none left in the western or southern parts that durst make any opposition all the following part of the year. As for those that fled westward toward Albany, we shall there leave them for the present, wishing, we may never The next that was seized was one Annawan, his rebellion, had about 300 fighting men un- hear any more of them: A person of quality a very subtle, politic fellow, and one of Phi-der him, besides those that belonged to his informs, that at Hartford in September last, lip's chief counsellors; he had about twelve kinswoman, Wetamoe drowned about Taun- he was present at the examination of one men, and as many women and children in his ton, that had almost as many under her; and Choos, an Indian, formely of Connecticut, but company, who were discovered by their shoo- one Quenoquin, a Narraganset sachem that of the Narraganset for the last winter, who toward Hudson's river; but after the fight at Annawan had betaken, was a ledge of rocks the Almighty hath made use of them to be a cut for fear of the Mohawks; and that he lay so brought to Hartford.

ward, besides women and children; and that

near 200 of them passed the great river below Albany, and were sheltered by the Indians of that place, called Moheganders; but about 80 of them tarried on the hither side of that river, near a Dutch village (but he being convicted of fighting against the English, was condemned to die, and executed) about the Narraganset country the last fall, hoping to shelter themselves under Uneas, but he not willing to give them countenance against the mind of his friends at Connecticut, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have been most of them taken and brought in prisoners to the English this winter.

About the month of October last, Mr. Stanton chanced to come from Seaconet with 3 Indians in his company, Pequods or Mohegins, they hearing by a captive at one of the next towns, that there was a number of the enemy not far off, presently left Mr. Stanton and pursued after them, whom they soon after overtook, and made them all prisoners: Amongst them was an old man, not able to go their pace but promising to come after them, home by five of their company, the rest went might have prayed for rainthemselves without they spared his life: But as soon as the men further in the chace. returned at night from hunting, the old man told what had befel their women and children, whereupon the next morning they presently following after them, overtook them, and so recovered the prisoners, and slew one of the indicted for killing an Englishman's cow; upon of that providence is this: In August last such three that carried them away; the other two hardly escaped; one of them is called Major Symon, being part a Pequod and part a Narraganset, but of extraordinary strength and remembered against him when he was in par- in autumn, and some trees seeming to be dead courage; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets: but they unwilling to hang their success upon the hazard of a single combat, came all towards him at once, whereupon first discharging his gun amongst the whole company, he broke through them all by force, and so escaped their hands, with one of his companions. This Symon hath ment come to light since the end of August arose; the next day remained cloudy; then been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy; some say that he with his own it is very remarkable, that although terms of Uncas lamented there was such a want of rain: hands hath taken and killed above threescore, peace were offered to all that would come in I asked whether if God should send us rain and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the English, is this last week gone with the claration put out in July last) and that a Nipnet he answered no, for they had done their utsoldiers to the eastward, in pursuit of our quarrel against them in those parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out against the enemy, he came suddenly upon a great number of them as they were spread under a steep bank, from whence leaping down into the midst of them he killed some and took others. Fighting it seems is a recreation to him, for he is seldom at home above four or five days together. Some say that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and spent he laid himself down to sleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, of their own guilt, that had a hand in the blood ing, but must be acknowledged to be an anwherein he apprehended the Indians were of the English, or whether not liking their swer to our prayers. This day they spread upon him, when suddenly rising up he espied the Indians coming toward him, but suddenly presenting his guns against them he so frightened them, that they gave him an opportunity to make an escape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of December last, news coming down to Boston that mischief was done about Seaconk and Rehoboth, by some remaining Indians thereabouts, killing their swine and horses, several persons of Medfield went out after them, and pursuing them by their tracks, came upon a small party, of whom

Those that were taken confessed there was brought into Boston the 8th of January.

A commission was formerly granted to Peter Ephraim, an Indian of Natick, to go out in him best, that in his heart he is no better affecpursuit of them, with 29 of his company; a ted to the English or their religion, than the few of the English from Medfield went with rest of his countrymen, and that it hath been him, who being soon tired with marching in his own advantage that hath led him to be thus the snow, returned. The Indians kept on in true to them who have upheld him as formerly their design, and came across a considerable party of the enemy having traced them till they found where they lodged over night; they surrounded them early in the morning, as their manner is, and then offered them quarter if they would yield; eight resolute fellows refused who were instantly shot, the rest were all just as it was from under the hand of that evseized, the whole number was 42. This was rend person it relates unto, namely, Mr. Fitch, done about the middle of January, since which several such exploits have been done by them. January 23d, the same company of Indians the last summer; but as it seems, it was more took 22 of the enemy, among whom were five able men, and five arms; they sent the prisoners

were brought in, eight in number, of whom the consequences thereof, is very remarkable, five were men, amongst whom was the Indian which take in his own words: called Cornelius, who three years since was which he was said to have uttered several was the want of rain, that the Indian corn was threatning speeches, that he would kill En-glishmen and their cows too; which was now trees withered, the fruit and leaves fell off as ticular called to account or having a hand in with that drought; the Indians came into town killing some of the English and Indiansalso in and lamented their want of rain, and that their league with us, for which he was sentenced powaws could get none in their way of worto die, and was accordingly executed the 16th ship, desiring me that I would seek to God for

of February following.

the colony of Plymouth, Connecticut, or Massa- any clouds until sunsetting when we came chusetts, there is no occurrence more of mo- from the meeting, and then some clouds last, save what is last mentioned before; yet Uncas with many Indians came to my house, and surrender themseves (as appears by a de- he would not attribute it to their powaws; Sachem called John, did thereupon with a most and all in vain; I replied, if you will denumber of his company come in and offer them-selves, and were accordingly secured of their what God will do for us, for although this year lives and other concernments; yet did that he hath shewn his anger against the English treacherous villain make an escape this winter and not only against the Indians, yet hath befrom Capt. Prentice's house (under whose gun to save us, and I have found by experi-charge he was put, about Cambridge village) ence twice in the like case, when we sought and with about 20 more fled away into the by fasting and prayer he hath given us rain, woods to shift for himself amongst the rest of and never denied us. Then Uncas made a his bloody companions; they were soon after great speech to the Indians (which were mapursued, but had gone too fast and too far to ny) confessing that if God should then send be overtaken. Whether it were consciousness rain, it could not be ascribed to their powawmanners so well as to be confined thereunto; more and more, and the next day there was wild creatures ordinarily love the liberty of the woods better than the restraint of a cage, than two feet in height." They made none acuquinted with their design they took three, one of which escaped while met with no Indians, nor did they hear of any inmany years before, depriving them of many some of the company were going after the rest. In their passing between this place and that. useful persons; amongst others the loss of

And because in the present narrative there about 60 that were lurking up and down in hath been frequent mention made of Uncas, these woods. The said two Indians were the Mohegin sachem, and of his faithfulness to the interest of the English, I add in this place, that it is suspected by them that knew against the Pequods, so of late against the Narragansets; yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our religion, and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed; which will evidently appear by the passage that follows, which I shall here represent pastor of the church of Norwich, near unto Uncas's place. There was a great drought extreme in those parts than with usabout Massachusetts; and although probably the English any motion from the Indians, yet their address January 26th, another parcel of the enemy to the said Mr. Fitch on such an account, with

"Concerning the drought,&c. true narrative rain: I appointed a fast day for the purpose; Concerning the rest of the Indians either in the day being come it proved clear without such plenty of rain that our river rose more

By all recorded in the foregoing narrabefore they went away, and as yet little ac-tive, there are none into whose hands it shall count can be given of them, only it is known come, but will be sensible that the present that one or two of their families are enter- time hath been a day of great rebuke and troutained by Uncas, but what is become of the ble to the poor people sojourning in this wilrest is uncertain, there were but seven of the derness, upon whom sundry calamities have company men, so they are not capable of doing broke in at once, this last as well as to the any mischief. Some of late have travelled former years: In many places they have been through the woods to Connecticut, but have visited with sickness and mortality, more than

Mr. John Winthrop, the late worthy gover- frequented, and so more unknown than the nor of the colony of Connecticut, is as it ought other, like heralds that used to blazon the field last winter, to sit with the rest of the commis- acquainted with the places connected with sioners of the united colonies to consult about the discourse. Briefly therefore, that more the great affairs of them, now newly engaged cost and pains be not spent in the survey-in these troubles from the heathen. He was ing a barren and rocky country, than will the eldest son of the samous governor of the quit cost (the list or border here being known Massachusetts, deceased March 26, 1649, to be worth more than the whole cloth) that Proles similima parentii. The memory of the whole tract of land being of little worth, unfather, though he died so long time ago, yet less it were for the borders thereof upon the still lives in the minds of the surviving gene- sea-coast, and some spots and skirts of more ration, and is like to continue much longer by desirable land upon the banks of some rivers, the remembrance of the many eminent virtues how much soever it be valued by them that found in this the eldest of his offspring, who know nothing thereof, by the uncertain and being not long after, or about that time called fallible reports of such as only sailed by the to take up his residence in that colony, was country or viewed some of the rivers and haby the importunity of the people there, pre-vailed with to accept of the governor's place, the continent. The whole being worth scarce which for a long time after he sustained in those means that have been lost these two that colony, though annually chosen thereunto; last years in hopes to save it.
being so well furnished with many excellent.
This north part of New England, did first, endowments, as well moral as political and like Zarah put forth his hand, thereby inviting philosophical, which rendered him most fit to the adventurers to twist the scarlet thread of to be an healer of that people. Though we their hopes about the same auspicious beginare dealing in another subject, yet shall not ning they were ready to promise themselves we pass by his tomb as we go along, without prosperity in having that advantage before honorable a gentleman.

After all the forementioned calamities and troubles, it pleased God to alarm the town of Boston, and in that the whole country, by a sad fire accidentally kindled by the carelessness of an apprentice that set up too late over pight, as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four days, in which time it burned to the ground forty-six dwelling houses, besides other buildings, together with a large meeting house. Some mercy was observed mixed with the judgment for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of the ordinary buildings consisting of such combustible matter) that whole end of the town had at that time been consumed. Whereby we see that God in his providence can turn our dwellings into ashes, without the help of either foreign or domestic enemies. Which consideration may awaken all from security and confidence in these uncertain and unstable possessions, that have no firmer foundation that may so soon after their first erection eaten up by the flames of the fire, before the iron teeth of time have had leisure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the fire of all these judgments, we may be purged from our dross and become a more refined people, as vessels fitted for our master's use.

A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW-ENG-LAND, FROM PISCATAQUA TO PEMMAQUID.

THE occasion, rise and progress of the war with the Indians in the southern and western parts of New-England, together with the issue and success thereof, hath in the former part of this narrative been already declared. Before an entrance be made into a relation of those troubles that befel the eastern and nor- a ware-house and many other edifices near Vol. 2-14.

to be, much lamented by all, who died at Bos- before they meddled with the charge, as an ton, the 5th of April, 1676, in the 73d year of historian once said, that so the reader may his age, whither he was occasionally called the not miss the truth in a story, by being un-

paying the homage due to the memory of so others to plant and people that part of the honorable a gentleman.

But that fair opportunity was almost quite lost by some fatal and mischievous accidents happening soon after that noble enterprise was first set on foot, as hath been already in part and may hereafter be more ful-

ly declared.

The first place that ever was possessed by the English, in hopes of making a plantation in those parts was a tract of land on the west side of the river Kennebeck, then called Sagatawock, since Sagadanock. Other places adjoining were soon after seized and improved for trading and fishing. The more remote and farthest northward at this time belonging to the English (Penobscot forty years since being surprised by the French, and by them held to this day) is called Pemmaquid, distant seven or eight leagues from Kennebeck and is the utmost boundary of New England, being about forty leagues distant from the mouth of Piscataqua river; Pemmaquid is a commodious haven for ships, and hath been found very advantageous to such as used to come upon these coasts to make fishing voyages; south west or south east from thence about six or seven leagues, lies an island called Monhiggon, of much use on the same account for fishing, it lying three or four leagues into the sea from Damarils's cove, a place of like advantage for stages of fishermen in former There have been for a long time seven or eight considerable dwellings about Pemmaquid which are well accommodated with pasture land about the haven for feeding cattle, and some fields also for tillage; all the land improvable for such uses being already taken up by such a number of inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the mouth of the river Kennebeck lies a considerable island called Arowsick, some years since purchased by Major Clarke and Capt. Lake, two merchants of Boston, on which they built several large dwellings, with

there being many of late seated there fit to carry on such design; where also was built a fort which if it had been earefully defended, might have proved the defence and security of all that side of the country, as it used to be their magazine. Up higher beyond the river Kennebeck, four leagues eastward towards Pemmaquid, is another considerable river called Sheepscot, upon the banks of which were many scattered planters, who lately flying from their dwellings for fear of Indians, left as was judged, a thousand head of neat cattle for the use of the Indians that made the late insurrection against the inhabitants of those parts, besides their fields and barns full of corn. There is a another river that issues into Kennebeck a little higher up in the country, called Pegypscot, that comes down from hehind Casco bay. This Pegypseot is the seat of the Amoscoggin Indians, who have had a great, if not a principal hand in the late mischief.

Some few leagues to the south of Kennebeck lies the famous and spacious haven called Casco bay, the northeast cape of which is made by an Island called Saguin; the southern and opposite point of land is called cape Elizabeth. Within the bosom of this bay, being about eight or nine leagues over at the mouth of it, are a great number of small islands, many of them being inhabited by fishermen and others: one of the principal of those is called Jewel's island. There are many places about the bay fit to make commodious habitations, and on the south side of it is a small village called Falmouth; all or most of it lately destroyed by the Indians.

Not far from Casco, to the southward or south west still is a river called Spurwick, over against which lies Richmond island, not far from the main land, being divided therefrom by a small channel, fordable at low water; it hath for a long time been the seat of Mr. Jordan, in right of Mr. Winter, the former if not the first proprietor thereof, whose daughter he married.

The next plantation southward is called Scarborough, a small village seated upon Black point, over against which is another point, for distinction from the former, called Blue point. This Black point was lately the seat of Mr. Josselin, being a parcel of the province of Maine, on falling within the precinct thereof, and formerly by patent granted to the said Josselin or his predecessors, since purchased by Mr. Scotto, of Boston.

Saco river lies next in order to the Piscataqua, a navigable river, where Major Philips had a commodious situation lately; at the mouth of which river lies Winter harbour. encompassed on one side by a neck of land, formely the property of one Mr. Winter, whose name it still retains, but lately purchased by Major Pendleton, where he enjoyed a very comfortable seat and habitation.

There is another harbour lying a little southward of Saco, made by that which is called cape Porpoise; a convenient seat for fisherman, as are most of the other places abovenamed. Between cape Porpoise and Piscataquay there are but two small towns more, (though ambitious of great names) the one seated upon a small river or creek, affording a small harbour fit only for barks and smaller thern parts, it will be requisite to give some the water side, it being intended by the ow- vessels; on each side of which town lies a general description of the place, as being less ners for a place of trading as well as planting; small river, the one is called Kennebunk, the

other Maguncuek. formely known by the name of Agmenticus, from a high hill of that name not far therefrom. The point of land which lies between the said towns, is called cape Nadduck, making a small harbour likewise, into which issues another pretty river on the banks of which is situate the town of York. All or most of the forementioned towns and plantations are seated upon and near some greater or less river whose streams are principally improved for driving of saw mills, those late inventions so useful for the destruction of wood and timber, especially of fir trees which do so abound in those coasts, that there is scarce a river or creek in those parts that hath not some of those

engines erected upon them. The upper branches of the famous river of, Piscataqua being also employed all of them that way, namely, Sturgeon creek, Salmon falls, Newechewannick, Quecheco, Oyster river, Swamscot, Greenland, Lamprey Eel river, together with the towns of Esther and Dover, seated upon or near some of the main branches thereof, whose principal trade is in deal boards cut by those saw mills, since their rift timber is near all consumed. On each side of that fine navigable river of Piscataqua, down towards the mouth of it are seated on the north side, the town of Kittery, (a long scattering plantation made up of several hamlets) on the south side of the town of Portsmouth, to which belongs the great island lying in the mouth of the said river, a place of considerable trade of late years, which together with Strawberry bank, the upper part of the said town of Portsmouth, are the magazine and chief or only place of trade and commerce for all the plantations betwixt it and the Caseo bay. All the said plantations have in these two last years 1675 and 1676, felt more or less of the barbarous and perfidious Indians belonging to that side of the country, as shall more particularly be declared in what follows, after a short discourse of the first planting of the country, which may serve as a kind of prologue to

the following tragedy.

This part of New England began first to be planted about the same time with Virginia, viz. in the year 1606. There the first letter patent granted by the king, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34 to 41 degrees of north latitude, and was divided into two parts, namely the first and the second colony; the former was appropriated to the city of London, the other to the cities of Bristol, Exeter and the town of Plymouth, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their several plantations alike as saith Capt. Smith in his history of Virginia and New England. This second colony of New England, promising but little advantage to the undertakers, by reason of its mountainous and rocky situation, found but few adventurers forward to promote the planting thereof after the death of Sir John Popham, who was the first that ever procured men or means to possess it; for when the main pillars are removed, what can be suspected but that the whole building should fall to the ground. Yet notwithstanding the discouragements the first planters met with in their first winter seasoning in that cold and rocky desert (which made them all return home in the year 1608) Sir Francis Popham his son, hav-

of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing, of whose loss or gain, as saith my author, himself was best able to give an account; and some of the ships sent by him, and the Earl of Southhampton, with other noble adventurers, did bring home some of the natives of the place in one of the following years, by whose information some of the first undertakers were encouraged once more to try the verity of their hopes, and see if possibly they might find something that could induce a fresh resolution to prosecute so pious and honorable

But in the mean time before there was yet any speech or endeavour to settle any other plantations in those parts, that about Sagadahock being thus abandoned for the present, by the first undertakers, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits, being understood by those of Virginia, they discreetly taking into their consideration the inconveniences that might arise by suffering them to harbor there, Sir Samuel Argal was sent with a commission to displace them which he with great diseretion, dexterity, and judgment, performed about the year 1613, which made way for the plantation at Nova-Seotia, granted afterwards by King James to Sir William Alexander, Scotland. The said Argal seized the forts which the Frenchmen had built at Mount Mansel, St. Croix and Port Real, and earried away their ordnance and provisions to the colony of Virginia, to their great benefit. The said places were held by the English many years after, till about the year 1695 by commission from the Scotch lord aforesaid; but how his right came afterwards to be alienated to any of the French nation, doth not concern us with reference to the business in hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this posture for the space of near seven years, some of the first adventurers apprehensive of better hopes of good that might ensue by a fresh attempt, resolved to set the design a foot a second time, to which end several ships were sent on that account in the year 1615, but with as bad success as the former; for in the year before, viz. 1614, Capt. Smith, desirous to promote the colony of New England, as well as that of Virginia, came thither with two vessels, and returned back to England in the least of them, with intent to be there again the next year to promote the said plantation; but after he was gone, one Thomas Hunt, master of the ship he left behind, like a dishonest man, to prevent the carrying on the plantation, that he and a few merchants might wholly enjoy the benefit of the trade of the country, after he had made his voyage, seized upon 24 of the poor innocent natives, that in confidence of his honesty, had put themselves into his hands, then clapping them under hatches, carried them away to Malaga, whither he was bound with the fish he had made upon the coast, for that market; but this vile act, although it deprived him forever after of any more employment in those parts, yet that was the least part of the mischief that attended this wicked practice; for upon the ar-

The other town, York, |ing the ships and provisions which remained | years in England, and coming back unto the said ships, as soon as they understood the injury so treacherously done to their countrymen they contracted such a hatred against our whole nation, that although one of the said natives died soon after, yet the other called Epenow, studied how to be revenged, which he so far found means to effect that he frustrated this second attempt of settling a plantation in ,

Yet did not the adventurers cast off all liones of carrying on their design. Wherein Providence within a few years so favoured them that one or more of the savages called Tisquantom and Samoset, carried away by Hunt, was brought back to Newfoundland, from whence he was soon after conveyed by the prudent endeavour of Capt. Mason (then governor of the plantation began upon Newfoundland) into the hands of some of the adventurers, by whose means they hoped to work a peace betwixt the said natives on that coast where the fire had been kindled before; for the adventurers employed Capt. Thomas Darmer, a prudent and industrious gentleman, to settle the affair of the plantation, now a third time revived again about Kentucky, about the year 1619. By his prudence and care a lasting peace was made betwixt the natives of the place and the English, who were but a little before so abhorred by them, for the wrong formerly received, so that the one of his majesty's most honorable council of plantation began at last to prosper, and continue in good liking, and assurances of the friendship of their neighbours that had been lately exasperated against them. This Tisquuntum before mentioned, was most instrumental and helpful to the plantation begun at New Plymouth about the following years, 1620, in their weak beginnings, there being frequent mention of his name, as also of one Samoset, a native of the same place, by the like providence brought back to Kennebeck, and from thence with Tisquantum came to the new planters at Patuxet, or Plymouth, and brought them into acquaintance with Massasoit, the sachem about those parts, without whose friendship that new plantation would hardly

> This story premised, is the more to be observed in this place because the friendship upon the means and occasions aforesaid, confirmed between the Indians in these eastern parts and the English, had continued stedfast and constant to this year, when it was broken by another treacherous and wicked practice of a like nature, and parallel to that of the aforesaid Hunt, as may more fully be decla-

red afterwards.

have subsisted long.

Possibly the like satisfaction may prove the more probable means to procure a settled peace. But to return whence this digression hath been made. Some years were spent to bring things to this issue: The adventurers were put to much care and pains before they could get their patent confirmed and renewed again: Many obstructions they met with from some interlopers who began to look into the trade of this country, and would irregularly have had a share therein, or grade it common to all traders, to which end they petitioned to a parliament then called to bring about their ends, but at the last it was settled firmly in the hands of sundry noble and worthy patentees, rival of the adventurers ships the next year, lords, knights, gentlemen, and merchants, two natives of the place that had been some commonly known by the name of the council

of Plymouth, who had the absolute power ment to several others who by the commofifty years since, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any considerable advantage did ever accrue to the first undertakers, from this their new plantation of the eastern parts, unless by the trade of fish and firs, which latter continued not long; that managed it by their own particular flocks and personal endeavours; and if without offence it may be spoken, the multitude of patents soon after granted to gentlemen of broken fortunes, have provided but places of unhonorable exile or confinement, whither many deserving persons of better education than fortune, were sent to shift for themselves in a foreign land, without being further troublesome to those nearer home, on whom they had their hopes and dependance; yet it must not be denied but that some of the undertakers were at vast expence, easting their bread upon these waters, where none of their friends and relations have as yet had an opportunity to find it; The reason of which is not hard to give, in reference to all those lands and territories that lie to the eastward of Piscataqua river. main cause had been the multiplicity of grants and patents for the dividing of the said tract of land for besides the strife that bath been occasioned by the intricacy and indistinctness of their liberties and bounds, (enough to have maintained a greater number of lawyers than ever were the inhabitants) if the grantees had been supplied with monies proportionable to their suits and controversies about their bounds and jurisdictions, which sometimes they have been ready to decide with their swords, witness those fatal names imposed on such accounts upon some places belonging to those parts, as Bloody Point, Black Point, Blue Point, and every considerable parcel of land being by patent granted to several particular persons hindered the erection of townships and villages, which if it had been otherwise disposed of, might have been full of towns, and well peopled, and thereby the inhabitants had been able to have stood upon their guard, and defended themselves against the common enemy, whereas now they were but like scopoe disolutoe, or like his arrows that being bound up in one bundle could not be broken by an ordinary force, but being loose, were easily snapped asunder by any single hand. Another reason might be, the employing of such agents and instruments as either wanted skill or fidelity to manage what they were entrusted with, which made many of the adventurers long ago complain, that instead of bills of exchange and other returns which they expected, they received nothing but large inventories of the wants of their several plantations, and the servants sent over to improve them, which were all the returns that many of them ever received for the large sums of money many disbursed for the carrying on their affairs. A third reason may be the several changes of government the inhabitants have passed under, which have occasioned not habitants, who upon one account or another were upon the place, but much discourage-grant or liberty from himself or his agents, to ing since collapsed, no authority more that

under the king for making all grants, and dis- diousness of the place would willingly have posing of all lands from the 40th to the 48th chosen stations in those parts, had they seen degrees north latitude; all which was accom- any hope of a settled government ever like to plished about the year 1621. Some printed be obtained; which is not hard to demonstrate relations that speak of these transactions, write by giving a little touch as we pass along, on much of the flourishing state, and hopeful the several changes of government the places prosperity of this plantation, published about aforementioned have been moulded into, and the several proprietors that of late have claimed interest in the land. In the year 1624, a patent was granted by the council of Plymouth, thegrand proprietors, to Capt. Mason, for a large tract of land about Piscataqua, but it not being distinctly bounded, himself with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, obtained a joint patent in the year 1539, for the land betwixt the east of Sagadahock, and west of Namukeag, but that also interfering with the bounds granted before that time to sundry gentlemen merchants that had obtained a patent from the south of Charles river, to the northward of Merrimack, Capt. Mason's bounds were afterwards by consent (as is said) of his agent or agents, reduced to some branches about Piscataqua river (who yet could not agree with those that acted in the name of Shrewsbury men) but being wholly neglected by the pretended proprietor or his successor (till of late days) was by the desire of the inhabitants yielded up to the Massachusetts government near twenty years since.

In the year 1630 a patent was granted by said council of Plymouth (signed by the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and sealed with the common seal of the council aforesaid) to John Dy, Thomas Lupe, Grace Harding, and John Roach, of London, for a large tract of land on the south side of Sagadahock, forty miles square by the sea-side, and so up into the country: John Dy, aforesaid, and his partners took in another as partner and associate with them, Mr. Richard Dummer, of Newbury, in England, in the year 1623, to whom they delivered the original patent, with an order from them, and in their name to take up the land described in the patent, but he being denied opportunity to effect it, as also a ship formerly sent by the patentees for that end, not accomplishing their desire, they not long after sold all their interest in the said patent, to one Mr. Rigby, a Lancashire gentleman, who made Mr, Cleaves his agent to manage the business of his purchased interest in the said patent: to whom Mr. Dummer was ordered to deliver the original patent, which accordingly he did: What trouble was occasioned soon after between the said Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Umes, agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, is well known to the inhabitants of the place and need not here be mentioned; nor yet how the said Mr. Rigby came forward to lose his interest, at least with the inhabitants in the patent.

In the year 1632, Sir Ferdinado Gorges not trusting in the joint patent for himself and Capt. Mason, obtained a distinct patent for himself and got confirmed by King Charles the first, of blessed memory, for all that large tract of land from Sagadahock to Piscataqua river, and so about an hundred miles up into the country, by the name of the Province of Maine. What benefit and improvement was ever made thereof by his agent or successors, is best known to themselves; but for the inonly much vexation and expence to such as had been induced, either by any precedaneous

take up any land within the bounds of the said province; they finding much inconveniencies and trouble for want of an orderly and settled government, did at the last, petition the general court of Massachusetts to be taken under their jurisdiction and government (reserving the liberties and privileges of their former purchases and grants, as to the title, possession, and property of themselves) which was granted them, though not only and altogether upon the grounds on which it was desired by the petitioners. Yet notwithstanding all this, things were not settled either to the comfort or content of the inhabitants: For sometimes some demanded right of jurisdiction over them, by virtue of Sir Ferdinando's patent, sometimes commissioners employed by his Highness the duke of York, attempted to settle a government amongst the people; sometimes they tried what might be done by agreement amongst themselves, but after their return for England, by one mean or other the government relapsed again into the hands of Massachusetts, although a supersedas thereunto seems to have been put by an order from his majesty this last year.

By the several vicissitudes and changes of government, the flourishing of the said province hath been much obstructed, which else might have been advanced, and the inhabitants been put into a capacity to have secured themselves against the late barbarous incursions of the Indians, might thereby have been prevented, and so the mischief also which hath ensued might thereby have been averted: For a well ordered government would never have suffered those that now were connived at, which if they had been timely looked into by such as had absolute or positive and unquestioned power of rule in their hands, would have been otherwise ordered, the present mischief that is come upon those places, might thereby have been, if not

prevented, yet more easily redressed, than now it is like to be. As for the tract of land that lies eastward beyond Kennebeck hetwixt that and Pemmaquid, it is said to have belonged to one Mr. Aldworth and his successors, who was alderman of Bristol, and on that had a patent thereof, and employed some as his agents, that did sometimes reside upon the place, and was late ly settled in some order or government by his highness the duke of York's commissioners, by whom also was an agreement made betwixt the sagamores of the Indians in those parts and the English, at a court kept by their appointment in Kennebeck which if it had been observed, might in all probability have prevented in great measure the quarrel which is now fallen out between the English and Indians: For upon some jealousies of the rising of those Indians about twelve or thirteen years since, it was agreed that if any mischief should happen to be done by the English or Indians one against another, though it were to the killing any person, neither side should right themselves, but complaint should be made to the sagamores if the Indians did the wrong and to the court if it was done by the English: both which did promise that satisfaction should be made for the preventing any quarrel: The names of the sachems, as likewise of them that were in power at the court, do still remain upon public record. But matters of government in those parts beowned, things are now brought to that mis-

plantation in those parts about Kennebeck, for of her seed in every generation, and in every the space of about fifty years, the Indians al-nation to meet with the sad effects of that enthe space of about fifty years, the Indians always carried it fair, and held good correspondence with the English, until the news came of Philip's rebelling, and rising against the inhabitants of Plymouth colony in the end of June, 1675; after which time it was apprehended by such as had the examination of the Indians about Kennebeck, that there was a general surmise amongst them, that they should be required to assist the said Philip although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the quarrel. The like jealou. sies did appear in all the Indians that inhabited to the eastward of Piscataqua, which plainly show that there was a design of general rising of the Indians against the English all the prologue too long. It was on the 24th in what was transacted; and so they parted, over the country (possibly as far as Virginia, of June 1675, when the first mischief was the Indians there making insurrections the done by the Indians about Mount Hope, the Indians there making insurrections the same year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the oldest and wisest of them, did not like it, fearing the issue as they had cause: But many of the young men about Casco bay, and Amoscoggin, were certainly known to flock thither the last year, and did sundry of them come short home: For herein they acted but like savages, as those of Virginia did but fifty years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new neighbours till they had opportunity to do them mischief. So that notwithstanding many of the inhabitants in the eastern, as in the western parts of the country. that were wont to trade with the Indians, were not willing to believe any such purpose among them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the English, by their imprudent and irregular actions, have driven them into this rebellion; yet is it too evident that the said Indians (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful actions) did lay hold of any opportunity that might serve as a pretence for their barbarous practices. Indians about Wammeset and Piscataqua, that had joined with their countrymen in their rising against the English the last winter, when they were pinched with hunger, in the cold winter following returned back to the English, and desired to make peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted friendship; yea, some of them, as if they were really sorry for the murders and cruelties, of their own voluntary motion came with the prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the English, yet when their own ends were answered and another opportunity was offered of doing further mischief of a like nature, they presently returned to their former practice, as is well known of Simon and Andrew, that had killed some, and led others captive the last spring from Bradford and Haverhill, who came in the end of June to Major Walden's, bringing home English prisoners with them, yet did the very same Indians within less than two months after join with Amoscoggin and Kennebeck Indians in committing the said tragedies that were last acted in those parts, yet was he and his partner suffered to escape for want of sufficient guarding the prison where they were put in order for further trial. But sero were put in order for further trial. But sero ted fellow. Mr. Wiswal with the other two sapriant phyrgee; it is hoped that we shall examinents, looked upon those as mere excu-

was merely voluntary, and persuasive being ture, learn to beware of this subtle brood and to this day affirms that he was as rational and generation of vipers. Ever since enmity was sensible as any of the rest. erable state which follows next to be declared. put between the seed of the woman and the Ever since the first settling of any English seed of the serpent, it hath been the portion thought was meet to be done in the said case, mity; nor can they ever expect to find better dealing from any of the other sort, further than either of their power or hope of benefit age, giving their hands in token of their fidelby their favour may induce them to another ity, and also leaving their arms in the hands disposition, as we the inhabitants of New En- of the English as a pledge of their faithful keegland have found by their late and sad experience in reference to these pagans in the west whom amogst whom our lot is cast, they proving, is one says of the Mahometans in the east, like a nest of hornets, that if any one of June, 1676; they having in the mean time carthem chance to be provoked they will be all about his ears that comes near them. But it is time to begin with the particulars of the Hood, with great applause of the rest, made a tragedy itself, that the reader account not dance, and sang a song to declare their content before 20 days were over, the first fire began to kindle in these more remote and northerly bounds of the said country, or two hundred and fifty miles distance, and upon this occasion, the 11th of July, 1675, a letter was brought to Kennebeck from one Henry Sawyer, an inhabitant of York, signifying the news of the Indians rising about Plymouth, and that a course was taken to disarm them ed, ran all away at the last, trusting more to along the shore. This rumour did so far the celerity of their own feet, than to the awaken the inhabitants, that the very next day, at a general meeting of the Eng-they were escaped, joined with a parcel of lish, at one Capt. Pattishal's house, several their fellows soon after, about 20 in all, in roboffered themselves as volunteers to go up the bing the house of one Mr. Purchase, an ansaid river of Kennebeck, to make discovery cient planter about Pegypscot river, and a of the Indians fidelity, or else to fight them if known trader with the Indians, whatever there was occasion. The third day after mar-wrong may be pretended by the said Indians, ching up the river, to Quegebeck, they met with the inhabitants of Sheepscot river, which is a river lying about twelve or fourteen miles to the northeast of Kennebeck. Divers of the Indians thereabouts by the persuasion of one Mr. Walker, that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable part of their ammunition, as a few guns, a little powder and shot, with a few knives. About 7 of the undeniable discovery. This was done in the Kennebeck Indians, and five of those called beginning of September, 1675. Those Indi-Amoscoggin Indians, about Pegypscot (a ri-ver more southward towards Casco) made did no other mischief than plundering it of this pretence of bringing their arms, Capt. strong liquor and ammunition, also killing a Lake, Capt. Pattishall, with Mr. Wiswal in calf or two, with a few sheep, but no more whose hands was settled a kind of military than what they are, and spoiling a feather bed power for those parts, were sent for further by ripping it open to turn out the feathers, to examine the said Indians, of whom upon contenting themselves with the case, which examination they saw reason to suspect some they might more easily carry away. if not all; whereupon they sent messengers a offered no incivility to the mistress of the house second time to the Amoscoggin Indians, and also a letter to Mr. Walker, to send down their arms and ammunition to them for their greater security. After Mr. Wiswal was returned home, the 5 Amoseoggin Indians aforesaid, brought in their guns, but probably with no good intent; for an Indian called Sowen, having an axe in his hand, struck at one Hosea Hallet, a Frenchman, but was prevented from doing him mischief; however, the said Indian was presently bound and put up into a cellar. Some of the English that used to trade with those Indians were ready to excuse the Indian, saying he was drunk, or that he was a distrac-

The ancient Indians being asked what they said he was worthy to die for such an affront, yet they would be glad if his life might be spared, offering to be jointly bound in his behalf, to pay forty beaver skins at next fall voyping those articles of peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themselves hon-est men they were to have their arms again, which was accordingly performed the last of ried themselves peaceably towards the English. The day after, an Indian called Robinsetting the Indians at liberty that had thus engaged for their friend Sowen, the Indian; but yet to this day not one skin of beaver was ever paid to the English, as was promised, the Indians all this while were well provided for victuals by Capt. Lake, with other supplies of rum and tobacco, even to the digusting of some English then present.

But the Indians left as hostages upon Sowen's account, however civilly they were treatcivility of their English friends, who after as done them in their trading, (of which more may be spoken afterwards) that will in nowise excuse their perfidious treachery and falsehood, in breaking covenant with the English, dissembling and seeking all advantatages of cruelty against their English neighbours, of which in the following winter and summer, 1676, there will be a more full and (her husband and sons being at that time from home) yet one of her sons approaching near the house and finding it possessed by those new inhabitants, he rode away with all speed, and yet no faster than there was need, for an Indian followed him with a gun under his coat to have got within the reach of his

It is said that at the first they used fair words and spoke of trading, but as they went away, told those of the house, that there were others coming after that would deal far worse with them: which within a short time after came to pass, for these were but the messengers of death which was soon after inflicted, and that in a most barbarous manner upon surafter some few more experiences of this na- ses, and altogether groundless, for one of them dry inhabitants of the neighboring plantations.

censed hereat, 25 of them soon after going up Caseo bay in a sloop and two boats to gather Indian corn and to look to what they had upon the said bay, near Amoscoggin river; when they came near the houses they heard a knocking, and a noise about the houses, and presently espied two or three Indians, who as yet did not see them. The English being come a good way from their vessel, endeavoured to get between the Indians and the woods, which when they perceived they ran towards the water side, but the English in jursuit killed one of them and wounded another, who however escaped away in a canoe across the river, a third running back to-wards the woods fled to the other Indians and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down and lay in wait to intercept the English, that thought of no danger, but scattered themselves all about the place to gather their corn and lade their boats therewith, but before they were ready to go away the Indians coming down fired upon them and forced them all into the sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest, they might all have been cut off; that were ready with their guns, it gave the yet not without many wounds. So with much ado, they all escaped with their lives, leaving the two boats almost laden with corn, a prey to the Indians, who presently burnt one, and plundered the other of all that was therein; some are ready to think that the English did improdently begin the quarrel, and not first enquire into what the Indians were about in seventh day of the week, about 11 o'clock cart suddenly to the left whereby the drivers the house, and seek redress according to the those at Major Philips' garrison saw Capt. lay all open to their right flanker, when they aforementioned agreement, made at the court at Bennebeck. But if this happened after what follows next to be related, viz. that a beacon giving them notice to look to them-ling above pistol shot from the place, they kilwhich was done to old Mr. Wakely and his family, the English can be blamed for nothing but their negligence and security, in that having alarmed their enemies, they stood not better upon their guard, which is not very them, when a sentinel placed in a chamber in leaving the siege; for now they presently certain; for it is thought that within a few days after, or the next week, a more horrible fence side near a cornfield; Major Philips, 40 of them marching away, but how many outrage was committed upon the family of an ancient man, whose name was Wakely, an inhabitant of Claseo bay, who had some discontent which afterwards he often bewailed, resolving either to have returned back, or else to have removed to some securer place, but he was arrested by the sons of violence befire be could effect his purpose.

This old man, together with his wife, his sa, and his daughter in law, (then far advancollin pregancy) with three grand children were cruelly murdered by those barbarbous savages at one time; another of his grandchildren was taken alive and led into captivity, a daughter of his was said to be carried to Narraganset, which shows that they joined with the south-ern Indians in the rebellion. When one these Indians had embrued their hands in English blood, they were emboldened to the like bloo-

dy attempts in the adjacent places.

This Wakely lived so far from his neighbonrs, or else was encompassed with creeks or rivers, that no relief could presently be

The English in those parts being much in- cerned the day before, where they found the about an hour, after which the enemy despairhalf consumed with the fire, the young wo- on a device how to burn it.

strange mixture of mercy and cruelty. not willing to believe till he might see with more were in the company they could not tell, his own eyes, ran hastily up, another of his

house burnt to ashes, the body of the old man ing to take the house by assault, thought up-

man killed and three of the grandchildren ha- First, firing the house of one of his tenants, ving their brains beat out and their bodies then his saw-mill, hoping by that means to laid under some oaken planks not far from the house; one girl of about 11 years old, was carried captive by them, and having been carcalled out, you English cowardly dogs, come ried up and down the country some hundreds out and quench the fire. They continued this of miles, as far as Narraganset fort, was this sport all the afternoon continually firing upon last June returned back to Major Waldern's them. The besieged hoped for relief from by one Squando, the sagamore of Saco; a the towns but none came, the major still encouraging his men to hold it out which they Soon after Capt. Bonithon's and Major manfully did all that night, when they were Philips' dwellings were assaulted, one on the alarmed almost every half hour; and beeast, the other on the west side of Saco river. tween whiles they could hear their axes and It is said they had seasonable notice of what other instruments, knocking about the mills till was intended against them by their barbarous the next day. Those within the house conenemies, those Amoscoggin Indians, by the ceived they were preparing some engine Indian of Saco, their neighbour, better mind- wherewith to burn the house, which really ed than the rest of his countrymen, who observing a strange Indian coming to his wig-morning, at the sitting of the moon when he wam in company with some of his acquain- saw a cart with four wheels, having a barritance, one of whom informed him of the rest eado built in the forepart to keep off shot, and with the stranger were gone, that the said filled with combustible matter, birch rinds, stranger came from the westward, and that straw, powder, and poles 20 feet long ready his business was to persuade the eastern In- to fire the house; he bid them let them drive for some little resistance being made by them dians to fall upon the English in their dwell- it within pistol shot, before they made any ings here, as the rest had done to the west- shot against them; his men were a little disrest an opportunity to get all into the sloop, ward. Capt. Bonithon, either upon this in- couraged at the sight of this engine; but he formation, or upon the knowledge of what bid them be of good courage, and use means, was done a little before at Caseo, had left his putting their trust in God, who, he was conhouse, and was retired over the river with fident would relieve them. The cart when his family to Major Philips' garrison. Thus brought a little nearer became unwieldy by two are better than one, for otherwise both reason of the barricado planted in it, and be-might have been destroyed; for upon the ing to pass through a small gutter, one wheel eighteenth of September following, being the stuck fast in the slough, which brought the Bonithon's house on fire, which by the good fired upon them out of the said flanker, and providence of God was to them as the firing having so fair a shot upon them, and not beselves, their enemies being now come; for led 6 of the enemy, and wounded 15, as they otherwise they might, to their great disadvan- found afterwards, which no doubt made them tage, have been too suddenly surprised, for too late to repent of their resolution, not to within half an hour after they were upon follow their captain's counsel and example gave notice that he saw an Indian by the parted: so as at sunrise those within the house

The Indians it seems went towards Blue men coming after cried, major what do you Point where it is said they killed several permean? do you intend to be killed? at which sons, but those in the house feared, the major words he turned from the window out of was called by the men tolook out for more help, which he was looking, when presently a bul- as they expected their return; but it seems their let struck him on the shoulder, grazing only courage failed them as to another attempt upon upon it without breaking the bone. The In- an house so well garrisoned and manfully dedians upon the shot, thinking he had been fended. Major Phillips sent to the town for slain thereby (as they had heard afterwards) help acquainting them with what had passed, gave a great short, upon which they discern-ed that they were surrounded by them, where-next, so having spent almost all their ammuupon they instantly fired on the enemy from nitions, the people that were with him would all quarters, and from the flankers of the for- not be perusaded to tarry longer than Tuesday tification, so as they wounded the captain of morning, which constrained him and his family the Indians, who presently leaving the assault, to remove to the town. About a fortnight retired three or four miles from the place, after, the Indians hearing thereof, came and where he soon after died, as they were infor-burnt down the empty house. There were med: He counselled them to leave the siege, 50 persons in the said house during the time of but they were resolved not so to quit the the siege, and but 10 able hands, they had five place; nor were those within less resolute to more that could do something, but through defend it : one of the best men was soon after age or minority not able to make any great disabled from any further service, by a wound assistance; yet it pleased God, in whose hands sont to him; however, Lieut Ingersoll, of he received in one of the vollies, made by the are all men's lives and limbs, who is never Casco, the next day with a file of men, repaired to the place where his house stood to the rest of the defendants, who continued still ready to confide in his power and goodness, see what was the reason of the fire they distributed in the rest of the defendants, who continued still ready to confide in his power and goodness, see what was the reason of the fire they distributed in the rest of the defendants. This dispute lasted as not to neglect the use of due means for

that not one person of all those 50 was either killed or mortally wounded. Major Philips himself was wounded but not dangerously, at the beginning of the assault, his mills with other edifices were the first day burnt by the enemy, and so were all the houses at Saco, or most of them soon after, that were above the fishermen stages. One Mr. Hitchcock being carried captive by the enemy from the same place, died in the winter following by eating some poisonous root instead of ground nuts, as was reported by the Indians afterwards.

Much about the same time, five persons the same Indians.

These tragedies being thus acted at Casco bay and Saco, those barbarous enemies dispersed themselves in parties; intending to do all the mischief they could to the English inhabiting about that side of the country. In the merciless hands of the two cruel and bar- lest of them were busied in heating an oven the same month of September they came down towards Piscataqua, doing the like spoil upon 18 years of age, first espied them, who being gathered in the same field. The English were the inhabitants of the several branches of that endued with more courage than ordinarily the at such a distance that they could not make river which they had been doing elsewhere. In the first place they burnt the two Chestyes houses about Oyster river, and killed two men that were passing along the river in a canoe, and carried away an old Irishman, with a young man taken from about Exeter, who both of them soon after made an escape to a garrison at Salmon Falls in Kittery, by the help of an Indian better disposed than the rest, the first after seven weeks, the other after a

month's captivity.

About the same time one Goodman Robinson, of Exeter, with his son, where travelling towards Hampton, where as they passed along, they were waylaid by three Indians, viz. John Sampson, Cromwell, and John not follow fast enough or else they that carri- which caused most of them that lived scatter-Linde, who shot the old man, and left him ed it could not convey it over a fence soon jugly, at any distance from neighbours, either dead upon the place; his son, hearing the guns, escaped their hands by running into a swamp, whither the Indians pursued him, but could not overtake him, so he got safe into Hampton about midnight, where he related what had befel him by the way, and how narrowly he avoided the danger, intimating likewise that he feared his father was killed, which was found too true by Lieut. Sweet, who the next day with 12 soldiers of the town health again. went to search these woods, where they found the poor old man shot through his back, the bullet having passed through his body, and was stopped by the skin on the other side. Another person of Exter, whose name was Foulsam, was at the same time driving a pair of oxen in the same road, where soon after he heared the report of the guns when Robinson was killed, he espied the three Indians creep-ted in their return home, by any of them lying which would in a great measure have abuted ing upon their bellies towards him, to do as in ambush, which is their usual way of doing the sorrow of their sad funerals, if when they much for him as they had done for Robinson, mischief. but leaving his oxen, he put on his horse with all sides, but 5 of the enemy appeared; who yet death, they had been so doing. Soon after speed, and so was delivered from the danger took the advantage of Capt. Wincol's absence this they assaulted another house at Oyster rithat the other fell into; it is reported that one of the Indians made a shot at him; but he was either got out of their reach, or else they missed their aim at that time. The same Indians dred bushels in one of them. After they had him upon the place, and in a barbarous manhad a little before met with another Englished one this mischief they fled away. The next ner cut off his head, and set it upon a pole in man in those woods, one Charles Randlet, day after, the same Indians or others of their decision. Not far off about the same time whom they carried captive, although he soon fellows, came upon the other side of the river, after escaped out of their hands, by the help from whence they shot over several times to of another Indian called James. It is said some that were grinding in the mill, but after about an hundred of the Indians were gatherthere were four Indians out of that compa-exchanging of many shot on both sides, the ed together to assault Newechewannick; ny, and that the fourth was sent away with river betwirt them, six of the enemy showed they began with one named Tozer, half a mile

Capt. Hathborn's soldiers at Casco bay, in like dogs after they had done barking. September following, 1676, when the scouts After this those very Indians, as was supof our forces came upon the Indians on a sud- posed, burned five or six houses about Oyster sold away, the other is at Kenneheck, whom ces and injuries done by the enemy, obtained vengeance may also in due time overtake, as liberty from the major of the regiment to try it hath done the other.

upon the place; after which they passed on toward the next dwelling, in their way meet-The poor maid that had ventured her life so selves; but all the inhabitants in general were far to save many others, was by a strange alarmed to stand upon their guard. Providence enabled to recover so much

The next day toward night more of the barbarons enemies being gathered together, they made an assault upon the neighbouring dwellings. The English as many as could be spared out of the garrison (not above 8 in num-their upper garments: It is not said that these ber) pursued after them about half a mile, but three last (though killed upon a day of hunight coming on, it was judged best to retreat, miliation) were surprised in their repairing to, lest otherwise they might have been intercep-(whose dwelling was not far off) to burn his ver, notwithstanding it was garrisoned, and house and two barns more, wherein was much meeting with a good old man, whose name

there own preservation, so to order things, Randlet, so thatthere were but three seen to-themselves in the twilight, uttering several gether at the killing and pursuing the other insolent and barbarous speeches, calling our aforementioned. One of the said Indians, men English dogs, &c. yet all this while out viz. John Sampson, was killed by some of of reach of their shot, and then they run away

den, and had a small brush with them, but all river, and killed two men, viz. one William the rest made a shift to get away: As for the Roberts and his son-in-law. The inhabitants other two, viz. Cromwell and John Linde, one of Dover, with some other resolute yearing men, of them it is said, is since killed, or taken and being much provoked by these many in solenwhether they could not meet with some of the Within a few days after that harbarous act Indians, by secret ambushes and skulking going up the river of Saco, were all killed by at Oyster river, two Indians viz. one named amongst the bushes and trees as the Indians Andrew, and the other Hopehood, the son of used to do with them; to which end about him called Robinhood, assaulted the house of twenty divided themselves into small parties: one Tozer, at Newschewannick, wherein Soon after as they were looking for the enemy, were fifteen persons, all women and children, a party of ours espied five of the Indians, who without doubt had all of them fallen into some gathering corn in the field, while the barons caitiffs, had not a young maid of about to bake some of the fruit which they also rest of the sex use to be (the blessings of fael any sign to their contrades, without being dislight upon her) first shut too the door, where-covered by the Indians in the field; whereby they were denied entrance till the rest, fore two of them crept as near as they could within escaped to the next house, that was to the house, at one end of the field where better fortified; that young heroess kept the they suddenly rushed upon two of the door fast against them so long, till the Indians wretches, and knocked them down with the had chopped it into pieces with their hatchets, buttend of their muskets, which was not done when entering the house they knocked the so silently but the other three in the field took poor maid down with their hatchets, and gave the alarm and fled away, who might else as her many other wounds, leaving her for dead easily as the other two have been surprised.

These outrages thus daily committed fill d all the plantations about Piscataqua with fear ing with two children that had escaped the and confusion; scarce any place where there house first broken open by them, they killed was not reason for some to complain either of the one of them, of three years old, which could loss of their friends or burning of their houses; enough to save themselves and it; and carried to garrison their houses or else to desert their away the other of seven years old, which how- own dwellings, and to repair to their next ever was returned safe within half a year after, neighbours that were better fortified than them

On the 7th of October following, ceing a strength after they were gone, as to repair to day of public humiliation, a man was shot down the next garrison, where she was soon after as he was riding between two garrison houhealed of her wounds and restored to perfect ses about Newechewannick, and died of his wounds two months after; the same instant of time two young men were shot dead about a mile from that place; these two had their arms or guns with them, which were carried away by those who killed them, together with or returning from the place of public worship, After divers shots made on both were suddenly arrested by the harbingers of

from the upper garrison; at Salmon falls: | most of them being so much overmatched, took | place from whence they came; whereupon the said Lieutenant Plaisted immediately desputched away a messenger to Major Waldern, at Quechecho, which, because it seems to be the last time that ever that good and

Salmon falls, Oct. 16, 1675. Mr. Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, these are to inform you that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least an hundred men, and have slain four of our men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Isaac Buttes, and Tozer's son, and burnt Benoni Hodsdan's house: Sirs, if ever you have any love for us and the country, now shew your selves with men to help us, or else we are all in great danger of being slain, unless our God wonderfully appears for our deliverance. They that cannot fight let them pray: nothing

else, but I rest,

Yours to serve you. ROGER PLAISTED, GEORGE BROUGHTON.

What answer was returned to the importunate and pathetical letter is not fully known at present; most probably he that was most concerned in the contents of it was either absent from home or in no capacity to send the relief desired, which if it could have been had, might Lave prevented the sad mischief that fell out the next day; when Lieutenant Plaisted being more earnestly bent to perform that last office of love to his deceased friends, whom he could not by all his endeavours save from the danger of death, while they were in land of the living, would needs venture himself with 20 soldiers cat of his garrison, to fetch off the dead bodies.

To that end he ordered a pair of oxen to be yoked to bring them to his garrison, in order to their christian burial, not considering that the Indians lay skulking thereabouts, waiting for such opportunities. They went first to the farthest place, where they found R. Tozer's body, and put it in a cart, but coming back to take up the other two bodies which were fallen in a little swamp near to the garrison, they were set upon by 150 of the enemy, who had hid themselves in the bushes, and under a stone wall, and logs in the way as they were to pass; by the sudden noise of the guns the cattle being frighted, ran away to the garrison with such of the dead as were first laid thereon (and possibly with one of them wounded at that instant) leaving their itants. owners to fight it out with the enemy. Lieut. Plaisted being thus desperately assaulted, he with his twenty men were forced to retreat to a place of better advantage; but being themselves have since confessed; but they many others also thereabouts.

The said Tozer was presently killed, his son the opportunity of a fair retreat and so got safe taken captive (but returned after some months to their garrisons, while Lieut. Plaisted out of restraint) several guns being shot at this as- the height of his courage, disdaining either to sault, alarmed Lieut. Plaisted, at the next fly from or yield himself (for, 'tis said the Ingarrison, who like a man of public spirit, im- dians were loth to kill him, but desirous rather mediately sent out seven men from the garri- to take him prisoner) into the hands of such son under his command, to see what the mat- cursed caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till ter was, but being met by an ambush laid in he was slain upon the place; his eldest son the way as they went, lost 2 or 3 of the com- and another man were slain in their too late pany, thereat hardly escaping back to the retreat, and his other son was sorely wounded, so that he died in a few weeks after.

The Indians were contented with the mischief for the present and slunk away into the woods before the next day, when Capt. Frost came from Sturgeon creek, a few miles below useful man set pen to paper, the letter shall the river, with a party of his friends and be here inserted.

buried the dead. During these onsets the enemy also took the advantage to burn three houses and two barns before they left the

The latter end of the same month they burnt a mill near the same place belonging to Mr. Hutchinson, a merchant of Beston; from whence they came down towards Sturgeon creek, where they burnt one house and killed two men not far from Capt. Frost's dwelling, he escaping himself very narrowly, being shot at by the enemy, about ten in number, who might easily have burnt his house and taken all that was in it, being but three boys besides himself, had he not used this policy, to call out to some to march this, and the other way, to look after the Indians, as if he had many at hand to command, which under God was the means of his escape; for his house was neither fortified, nor well manned, although far from neighbours.

The next day the said Indians passed down the river on Kittery side, killed one man, whose house they first plundered, and then set it on fire; all this was done just over against Pertsmouth, from whence out of a small battery was discharged a piece of ordinance, which by a good Providence was directed so to fling its shot, as it fell very near a party of the Indians, for they were so affrighted therewith (if none of them were killed) that they left a good part of their plunder near the place. They were pursued by some of the English before they could recover their home, and by the help of the snow that fell about that time, were traced till they were overtaken, but being near a swamp escaped, through haste leaving two of their packs behind.

Soon after they went up the river again to Quechecho, where they burnt a house and two or three barns. Another party of them got over or beyond the other branches of Piscataqua river, towards Exeter, and Lamprey Eel river, where they killed one man. Many of them were in the woods about Exeter, and between Hampton and Exeter, where they killed one or two men as they were travelling homewards, occasioning the people of those towns to stand continually upon their guard, which proved a great annoyance to the inhab-

But let us look a little back to the plantations more eastward from Piscataquariver, where these outrages of the Indians first began.

At Caseo bay, Lieut. Ingersoll's son with there so warmly pursued, they were not able another man, going out a fowling about this to abide it long, although they killed and time, were both killed before they returned mortally wounded several of the Indians, as home, his father's house being burnt, with

At Black point, Lieut. Augur with two more were assaulted by the Indians, where after many shot exchanged betwixt them, himself was so wounded, that he died soon after, and his brother also was killed within a few days alter, not far from the same place.

When the rising of the Indians first began in those eastern parts (with us called the county of Yorkshire) Capt. Wincol of Newechewannick, with some others, having a sympathy for some of his neighbours, marched up that way with a small party of men. In his first skirmish with the enemy he chanced to lose two or three of his company; the rest not being above 11 in all, as they were marching along by the sea-side were assaulted by a great number of the Indians, judged to be 150; being hard beset with so great a number, they retreated to an heap of bolts that lay near the water side, by the shelter of which they lay safe from the enemy's guns, and so well played their few guns, that they slew many of the Indians, and put them all to a kind of rout at last; after which, by the help of an old canoe they recovered safe to the other side of the bank. But nine Sacomen had worse success who came with a good intent to help their friends, upon the hearing of their guns; but as they came to rescue Capt. Wincol with his small party, they themselves fell into an ambush of the enemy and so were all cut off, with two other men also, near the place where the first skirmish was, for the Indians from the shore side could discern any that were coming towards them when they were at a great distance, and so might easily way-lay them before they could come up to them. Near upon seven houses were burnt about this time, and some persons killed at Black point.

Two persons were killed at Wells in the beginning of winter, one of them was a servant to Mr. William Symmonds (one of the principal men in the town aforesaid) the gentleman himself with his family were removed to a garrison house in the middle of the town. His servant going early in the morning to look after some business there, tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself, the Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him making the poor fellow pay the shot when they had done with the loss of his life.

A week after one Cross was slain at Wells likewise, who was a kind of a distracted fellow. Also one Isaac Cousins was there killed in the beginning of winter, after there had been some overtures of peace between Major Waldern and the Indians.

With such kind of mutual encounters was the latter part of the year spent betwixt the Indians and the English from Piscataqua river to Kennebeck, from the beginning of August to the end of November, wherein many were slain on both sides; of the English in those parts were slain upwards of fifty; the enemy lost, as appeared afterwards by their own confession, above 90 partly in the aforesaid skirmishes, and partly in their joining with the Indians to the westward, whither it is said many were invited to repair, to help destroy the English, in hopes to enjoy their possessions afterwards; but God had otherwise determined, who did arise at last to save the meek ones of the earth, and plead the cause of his people.

The Governor and council of Massachu-

setts had at this time their hands full with the those Indians about the river of Merrimack like attempts of Philip and his accomplices at and Piscataqua, that still stood out in hostility the westward, yet were not unmindful of the against the English, meeting with those undeplorable condition of these eastern planta- der the command of Major Waldern aforetions; having committed the care thereof to said and Capt. Frost of Kittery; it was muthe majors of the respective regiments of the tually agreed betwixt those several comman-several counties on that side of the country ders to sieze upon all those Indians which at but more especially to the care and prudence that time were met together about Major of the honourable Major D. Dennison, major Waldern's dwelling at Quechecho; the degeneral of the colony, a gentleman who by sign succeeded according to expectation, and his great insight in, and long experience of all the Indians were handsomely surprised the all martial affairs, was every way accomplish-6th of September 1676, without the loss of ed for the managing that whole affair; he had any person's life, either Indian or English, to to ease the other side of the country, drawn the number of near 400; by which device, out a sufficient number of soldiers from the after our forces had them all in their hands, next counties, to have reduced all the Indians they separated the peaceable from the pereastward to their obedience; but just as they fidious, that had been our enemies during were intended to march up to the head-quarters the late troubles; finding about 200 involved of the Indians, to fall upon them there, viz. in the former rebellion more or less, they acat Ossapy and Pigwanchet, about an hundred cordingly were sent down to the governor miles up into the country northward, the winter and council at Boston, who adjudged 7 or 8 setting in so sharp and severe in the beginning of them immediately to die; such as were of December, and latter end of November, it known to have had their hands in the blood was not possible to have marched a day's jour- of the English, or that had been shed by their ney into the woods without hazarding all their means; the rest that were found only acceslives that should venture up, the snow being sories to the late mischiefs, had their lives found generally in those woods four feet thick spared, but were sent into different parts of on the tenth of December, so as it was not the world to try the difference between the possible for any to have travelled that way friendship of their neighbours here, and their unless they carried rackets under their feet, service with other masters elsewhere. wherewith to walk upon the snow: This only Those who had been always peaceable consideration forced them to lay aside the and true to the English, never intermeddling design for the present, but soon after it was in the quarrel, as Wanalancet, the sagamore done to their hands; for the depth of the of Pennicook, and some others, were quictly snow, and sharpness of the cold, were so extreme, that the Indians in those part were that were surprised at the time aforesaid, so pinched therewith, that being starved they there were several others who had been the sued for peace, making their address first to chief actors, that were taken up and down in Major Waldern, on that account by whose those woods beyond Merrimack, and so were mediations that whole body of Indians east-delivered up to justice; as John Monoco, Saward were brought to an hopeful conclusion gamore Sam, old Jethro with some others, as of peace, which was mutually agreed upon hath been already mentioned, yet young Jethand possibly might have remained firm enough to brought in 40 at one time. It was a speto this day, had there not been too just an occa- cial favour from God so to order it, that the sion given for the breaking of the same, by Indians aforesaid, were so surprised; for had the wicked pactice of some lewd persons they continued their former rebellion, and had which opened the door, and made way for the taken the opportunity to have joined with the bringing in all those sad calamities and mis- eastern Indians, as some of them did a few chiefs that have since fallen upon those parts months before, they would in all likelihood

that had made a general conspiracy against pears by the mischief that was lately done by the English, were strangely dispersed and means of a few, from too much connivance dispirited, so that from that time they began of some in those parts that entertained a betto separate one from another, and every nation ter opinion of them than it seems they deserof them to shift for themselves, as hath already ved. For whereas mention was formerly been mentioned in the former part of this nar-made of a small party of Indians, that on the rative. Canonicus, the great sachem of the 3rd day of May, in this present year, had Narragansets, distrusting the proffers of the murdered one Thomas Kembel, of Bradford, English, was slain in the woods by the Mo- and carried away his wife and five children hawks, his squaw surrendering herself, by captive; yet two or three of the actors did,

this means her life was spared.

places adjoining thereto, did cunningly en- weeks, and because of their voluntarily redeavour to hide themselves among those In-turning of them were dealt more favourably dians about Piscataqua, that by Major Wal- with; being only put into prison at Dover, dern's means had concluded a peace, yet could for a time; yet possibly conceiving that a neither dissemble their nature and disposition prison was but a preparation for a worse evil, from suspicion of mischief, nor yet so artificially they took an opportunity (two of the chief acconceal their passions, but they were easily tors in the aforesaid mischief, one called Sidiscerned by such as in former times had any mon the other Andrew) to convey themselves acquaintance with the eastern Indians by way out of the place of restraint, and afterwards the command of Capt. William Hathorne and and cruel depredations lately made in those they themselves, as the westward Indians Capt. Joseph Still, designed for the subduing parts, which follow in order next to be related. have so ill improved that which they had be-

of the country as shall hereafter be declared. have utterly destroyed all the plantations of In the latter end of June, 1676, the Indians the English beyond Piscataqua river, as apupon what consideration is not known, return Many of those about Lancaster, and the the woman and children again within six of trade, or other converse: Whereupon the going amongst the Amoscogginand Kennebeck forces newly raised in Massachusetts under Indians, have joined with them in those bloody

Some little colour or pretence of injury was alleged before those eastern Indians began their outrage, both in the former, as well as in the present year; the chief actor or rather the beginner of all the aforesaid mischiefs castward, is one Squando, the sagamore of Saco Indians, whose squaw, as is said was abused by a rude and indiscreet act of some English seaman, the last summer, 1675, who eiher overset the canoe wherein the said squaw with her child were sailing in a river thereabouts, or else to try whether the children of the Indians, as they had heard, could swim as naturally as any other creatures, wittingly cast her child into the water; but the squaw immediately diving into the water after it, fetched it up from the bottom of the river, yet it falling out within a while after the said child died (which it might have done if no affront had been offered) the said Squando, father of the child. hath been so provoked thereat that he linth ever since set himself to do all the mischief he can to the English in those parts, and was never as yet, since that time, truly wlling to be reconciled, although he is said to have sent home some that were taken captive the last year. Surely if their hearts hali a been secretly filled with malice and revenue before they might have obtained satisfaction for the wrong done at an easier rate; more probably it is that this was only an occasion to vent this mischief they had formerly conceived in their

There is an injury of an higher nature mentioned as the ground of their quarrel with us who live about Pemmaquid, which happened the last spring, viz. one Laughton, with another person or more, who having obtained under the hand of Major Waldern, a warrant to seize any Indians castward that had been guilty of any murder or spoil done to the English in those parts, did most perfidiously and wickedly entice some of the Indians about cape Sables (who never had been in the least manner guilty of any injury done to the Euglish) on board their vessel, or else some other way, and then carried them away to sell them for slaves; which the Indians in those parts look upon as injury done to themselves, have alleged it to the inhabitants of Penmaquid, as one of the principal grounds of their present quarrel: The thing alleged is too true as to matter of fact, and the persons that did it were lately committed to prison in order to their further trial. Yet all those Indians do, or may know full well, that they who did them that wrong, were liable to due punishment (or else their quarrel might be accounted just, and they considered as Indians, must have the more allowance) if they could be found, nor ever were any countenanced amongst us, that had done them any kind of injury, nor did those that take upon them the revenging of the injury, know that they were inhabitants of this country that did the wrong; nor was there ever any orderly complaint made thereof; but this cannot excuse their perfidiousness and cruelty. Some other pretenses alleged by the said Indians they yet do bear no proportion to the mention of a wrong, or injury, viz. because our traders were forbidden to sell any ammunition to any Indians whatsoever; which those Indians say they cannot live without; yet seeing

quarrel with us for selling no more.

thereabouts need not have wanted powder very worthy to be noted. and shot, only they wanted something wherethere being different opinions about this remains that the effects therefore be now related.

his wife made their escape was very remarkable and therefore judged worthy to be rage committed by the Indians in the second here inserted, although out of due place. The insurrection, 1676, are worthy of a more par-Indians that had led them captive having ticular remembering. brought them to the north side of Casco bay, news was brought to the said Indians of the after he had escaped out of the prison of Dosurprizal of Arowsic's house in Kennebeck, ver came to Casco, and either in the end of with all the stores therein, which did so rejoice them, that they made all haste to share in self of this Anthony Bracket, and oft frequenthe good things there to be had: Thus cager ted his house. Upon the 9th of August some to be gone, they promised Bracket and his of the Indians having killed a cow of his, the wife that they also should have a share therein if they would haste after them: The women having a little before observed an old his cow. In the meantime they of the place their escape; whereupon she first prudently ans, but before their return, very early in the asked the Indians to let the negro, their own morning on the 11th of August, Simon with Vol. II-15.

Further also, it is affirmed by some per-sons worthy of credit, that for divers years which means they arived safe in Piscataqua guns which made him with another man he past have lived in those parts, that the Indians river soon after; all which circumstances are

with to cloak their malicious and barbarons Bracket's family, the chief was one Simon, him fear some mischief was at hand, and prepractices of late committed against us; but who had but a little before escaped out of Dover prison, where he was not carefully the bullets flying over their heads, did them point, we shall leave it for the present. But overlooked; he had had his hand in the mur- no hurt; presently Simon appeared, and called this beingpremised in reference to the preder of sundry English, as he had confessed; them to come on shore; but they liked not his tended ground or occasion of the quarrel, it not missing any, save one, on whom he had courtesy, and turning their canoe into the discharged his gun; but because he came in stream, got out of the reach of their guns, has-Before the war with Philip was well ended children of the English, who had been carrito the southward, there was a fresh alarm ed captive a little before, it was questioned sounded again to the eastward; for on the 11th whether his last act of submission might not of August, 1676, the very day before Philip's balance his former transgression, and thereheart that had harboured so many mischievous fore he was committed to that, not so secure coming against them: In the meanwhile the and treacherous devices against the English, a prison, till his cause might be further consi- Indians passing from Anthony Bracket's to was by one of his own company shot through, dered of. It is said that coming to Bracka party of Indians began their outrages at et's house over night, he pulled forth a coun-Casco in a most perfidious and treacherous terfeited pass under the hands of some public before mentioned; then passing on to the othmanner, killing and carrying away captive, officers, or men entrusted with that services er houses, killed some, and carried others to the number of 30 persons, and burning making shew of all friendship; but in the away captive. At one of the next houses the their houses; amongst whom was the family of one Anthony Bracket, an inhabitant of Casco who was thought to have been killed, granting life to this person and his family, children were carried away. Corban's wife, but he himself, with his wife, and one of his that did not or could not resist, which he de- with one of the other men's wives, and the five children carried away captive, with a ne- nied to some of the neighbours not far off, children of another, they carried away likegro did happily make an escape from their who were many of them killed by this bloody wise. bloody and deceitful hands, in November next villain and his partners.

There are some circumstances in the as-The manner how Anthony Bracket and sault of Anthony Bracket's house very considerable, which, because it was the first out-

This Indian before mentioned called Simon, birch cance lying at the water side, hoped it sent two men to Major Waldern's at Dover, was an opportunity Providence offered for to complain of this injury done by the Indiservant (at the same time carried captive by a party of Indians came to Anthony Brackthem) help them to carry their burthens, which et's house, and told him there were the Indiwas granted: then she begged for them a ans that had killed his cow; but as soon as piece or two of meat, which was not denied they had said that, the Indians went further some after with their several burthens, and meaning of that, Simon replied, that so it this mischief. themselves: The woman also found a nee- which he answered, that if the case were so, dle and thread in the house, with which she he would rather choose to serve them than be side of the bay, in which they soon ventured they must be bound which was presently to get away, which prosperously succeeded; done. The said Bracket, his wife and a ne-

things on all sides thus concurring to help for-ward their deliverance, they came safely to the seat at Black point, where also by spe-ham and Benjamin Atwel at work about their and for their own defence if occasion should

fore, there was little reason why they should cial providence they met with a vessel bound hay; after a little stay he left them, intending for Piscataqua, that came into that harbour to go up higher with his canoe, but as soon guns which made him with another man he had with him, presently return back; before he came beyond Corban's house he saw an Amongst those Indians that siezed this English boy running with all haste which made sently a volley of shot came against them, but voluntarily, bringing in a woman and five ting down to his own house with all speed; when he came near to his house, he called to the people to make haste away towards the garrison house, and bid the rest look to themselves, and fire upon the Indians that were Corban's, killed Corban himself, together with Humphrey Durham and Benjamin Atwel,

In another side of the town as three persons were going to reap at Anthony Bracket's, passing from an house where they left their canoe met with John Mountjoy and one Wakely, to whom they told what had happened, soon after they heard two guns fired, whereby it seems two men were killed; wherefore coming back towards T. Bracket's, where they left their canoe, they saw him shot down by the Indians; one of the three not so well able to run, hid himself in the bushes in hopes to escape more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean time he saw the Indians carry away Thomas Bracket's wife and children. Soon after the three men aforesaid got safe to Mr. Mountjoy's garrison, but not trusting to the security of that garrison, they soon after repaired to an island in the bay, called James Andrew's island. One George Lewis and his wife tarried all this time in their house till the next day, when they had opportunity to get safe to the island aforesaid, together with the two menthat were now returned from Major Waldern's; whither they had been sent but too late, to make comthem. Thus being furnished with help and pro- into his house and took hold of all the guns plaint of the Indians that had counterfeited his vision, the Indians leaving them behind to they could see: Bracket asked what was the pass to travel into those parts, and had done

a young child, they could not but look upon it must be, asking him withal, whether he had as a nutrus Divinus, to bid them shift for rather serve the Indians, or be slain by them; the worst by reason of a smoke he saw on the The day after, one George Felt, suspecting opposite side of town, took his wife and chilren in a canoe to see what the matter was, mended the canoe, while they tarried at that killed by them: Simon replied, that then but when he came near a point of land not far off he found several of his neighbour's goods, which made him conclude their owners were for in that old canoe they crossed a water gro were all bound by the Indians; his wife killed, which was a sufficient warning to him eight or nine miles broad, and when they had a brother, who offering to resist was kil-likewise to fly for his life, which he did to the came on the south side of the bay, they might led forthwith; the rest, with five children same island. After a number of them had eshave been in as much danger of other Indians, were led away prisoners.

Two hours after one Pike, that lived not left powder behind them in one or two plantations.

Two hours after one Pike, that lived not left powder behind them in one or two plantations. had taken it; but they were newly gone. So far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went ces: whereupon they determined to venture well, for they brought away a harrel of powransacking, and had taken things out of the Casco bay, called Falmouth, there were 34 persons killed and carried into captivity.

That this was not a casual attempt, but a designed plot, will appear in that, just about the same time, the Indians at Kennebeck made the like insurrection whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which escaped from Dover stirred them up thereunto; or that the said Indians finding them in a disposition tending that way, by reason of some injuries done those that dwell farther northward, they offered their service to help forward the

It is to be noted here that the Indians about Kennebeck were persuaded to continue their former amity with the English, notwithstanding the report of Philip's rising that year before, and the outrages committed the last autumn and winter following; yet which than the rest; protesting against them as those is more, they had lately renewed their league with the English in those parts, although they der and shot, and said they would kill any Inhad often complained to those of Pemmaquid, dian they met; others at Monhiggon offered of the injury they suffered in the withholding from them the trade of powder and shot, without which they said they could not subsist, and for want of which, it is alleged by themselves, that some of them perished the last winter.

But the quarrel of late fallen out betwixt the English and the Indians about Kennebeck and eastward thereof, being a matter of great importance, it snall, for the satisfaction of the reader, in what follows he more particularly described, it being the duty of every one that although as it seems there were few or none to publish things of this nature, to do the right of an historian to all who are any ways con-cerned in what is made public. The information was received from a prudent person. an eye and ear witness of all that happened amongst the said Indians both the former and present year, and one that was more publicly concerned in those transactions than some others, therefore the more credit may be

given thereto.

Mention is already made of what happened in September, 1675, to the company belonging to a sloop and two boats that went up Casco hay to gather corn, upon that accident it is said divers Indians on the east side of Kennebeck river repaired to their fort at Totonnock, (a place higher up in the country beyond Kennebeck and Sheepscot river) where was an English trading house: and the Indians eastward of said river, had as yet done no harm to any of the English, yet did Capt. Sylvanus Davis, agent for Major Clarke and Capt. Lake of Boston upon these overtures pretty well settled in those parts between the another, jealousies still seemed to increase think fit to fetch down the powder and shot, Indians and the English, found soon after that in their minds, or else the former injuries bewith other goods from the said trading house, telling the Indians by the messengersent up, he would have them come down and live below in that river to take off jealousies, and that he would then supply them with what was needful.—But the messenger told them in ease they would not come down and de-turned before the winter was over to Pemliver up their arms the English would kill maquid, where hearing of a vessel that inten- the Mug was sent post to fetch the said Sqanthem. He that sendeth a message by the ded to take Indians in those parts and carry do. This gentleman mindful of his promise, hand of a fool, saith Solomon, cutteth off the them to market, which he had many strong went with the post to Kennebeck, finding

that side of the country had sustained thereby went further eastward and sent to John's dians they could together to come up Penobscot river.

A gentleman who at that time lived at Pemmaquid, a kind of superintendant over the affairs of that place, considering the sad state things were running into, laboured to obtain a parley with the said Indians, or with some of them, which after much trouble and cost he did accomplish. But in the meantime, such was the violence used by some refractory English in those parts, that they could scarce be restrained from offering violence to the persons he sent up as messengers, and others that lived quietly amongst them, and did also as violently set themselves up to oppose him or any others that acted with more moderation who, for gain, supplied the Indians with powfive pounds for every Indian that should be brought, yet would not these persons that were so violent against the Indians in their discourse, be persuaded then or afterwards to fight the Indians in an orderly way, as appeared both by their security in not acting better upon their guard, and by their sudden flight afterwards, running away, like a flock of sheep at the barking of any little dog. Things being in this posture, what could be expected but a present war with the Indians. be found willing to manage it in those parts. However, the person aforesaid understanding the general court at Boston had appointed a council of war at Kennebeck, applied himself to them, laying before them the desperate state things were fallen into; whereupon they issued out warrants to restrain all manner of persons meddling with the Indians without further orders, which within a few days should be had. In the meantime the sachems of the Indians met at Pemmaquid, where after many complaints made of the hard dealing of the English in Kennebeck river, they came to terms of peace, promising to hinder the Amoscoggin Indians from meddling with the English, if by any means they could, and also to return peaceably in the spring of the year. This gentleman aforesaid, having a long time wanted to go to Boston, was willing to take the opportunity of the present winter, hoping things were now he was cited thither to answer some complaints, though ill grounded, for selling powder and shot to the Indians contrary to order. But those false opinions being easily blown away by his appearance at Boston, and having despatched his business there, he re-

require; accordingly their attempt succeeded | feet, and drinketh damage. This message | reasons to believe, (it being no hard matter delivered by him as he afterwards confessed, to surprise many such, that suspecting no der from one Wells's house, and likewise a but who put it into his mouth, or whether it fraud, would easily be entired aboard a vesconsiderable quantity out of a chest in a was the device of his own heart does not at sel to trade, or may be to drink liquor) sent hut who put it into his mouth, or whether it fraud, would easily be entired aboard a vesstore house, which the Indians had been present concern us to inquire, but the damage to both the master and the company, if they had any such intent, to forbear, seeing those other end of the chest, yet overlooked the is not easy to recount; for upon this threaten- Indians were at peace with us; and likewise powder. In this surprisal of the plantation in ing message the Indians forsook their fort and to the Indians, to inform them of such a ves-Indians were at peace with us; and likewise sel, and to beware thereof; but yet it seems river, and to the sea side, to get all the In- the master and company took several Indians eastward, who were also at peace with us, and to our great sorrow shipped them on board for a market.

The winter being now over, the aforementioned agent of Pemmaquid went to a meeting of the Indians eastward, to persuade them of the country's willingness to continue a peace with them. They seemed very joyful thereat, and in the spring brought some presents to confirm the peace, and to that end also delivered up an English captive boy to those of Kennebeck .- But when the summer came on, the said Indians having liberty to visit their friends as they used to do, they missed many of them who had in the winter been perfidiously carried away, and as is related, they fell into a rage against the English, making complaint thereof to the said agent, Mr. Earthy Mr. Richard Oliver, and others. They were told means should be used for bringing those back again which had been so transporteo. Those to whom the complaint was made did scarce believe it to be true, not having heard thereof from any other hanc, and probably hoping none, especially after such solemn warning, would deal so perfidiously with heathers, to lay such a stumbling block before them.

The Indians being certain of the thing done, could not be easily pacified, being likewise incensed against the English for withholding the trade of powder and shot the last winter, saying they were frighted from their corn the last winter, by the people about Kennebeck, insomuch that many of them died in the following winter for want of powder, and wherewith to kill venison and fowl; adding withal that if the English were their friends, they would not suffer them to die for want thereof. However, the said agent making the best he could of a bad cause, used all means to pacify the complainants, and to that end promised them that if they would meet with any of the Amoscoggin Indians (who had all along the bitterest enmity against the English) he would give them a meeting to treat in order to a peace, Major Waldern having already concluto keep true friendship with the English, and | ded a peace with the Piscataqua and Casco Indians, and by that means, if they could conelude the like peace with the Amoscoggin men (that could not yet be found) there would be a general peace with all the Indians castward of Piscataqua, which the Indians that were present at this discourse seemed very joyful at. Yet still by one fatal accident or gan to boil afresh in their spirits, and not being easily digested, whatever had been said or done to allay the offensiveness thereof. Soon after comes a post from Totonnock, to desire him to repair thither according to his promise, where they told him he should meet Squando, and divers Amoscoggin sachems, and

Capt. Lake at his house in Arowsick. was judged meet that Capt. Sylvanus Davis should go with him, with instructions from the council then sitting in Kennebeck, how to carry on their treaty. After they had gone part of the way towards Totonnock, they came to an English house, where they were told that great jealousies of deceit in the Indians were upon their spirits, from what they had heard of Mug, and Tarumkin, an Amosenggin sachem. Going further, to a place called Kedonucook, they met with Indians, who were very shy of telling them any thing; which added to their former intimation greatly increased their fears; but being resolved on their voyage, they proceeded in their way thither, yet falling short of the place on purpose, that they might finish their business with them the next day. When they came to their fort, they were saluted with a volley of shot, then brought into a wigwam where their sachems were: Madockawando sat as a chief, who now stiles himself their minister. Being set in council, they made Assiminasqua their speaker, whose adopted son was the said Madockawando: He told them it was not their custom, if any came as messengers to treat with them, to seize upon their persons, as sometimes the Mohawks did with such as had been sent to them: Captain Davis and the other gentleman, told them therein they dealt like men: answer was presently made them, you did otherwise by our men, when fourteen came to treat with you, you set a guard over them, and took away their guns; and not only so, but a second time you required our guns, and demanded us to come down unto you, or else you would kill us, which was the cause of our leaving both our fort and our corn to our great loss.

It was without doubt no small trouble to their minds, in a treaty with those pagans, hac diei potuisse, and non potuisse refelli: Yet to put the best constructions that might be on such irregular actions, which could not well be justified, they told them the persons who had so done, were not within the government, and therefore, though they could not call them to an account for so acting, yet they did utterly disallow thereof: we sent for you to Pemmaquid, and treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the violence of the English; the Indians replied, we do but inform you, and will treat further in the afternoon; but when the afternoon came, our two messengers told them their business was to treat with the Amoseoggin sachems, and that they were surry Squando was not there; then having confirmed peace with those eastward Indians they entreated the Amoseoggin men to speak, who likewise urged Tarumkin, the chief Amoscoggin saehem to speak, who after where he had found many Indians unwilling for peace; but says I found three sachems (whom he named though those he spake to knew them not) willing to have peace; and for my own part I am willing for peace, and gave them his hand with protestation of his continuing in friendship; so did seven or eight more of the Amoscoggin men; whose names they took, of whom Mug and Robinhood's son

It hunting voyages? asking withal, whether they would have them die, or leave their country, and go all over to the French? Our messengers told him they would do what they could with the governor; some might be allowed them for necessity: He said they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now, say yea or nay, whether they should have powder, as formerly or not? Our messengers then replied, you yourselves say many of the western Indians would not have peace, and therefore if we sell you powder, and give it to the western men, what do we but cut our own throats? Adding further, it is not in our power without leave, if you should wait ten years more, to let you have powder; at which words they seemed much to be offen-

But yet the next day they resolved to go down with them and speak with the western men, thereby, if it might be, to stop their fur-

ther proceedings.

So going down with them the next day, they met with some Indians who had got strong liquor, with whom they fell a drinking; our messengers stayed at two places for them, and finding that still they tarried behind, not knowing what further to do, they went home, it being the sixth day of the week; but the next night save one, news came to Kennebeck, that the Indians had killed divers English in Casco, although it was not yet known at Pemmaquid: Upon this news Capt. Davis sent out one sentinel the next night; the rest (such was their security) went all to bed, and in the morning were all like Laish surprised: Thus might it be said Invadaunt Æeden sommo (sino) vinoq; sepultam. The particulars of the surprising of Kennebeck, and Arowsick house, are thus related by such as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the 13th of August, 1676, several Indians repaired in the evening to the house of Mr. Hammond, an ancient inhabitant, and trader with the Indians upon Kennebeck river, his daughter, or a maid that was servant in the house, either naturally afraid of the natives, or else from something she observed in the countenance or carriage, manifested so much fear, as made her run out of the house to hide herself in some place abroad; the Indians perceiving it, the more to dissemble their treachery, ran after her and brought her into the house, telling her, (although they could not persuade her to believe) that there was no reason to be afraid of them; presently after more of the barbarous villains coming into the house, she grew more afraid than before, being now more strongly persuaded that they came on purpose to kill or surprise those in the family, whereupon she suddenly made an escape out of the house, and presently some pause said he had been to the westward, passed into a field of Indian corn, whereby she might the better avoid the danger of any pursuer, and so run across over the land that night, ten or twelve miles, to give them notiee that lived at Sheepscot river; it is said that after she got out, she heard a noise in the house as if they were fighting or scuffing within doors; but she did not count it wisdom to go back and see what the matter was, knowing before enough of their villainies, were two. After this Madockawando asked how well soever her mistress (that was more them what they should do for powder and versed in the trade of the Indians) might shot, when they had eat up their Indian corn, think of them. Those of Sheepscot taking what they should do for the winter, for their this warning, escaped away as soon as they

could, leaving their cattle and dwellings as a prey to the Indians. What befel master Hammond and his family, is not yet certainly known: Reports pass up and down, that some who came down the river afterwards, saw some of the dead stripped upon the bank of the river, which make us fear the worst concerning all the rest; for certainly the whole family, 16 in number, were all at that time either killed or carried away captive, none save the maid aforesaid being known to make an escape to inform their friends, like Job's messengers, what befel the rest of the family.

The Indians having in this manner surprised Mr. Hammond's house, they pased down the river the same night, but going by another house, they meddled not with the people, only turned their canoes adrift, that they might not find means afterwards to escape themselves, or help others so to do: Possibly their chief aiming at Arowsick house, they would not for fear of being discovered make any attempt upon a place near by; wherefore the 14th of August, very early in the morning, having in the night, or before break of day, passed over on the island called Arowsick; several of them undiscovered lay hid under the walls of the fort, and behind a great rock near adjoining, till the sentinel was gone from his place (who went off it seems sooner than he should, considering the danger) when presently some Indians followed him in at the fort gate (as some report) while others of them immediately seized the port-holes thereof and shot down all they saw passing up and down within the walls, and so in a little time became masters of the fort, and all that was within it: Capt. Lake, joint owner with Major Clark of the whole island, hearing the bustle that was below betwixt the Indians and those that belonged to the place, was strangely surprised, yet himself with Capt. Sylvanus Davis and two more, understanding that the Indians had seized the fort, and killed divers of the English, apprehending it bootless, or rather heartless to stay, as not being able to stand upon their guard or make any resistance, made a shift to find a passage out of the back door, whereby they escaped to the water side, where they found a canoe, in which they all entered, and made away toward another island near by: This was not done so secretly but the Indians discerned them hefore they were gone far: four of them therefore hasted after those that had escaped in another canoe, and coming within shot discharged their guns upon them, whereby said Davis was badly wounded; yet making haste, as they generally use to do that fly for their lives, timor addidit alas, they got ashore before the Indians overtook them; it is said they were strangely dispirited, or else they might easily have defended themselves against their pursuers: but when once men's hearts are sunk with fear and discouragement upon a sudden surprisal, it is hard to buoy them up, to make any resistance. Capt. Davis being badly wounded, could neither trust to his legs to fly, nor yet make use of his hands to fight, yet was strangely preserved: Providence directing him to go into the cleft of a rock near by the place where he first landed; the Indians by the glittering of the sunbeams in their eyes as they came ashore, did not discern him; so that lying hid under the covert of the hand

a little above the water side, till he found a canoe, whereby he escaped with his life. The other two were better footmen, and parting with Capt. Lake, made their escape ten or twelve miles to the farther end of the island, and so escaped from the Indians, till they found means to get off. Poor Capt. Lake, who a few hours before slept quietly in his mansion house, surrounded with a strong fortification, defended with many soldiers, is now forced and Damaril's cove. to fly away with none to attend him; and as the awful hand of Providence ordered things, was as some say, pursued by such Indians as were mere strangers to the place, that knew not the master from the man, but by one of whom he was shot down, as is supposed soon after he came ashore: Lieut. Davis heard two guns, by which it was thought and soon after was known to be by an Indian, who hath since licot; there they laboured two days to settle children; and carried away in sight of her husconfessed to Capt. Davis that he shot him that a garrison; but through the mutinous dispo-band, who was not a little distressed at that day Arowsick was taken, which he intended stion of the people, and the want of provinot to have done, but that he held up his pis- sion nothing could be done to secure the Is- any relief either to his wife or children. One tol against him, whereas if he had but asked land, so that it was soon deserted. From of the little innocents espying his father in the quarter, he should have had his life. Capt. thence they went to Monhiggon, resolving boat, ran into the water, calling out for Lake was slain at that time, although many there to tarry till they heard from Boston, help; but an Indian was running after him to hopes were for some time entertained that he from whence Mr. Collicott and Mr Wiswall catch him up; the poor man in great agony, was taken alive, and kept with other captives promised to do their utmost endeavour to being within gun shot, was about to fire upon amongst the Indians; and it is said the In- send help. There they settled three guards the Indian, but fearing he might wound or perdians of those parts did not intend to kill him and appointed 25 to watch every night not haps kill his child, which the villain had seiif they could have helped it: but it was knowing but that the Indians might come zed and was carrying off, he forbore, choosing known his hat was seen upon an Indian's head every hour. But continuing there a fortnight, rather to have him carried away alive, than not long after, which made his friends con- and finding no relief like to come, and seeing expose him to the loss of his life or limbs, by clude what had befallen that good man, who all the country burnt round about, (for after shooting at the Indian. might emphatically be so termed, in distinct they had got all that could be saved from tion from them that may truly be called just Pemmaquid, they saw all the other islands, men and no more: For it seems according to Windgin's, Corbin's sound, New-Harbour, the just agreement betwixt himself and his part and Pemmaquid, all on fire in two hours some guns were found afterwards under the owner of Arowsick Island, it was not his turn time) then considering what was best to be fort, which were supposed to have belonged this year to have been upon the place, but such done, they found no boats could be sent to to some of the Indians that were killed. Some was his goodness, that he yielded to the desire of his friend and partner, as in his room and most of those who were on it were strangers, stead to take upon himself that service in this coasters, and such as came from the main and time of danger; it is hoped his goodness in future time will not be forgotten by such as laid an embargo for one week; after which a were any way concerned therein, or had advantage thereby.

dian so named that formerly possessed it, and Kennebeck, &c. but intimating nothing of found there, and carried them off to a place of whom it was purchased by one Mr. Richards, who sold it to Capt. Lake and Major brought the letter told them it was in vain to sons said to be killed and carried away at ards, who sold it to Capt. Lake and Major brought the letter told them it was in vain to Clarke) lies up ten miles within the mouth of expect any help from Boston, it being ques- that time, viz. three men, who were known Kennebeck river; it is some miles in length tioned there what they had to do with those to be killed, two woman and two children that and contains many thousand acres of very parts. Upon which the inhabitants consid- are supposed to be yet alive, though in the good land; where meadow and arable ground ered, that if they should tarry there and spend enemy's power. are in a good proportion well suited togeth- all their provision and neither be able to go er. Within the fort aforesaid, were many to sea, nor yet to live or be safe ashore for convenient buildings for several officers, as want of help, it were better for them to rewell for wares and trading, as habitations: six move while they had something to live upon, that were in danger of surprisal, one that several edifices are said to have been there and seek employment elsewhere; so by conerected. The warehouse at that time was sent they resolved forthwith to transport themwell furnished with all sorts of goods; be- selves and what they had saved of their goods, sides a mill and other accomodations and to some place of security, so they sailed the they asked him they took; by which means dwellings, within a mile of the fort and man-first opportunity, some for Piscataqua, some he was the better enabled afterward to presion house; some inhabitants of which hard- for Boston, and some for Salem, at one of ly made their escape upon the first surprisal which places they all safely arrived. of the fort.

seems to be very great, valued at many thou- out to hide their heads, till they might escape sands; but those that were the owners, with to some sure place, there waiting for better others of late times, have found from their times, when they may with peace and quietthere is a time to get, and a time to lose, a some other elsewhere. time to keep and a time to cast away; a time When the aforesaid exploits were done by

the rest of the inhabitants of Kennebeck river, Sheepscot river, Sagadahock, and Da-

On the second day at night a post was sent to Pemmaquid to inform them of what had happened, who being but eight or ten men, had a mind to go on the island called Menhiggon, having secured the best of their goods, but the wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into Damaril's cove where they found Mr. Wiswall, and Mr. Colsea for fear of weakening the island, and that ready to be gone upon every occasion, they letter-was received from Major Clarke, desiring their assistance in inquiring after Capt.

of Providence for two days, he at last crawfed The persons killed and taken at Kennebeck, English removed to Jewell's island, where at Mr. Hammond's and at Arowsick, are said they hoped to be more secure from the Indians, but the barbarous enemy finding so little Upon the report of the sad disaster, all the resistance made against them on the mainplantations of the English in those parts were land, a considerable party of them came with soon after left, and forsaken by degrees. All their canoes to destroy the island, also, about three weeks after the aforementioned mischiefs.

There was a fortified house upon the said manicottee, fearing to be served in the same island, where the English that either kept way, fled to the islands of cape Bonawagon upon the island, or repaired thither, hoped to secure themselves. But at that time the Indians assaulted the place many of the English were absent, and few left in the garrison but women and children. Some were gone to other places to fetch Indian corn, others were in a boat employed about fish, amongst whom was one Richard Pots with two more. The wife of said Pots was washing by the water side where she was surprised with her sad spectacle, but was incapable of affording

It is said some of the Indians were killed by those in the garrison; it is mentioned that a lad at one shot killed two or three of them; that were abroad when the fort was assaulted, desperately broke in through the Indians, whereby at the last many people were preserved .- Some flying away to Jewell's island, in a canoe toward Richmond's island, met with a ketch, to which they made known the distress the people were in, thereupon This island (called Arowsick, from an In- Lake, if alive, saying, what could be had at went to the place and took all the people they

From thence they went to Spurwinks, where they assaulted one place, or more, and carried another away captive. Amongst those could not run hid himself in a garden of cabbages, so that he was not found, yet was very near them, for he overheard several questions vent the danger two more were coming into, for the poor fellow they had taken, told them Having thus escaped at first, as Lot out of that one Gendal and another man, were to come All which considered, the loss that befel Sodom, but not counting themselves safe in that way by and by; whereupon this man that the proprietors at the surprisal of this island, that Zoar, where for a little while they made hid himself, meeting Gendal and the other man, gave them notice of the danger, whereby they were delivered out of the snare for that time. Not long after Mr. Gendal fell into their own experience, what Solomon said of old, ness return to their former habitations, or seek hands as shall hereafter be related. Within a while after the same time, another fatal accident befel six or seven persons belonging to to break down as well as a time to build up, the Indians about Casco bay, several of the Casco: For upon the 23d of September, some

persons that belonged to a sloop and a shallop, that were pressed into the service (one reason of which was to prevent their straggling, they being persons that belonged to those parts about Casco) were over desirous to save some of their provision, to which end they first made their address to Capt. Hathorne, (under whom they were ordered to serve) desiring they might be released; the captain told them he could not do it, but desired them to have patience for a while; they told him they must and would go, else their families would starve at home; the captain told them further of the danger, and bid them not stir at their peril. However, go they would, and soon after went to Mountjoy's island to fetch sheep where they landed seven men: but the Indians fell upon them. when they betook themselves to the ruins of a stone house, where they defended themselves as long as they could; but at last they were all destroyed either with stones cast in upon them or with the enemies' shot, except one who, though at the first it was hoped his wounds were not mortal, yet soon after died thereof. Amongst these was one George Felt, much lamented, who had been more active than any man in those parts against the Indians, but at last he lost his own life amongst them, in this too desperate adventure.

The Indians growing more bold by these attempts in those remote places, drew down nearer towards Piscataqua, for not long after a party of them came upon cape Nidduck, where they killed and carried away all the inhabitants of a few scattering houses, to the number of seven in all; and such was their savage cruelty exercised in this place, as is not usual to he heard of, for having dashed out the brains of a poor woman that gave suck, they nailed the young child to the dead body of his mother, which was found sucking in that awful manner, when the people came to the place. The day oefore a man and his wife were killed at Wells, and two more soon after. On the 12th of October following near 100 of the Indians made an assault upon Black point, all the inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, which a few hands might have defended; but as it seems one called Mugg, was the leader of the Indians, one that had from a child been well acquainted with the English, and had lived some years in English families, who though a cunning fellow, and had succeeded much in his attempts, but as this time shewed more courtesy to the English, than according to former outrages could be expected from any of those barbarous miscreants, and was willing to make offer of a treaty to Mr. Josselin, chief of the garrison, to whom the said Mugg promised liberty for all that were there to depart with their goods upon the surrender of the place: The said Josselin reports that when he came back from his treating with Mugg, that all the people were fled away out of the garrison, having carried away their goods by water before his return, insomnch that having none but his household servants to stand by him, he was capable of making no resistance, and so surrendered.

When people have once been frighted with reports and sense of danger, they are ready to fly away like a hare before the hunter or his hounds; one of the inhabitants of the place affirmed he saw 250 Indians, which was more man that went to carry the ransom, before turn the stream, and cause them to deal

by an hundred than any body else ever saw near the fort. But when a place is consigned to rnin, every thing they take in hand shall

tend that way.

The loss of Black point was accompanied with another sad accident that happened about the same time at Richmond's island: For young Mr. Fryer, with some others at Piscatagna, to whom it seemed grievous that the Indians should make all that spoil in every place in those plantations, ventured, upon the great importunity of Mr. Gendal, with a ketch, to try what they could save of such things as the Indians had left; but things were so ordered, that before they had loaded their ketch, coming too near the stage head, they presently found themselves in danger of a surprisal; for part of their company being ashore, seized by the Indians, or in danger thereof, whom they were not willing to leave behind; and besides the wind blowing in hard upon them they could not get out of the harbour, but were forced to abide the danger of an assault, the Indians getting many of them into the stage head, annoyed them so fast with their shot that not a man of them was able to look above deck, but he was in danger of being shotdown; amongst the rest Mr. James Fryer venturing too much in view of the enemy, received a wound in his knee, which appeared not dangerous at first, but for want of hetter looking to than could be found amongst that black regiment, into whose hands he soon after fell, it proved mortal unto him within a few days after; he being by a strange accident brought home to his father's house at the great island in Piscataqua. Mr. Fryer being thus wounded the rest of the company defended themselves for a while with much courage and resolution till they were brought to the sad choice of falling into the hands of one of these three bad masters, the fire, the water, or the harbarous heathen, to whom at last they thought it best to yield in hopes of liberty afterwards, at least of lengthening out their lives a little longer for the Indians had manned out a canoe with several hands to cut their cable, and others stood ready within the defence of the stage head, by which means the vessel after the cable was cut, soon drove ashore; and then it was threatened to be presently burnt, if they did not all yield, to which they all at last consented.

The Indians, how barbarous soever in their own nature, yet civilly treated their prisoners, and upon farther discourse sent two of them to Piscataqua, to give them there an opportunity to ransom their friends. The persons sent home to procure a ransom, were to return with such quantity of goods as the Indians had desired, by such a precise time; but they that brought the things for their ransom, coming a day or two before the time, when those that sent them was gone up the river at Black point, and not returned: Some other Indians waiting for such an opportunity, seized the goods, at least that part which they most desired, and through mistake, killing one of the three men that brought them, dismissed the other two, without return of the prisoners

as was expected.

As to what happened afterwards we are yet much in the dark, and for the present can write but by guess: For within a few days after the return of Mr. Gendal, and the other

the 1st of November, Mugg himself came to Piscataqua, bringing Mr. James Fryer, who soon after died of his wound; one of the prisoners along with him complaining that without his knowledge some of the Indians had seized what was sent for the ransom of the rest, promising upon his faith, that he would make good his word for the sending home all the prisoners, and offered also in the name of the other Indians to confirm a new peace with the English for the future. The major general of the Massachusetts colony was then at Piscataqua, but not willing to transact a matter of that nature and moment by his sole authority, ordered the said Mugg (supposed to be the chief leader of the Indians) to be car ried down to Boston to the governor and council there, to conclude the business, with whom he soon after agreed upon a firm peace with the English of Massachusetts, in the name of Madockawando the chief of all the Indians in the eastern parts about Penobscot. engaging also to remain himself as hostage, aboard the vessel (in which he was sent home from Boston, the 21st November following) until the prisoners (which are said to be fifty or sixty) that they have still in their hands be sent home, and the rest of the articles performed; the issue of which we as yet wait to hear in God's good time, this 12th day of December following, 1676, when they there have made an end of the reckoning, it is hoped we may have our rights again.

There are two principal actors amongst the Indians that have all along promoted these designs amongst them, one named Squando, sagamore of Saco, and the aforementioned Madockawando, the chief commander of the Indians eastward about Penobscot, who are said to be by them that know them, a strange kind of moralized savages; grave and serious in their speech and carriage and not without some show of a kind of religion, which no doubt but they have learned from the prince of darkness (by help of some papist in those parts) that can transform himself into an angel of light, under that shape the better to carry on the designs of his kingdom. It is said also, they pretend to have some visions and revelations, by which they have been commanded to worship the great God, and not to work on the Lord's day. We know where that fountain hath its rise, that sendeth forth at the same place sweet and bitter waters; and from whence their hearts are inspired, that join blessing of God with cursing

and killing his servants.

It is reported by some that came lately from those parts, that the Indians there as yet refuse to have any peace with the English, and will not as yet return any of our captive friends till God speak to the aforesaid enthusiasts, that are their leaders, that they should no longer make war with us, and the like.

But not to trouble ourselves farther with those ministers of Satan, or those that are actuated by the angel of the bottomless pit, who possibly since their delusions are but twofold more the children of hell than they were hefore. We know better how to understand the mind of the great Lord of heaven and earth, than to depend on such lying oracles.

That God who hath at present turned their hearts to hate his people, and deal subtly with his servants, we hope in time, will either

In the next place it remains, that some account be given of our forces, under Capt. Hathorne, and of their several expeditions into the eastern parts, since the middle of September last; first up towards Casco, by the sea side, then afterwards through the woods, direcily northward, toward Ossapy and Pigwanchet, in hopes to have found the enemy at

their head quarters. Upon the first report of those devastations and spoils that had been made by fire and sword in those eastern plantations it was judged necessary to send some forces that way to put a stop to the current o those outrages, before the remainder of the southern Iudians could have an opportunity to join with them: To that end about 130 English, with forty Indians, were despatched away into those parts, under the command of Capt. William Hathorne, Capt. Still, and Capt. Hunting, who were to join with such as could be raised in those parts, under Major Waldern and Capt. Frost. After they had surprienemy was supposed to be, or else to march judged the most expedient to try if they could not meet with some parties of the enemy amongst those plantations near the sea side, by that means at least to prevent them from doing more mischief, if they could not find an opportunity to fall upon some of them and destroy them; but their time was not yet come, nor were all the desolations as yet acbring about by their means: For not withstanding there was a sufficient force to have suppressed all the numbers of the enemy, if they had been many more than they were, yet being emboldened and grown subtle by their former successes, they had so dispersed themselves all about the woods in those parts, that when our forces were in one place, they would be in another, and so did much mischief thereabouts, while our soldiers were out on Lord's day, Sept 24th, as he was going they marched to Wells and from Wells to in three days after. Winter harbour, and so from thence to Black er party of the enemy were doing mischief

meet with any of them but two; one of which when they perceived they found a way to

ped away when they had done.

heretofore, or give us an opportunity to de-treachery or carelessness of them that held him. For when our forces were come within a few miles of the hither side of Casco bay, some of our Natick Indians under Blind Will (a Sagamore of Piscataqua, who went in company with 8 of his men, supposed to be good pilots for the places more eastward) met with some of the enemy, and laid hold of a couple of them; justice was done to one of thein; the other, although he was led by two of Blind Will's Indians, they made shift to let go, who escaping, got over a river and gave notice to the Indians who were on the other side, and were heard but a little before threshing in a barn that belonged to Anthony Bracket, whom they had lately surprised. Another disappointment our forces met with about the same time; for when Capt. Hathorne was up at Casco bay with his soldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of skill in them that were his scouts, or rather want of faithfulness in one that should have been his guide, who had got his living by trading with the Indians, therefore seemed unwilling to have the brood sed the Indians that flocked into those parts, of them destroyed, as was known afterwards; (as was related before) which was done upon and by that means a party of the enemy esthe 6th of September, 1676, Capt. Hathorne, caped the hands of our soldiers. Yet it pleas-who was commander in chief, marched the ed God at one time to bring the forlorn of forces by the sea side, towards Caseo: For our forces upon a party of the enemy, who at that time they were upon some demur espying the English presently fled away into whether to march directly toward Ossapy and the woods like so many wild deers; yet one Pigwauchet, where the head quarters of the of them, viz. J. Sampson, who had been of the company that killed Robinson the year directly toward Caseo bay where they heard before, was by the special hand of divine jusparties of the enemy were daily spoiling the tice, suffered to fall by some of our forces; plantations of the English; the last it was he was a very lusty, stout man, and one that was armed with several sorts of weapons, but there is no weapon shall defend them whom death hath a commission to destroy; there is no ransom in that war. The rest of the Indians that were scattered about Casco bay having discovered our forces made their escape; but we hope their time is short, and complished, which God had a purpose to bloody and deceitful enemies of his people, and not suffer them to live out half their days.

But by one such accident or other, our soldiers could not meet with any of them that had done the mischief in those parts. While our forces lay about Casco bay, a small party of the enemy came down upon the borders of the town of Wells, where they lay in ambush near a garrison house at one end of the town, and shot Mr. James Gouge from his horse,

The next day, Sept. 25th, the same party, point they passed by water, and then arrived being not more than seven in number, went at Caseo bay, about the 20th of September, toward York, and surprised Capt. Nidduck yet about that very time were several of the in a most barbarous manner, killing most of in sight of our forces, when they were not of their neighbours hearing the guns, came to able to come at them for want of boats the their rescue; the Indians being on the further happened the 23rd of the same month as was fight with them man to man, using many resaid before, and within two days after anoth- proachful expressions, and making a shot at them, which some of the company not being Nor could our forces in all the expedition not willing to try the valour of the English, that carried it off.

friendly and sincerely with his people as soon after he was taken was let go by the pass over the river upon them, but returned heretofore, or give us an opportunity to de-treachery or carelessness of them that held back toward Wells, where they killed one George Farrow, September 27th, as he was too carelessly venturing to his house without any company. These things happened while our forces were at Caseo, where they tarried seven or eight days; and hearing of these outrages committed in some of those places which they lest behind them, and not being able to meet with any of them in the place where they were, they returned backtoward Wells and York; but the Indians were escaped away into the woods after their companions before they came there. Our soldiers having thus spent much time and pains in a fruitless expedition toward Casco, resolved to venture another march after them up towards Ossapy, supposing they might by that time be drawn homewards towards their winter quarters; or else that they might destroy what they had left behind them, to prevent their harbouring there for the future: But it seemed good to him, who by his sovereign power and infinite wisdom ordereth all events and purposes (wherein his people or others are concerned) to disappoint all endeavours used at that time for the suppressing of the enemy, or putting any stop to their wonted successes; for soon after our forces were returned back from Casco, news was brought of the surprisal of Black point, on the 12th of October, as was mentioned before; which notwithstanding it was judged more advisable to venture and proceed on with the expedition towards Ossapy, (whither it was supposed by this time the greatest number of them were retired) rather than to return back again to recover Black point, where was nothing to be expected but an empty fort, and some deserted houses, which it seems the Indians had forsaken by that time. And besides, that other forces were about the same time ordered to repair thither, sufficient for the repairing and securing the place, with what else was left remaining from the hands of the enemy: And that God will find some way to cut off the likewise several soldiers were ordered to garrison the towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further assault upon them. However, they were so far emboldened by the taking of Black point, and the ketch at Richmond island that a party of them came the very next week after towards Wells, hoping to attain that, and all the towns and places between Casco bay and Piscataqua, as they had done Black point: For a party of them under Mugg their chief leader, brought Mr. Gendal along with them to Wells, where they summoned the first garafter them: For after they had by several home from meeting, and then knocked down steps in ten days time got to Caseo from Ne- his wife, giving her several wounds with their vision at the town's end. To facilitate the wechewannick (about the 9th of September) hatchets about the head, of which she died business, they sent the said Gendal as their agent or messenger to move them to surrender without hazarding an onset; but the people were not so despondent as to yield up the place upon so slight an occasion; which when the enemy discerned, they soon English cut off at Mountjoy's island, and that the poor people belonging thereunto. Some drew off, after they had done some little mischief to the inhabitants; for first they killed Isaac Littlefield not far from the garisland lying two leagues off in the bay; this side of the river, dared them to come over and rison; it is said they would willingly have had him yield himself prisoner, but he refusing, they shot him down, yet they were so civil as to suffer his friends to fetch away at Wells and cape Nicduck, and yet esca-able to bear, did very resolutely adventure his body without offering any further act of through the river after them; but they were inhumanity to it, or hostility towards those

An old man called Cross, was likewise kil-

led by them about the same time; and anoth-yourd second cause in events of this nature only for his friend's sake accepted, which er whose name was Jacob Bigford, belonging to the garrison, was so badly wounded that he died soon after. Thirteen head of neat cattle were also killed by them, out of which (through haste) they only took the tongues leaving the bodies whole to the owners, unless it was the leg of one of them, which was also taken away.

This was all the mischief done by them after the taking of Black point. The inhabitants of Winter harbour, near adjoining thereto, being alarmed with the surprisal of the other place, fled away with their goods for a time until they heard the enemy were moved farther eastward, and then it is said they returned to their place again. In this posture have things remained ever since in those eastern plantations between Piscataqua and Casco bay.

But our forces under the command of Capt. Hathorne and Capt. Still, having at last obtained all things necessary for a winter march into the woods, did upon the first of November following, set out towards Ossapy, where, after four days march of a very difficult way, over many rivers, not easy to pass at that time of the year, they arrived; but found not an Indian either there or in the way as they marched along. The Indians belonging to those parts had not many years before, hired some English traders to build them a fort for their security against the Mohawks, which was built very strong for that purpose, fourbut this time the soldiers intending to disappoint them of their refuge, made fuel thereof, which at that time was very needful for our a deep snow in a very cold season, when they could hardly keep from freezing as they passed along, so early in the winter. None of the enemy being to be found there in the strongest fort, it was not counted worth while for all the company to march any farther; wherefore a small party being sent up eighteen or twenty miles farther northward amongst the woods, where as they passed along they met with many vast lakes, (supposed to be the cause of the sharpness of the cold in that side of the country) making the place scarce habi-table for any besides those savages that used 25th of December following, anno. 1676; to hunt thereabouts for moose in the winter, and beaver in the summer; but at this time aforementioned, who were found at Penobit is supposed they were all gone lower, to-wards the sea side, to share the spoils of the English plantations lately surprised by them, which is all the reward they have met with, who informer years for the sake of a little lucre by traffic with them, have run themselves there into the very jaws of destruction, either had all the time of his son's captivity, together by irregular dealing with them or by their too much confidence in their deceitful friend- daily prayers for his release, and accordingly ship.

The 9th of November, our forces having spent nine days in this service, returned safe to Newechewannick from whence they set forth at first, having run more hazard of their limbs by the sharpness of the frost, than of their lives by any assault from their enemies.

There was a great probability that the design might have had some good effect if Mugg did not much abuse those he fled unto, with proffer of peace; for he told them that there were about an hundred about Ossapy not many not venture unless his friend Thomas Cobbet of the winter, he lived at such a distance from

upon the English in this side of the country, with that which others had endured elsewhere in the end of the former and beginning of the

present year. Things were so ordered by the providence of God, that the vessels before mentioned, arrived safely at Penobscot in the beginning of the month, where they found the said Madockawando, who was ready to confirm and make good the articles of the peace concluded at Boston by his agent in his name; and was willing also to deliver all the prisoners that were then in his power, or under his command, which were but eleven, who were taken in the vessel at Richmond's island, the 12th of October last. The said Mugg likewise being sensible of the obligation he lay dians, where we supposed some more of the English prisoners were, to see whether he could obtain a release, as also to persuade the confirmation of the peace: It appeared to either kill him or keep him in prison; to days, or four at the most, assuring them that certainly conclude that either his life or liberty was taken from him; however, the vessels but after so long a stay, they neither seeing nor hearing for him, were ready to fear the worst, viz. that his countrymen had made him sure, from having more to do with the English, whereupon for fear of being shut up by the sharpness of the winter from returning themselves, they took the opportunity of the next fair wind, of setting sail for Boston (only turning into Pernmaquid, to see if they could hear any further news there) where they arrived with such prisoners as were seot, there was a third, by a more remarkable providence than ordinary, added unto them, Cobbet, paster of the church at Ipswich, a town within Massachusetts jurisdiction, who with his friends, wrestled with God in their

and conclude that God had raised up their bar- proved a fatal adventure to Mr. James Fryer, barous enemics to bring a like chastisement and might have been to the other also has not God otherwise disposed of him, having as is hoped, more serving in the land of the living. Amongst all the prisoners at that time taken, the said Thomas Cobbet seemed to have had the hardest portion; for besides the desperate danger that he escaped before he was taken, first by a bullet shot through his waistcoat, secondly by a drunken Indian; who had a knife at his throat, to cut it, when his hands were bound, when the Indians came to share the prisoners amongst them he fell into the hands of one of the ruggedest fellows, by whom within a few days after his suprisal, he was carried first from Black point to Sheepscot river, in the ketch, which the Indians made to sail in, in the said river, from whence he was forced to travel with his paunder to make his word good, did venture to teroon, four or five miles over, and to Damago up himself to another plantation of the In- riscottee, where he was compelled to row or paddle in a canee, about fifty miles farther to Penobscot, and there taking leave of all his English friends and acquaintance, at least. rest of the Indians thereabouts to join in the for the winter, he was put to paddle a canoe up fifty or sixty miles farther eastward, to an the persons belonging to the vessel that the island called Mount Desert, where his patesaid Mugg went with reluctancy, and fearing roon used to keep his winter station, and to the Indians he was going amongst, would appoint his hunting voyages: and in that desert like condition was the poor young man which end, he ordered the command belonging forced to continue nine weeks in the service to the vessels, to tarry for him about three of a savage miscreant, who sometimes would tyrannize over him, because he could not unteen feet high, with flankers at each corner; if he did not return by that time, they might derstand the language and for want therefore, might occasion him to miss of his game, or the like. Whateversickness he was subject to, by tarried about or near a week beyond the change of diet, or on any other account, he people who had marched many miles through time limited in expectation of his coming; could expect no other allowance than the wigwam will afford: If Joseph be in the prison, so long as God is with him there, he shall be preserved, and in due time remem-

After the end of the nine weeks, the Indian whom he was to serve, had spent all his powder, whereupon on a sudden he took up a resolution to send this young man down to Penobscot to Mr. Casteen to procure more powder to kill moose and deer, which it seems is all their way of living at Mount Desert; the Indian was certainly overruled by Divine Providence in sending his captive down thither amongst which prisoners, besides the two for a few days before, as it seems, after the Indians in that place had been powawing together, he told him that there were two English vessels then come into Pemmaquid, or Mr. Thomas Cobbet, son of that reverend and Penobscot, which indeed proved so; yet was worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Thomas it not minded by him surely when he sent his captive thither for powder, for it proved the means of his escape, which his pateroon might easily have conjectured, if it had not heen hid from him. As soon as he arrived at Penobscot, he met with Mugg who presently he was with the more joy received by his saluted him by the name of Mr. Cobbet, and friends, as an answer and return of their taking him by the hand, told him he had been prayers. The said young man has lived with at his father's house (which was the 1st or 2d Mr. Fryer, merchant, of Portsmouth, for some of November before, as he passed through Ipsyears before, and had been often at sea with wich to Boston) and had promised to send Mr. James Fryer the eldest son of the said him home, as soon as he returned. Madockamerchant, and who had after much experience wando taking notice of what Mugg was speakof his faitfulness, dexterity and courage on all ing that way, although he was willing he such accounts, borne him so much respect, that should be released according to agreement when he was urged by his father to go along (his pateroon being one of this sagamore's with Mr. Gendal as was said hefore, he would subjects, though during the hunting voyage days before. But it becomes us to look be- would go along with him; which service he him) began to demand something for satisfac-

tion, in a way of ransom, not understanding been the troubles we have met with from enthusiastical or rather diabolical miscreant; sired to see before he would absolutely grant in the appointed time thereof. a release; but upon sight of the said coat seemed very well satisfied, and gave him free the English prisoners at Kennebeck, after liberty to return home. Whilst this Mr, the return of Capt. Moore, from Penobscot, of Indians as is herein reported; for he saith, Thomas Cobbet was a prisoner at Mount De-till the 5th of January; when one Francis when they were going out upon some design sert, going along with the Indians to hunt on Card, with another young man, formely an while he was in their hands, he had opportuan extreme cold day, he was so overcome inhabitant of some place about Kenebeck, or nity to count them all and could find but 98 with the sharpness thereof, that all his senses of Arowsick (but then the prisoner with the of them that were men; neither could be diswere suddenly benumbed, so that he fell down Indians) made an escape from them, and got cern that there were any of the western Inupon the snow, not being able to stir hand or over to Casco bay, and then to Black point, dians unless Simon and Andrew, that formfoot, and had without doubt there perished in from thence he was conveyed to Piscataqua erly escaped out of Dover prison: although a little time, but the Indians he was going along soon after, and then to Boston. with, missing him presently, ran about the woods to seek him, and when they found him, was this: He was employed by the Indians their own good, as not to cast away a likely river, than the place where the Indians comyoung man, from whom they expected either monly kept; being trusted alone, to go and much service, or a good ransom, for want of come of himself, because there was no susthey carried him into the next wigwam, so discovered, he found means to plot with an-company, eleven men came up Kennebeck that he soon after revived, and came to him-other young man, who was sent to look for river to my house, and there took me, and my self again, without any farther mischief.

prisoner he was, so long as he had strong li-having their choice of both, they took what quor, for five days together was so drunk they liked best. This being the employment Kennebeck river, and so went down to Dahe was like a mad furious beast, so that none of the young man, he had the better opportu- maril's cove, and there burnt houses and kil-

ed in one of those drunken fits.

went into the woods for fear of being injured was at that time also preserved; all which put

markable, as an answer of prayer.

said to be 50 or 60) they were left with those who first suprised them at Kennebeck and keep them from suffering with the cold with- 60 at a place, with six or eight wigwams begoods at Arowsick. They are so much elated with their late successes, in spoiling so sire: Nor are the English able to come near to be extreme in those parts. How their ting and sewing were employed to make hearts may be inclined in the following year, stockings and garments for their pateroons: or what the English may be enabled to do so it seems the ware-house at Arowsick furtor Taconnet, and there to build two forts, issue of these our troubles. But until they out and make it up. have spent all the plunder that is taken, it is no doubt, but they will seem averse from have nothing of any peace; but rather being heigh- and the Indians take for truth all that he tells ing peace; as others to the westward did, tened with their late and great successes, them; because they have met with no affront. whose hearts were hardened against all prof-fers of that nature, till they were destroyed; were contriving how to get possession of the the fort, doth make his brags, and laughs at possibly some remnants of them that esca- that side of the country, which God forbid the English, and saith, that he hath found the ped in those other parts, are got hither should ever come to pass; but finding so way to burn Boston, and doth make laughter amongst these and do animate them all they easy work of their former exploits, they hope to hostility against us, till they make their purposes, with the like these as miserable as themselves, and so forced facility in all other places where they come. at last to fly from their country. Many have It seems Squando is their chief leader, that the country before them; reckoned to be a

before that his father was a great preachman, these barbarons neighbours round about us, who hath put on a garb of religion, and order as they used to call it; Reply was made him but God we trust will deliver us out of them ed his people to do the like; performing rethat he should have something in lieu of a ran-som, viz. a fine coat, which they had for him who may in the darkest night of affliction say way, yet is supposed to have very familiar on board the vessel; which the sagamore de-light is sown for them, which shall spring up converse with the devil, that appears to him

The manner of his escape, as he reports, tudes of them flocked thither. they were so pitiful to him, or so careful of to thresh corn at a barn a little lower in the a little care and pains to preserve his life; picion of any coming to carry him away, or and there killed Richard Hammond, Samuel wherefore taking him upon their shoulders, seeming possibility to get away without being Smith, and Joshua Grant, there parting their horses, whose flesh it seems is by those wild family. Therefore the rest of their company At another time, the savage villain, whose savages preferred before the best beef, so that went to Arowsick and there took the garri durst come near him, his squaw he almost kil- nity when he was in the woods to make a led cattle; then coming back parted their contrivance to get away. Thus being resol- company; one party went to Jewel's island, The said Thomas to get out of his sight ved upon their design, they provided necesent into the woods for fear of being injured saries accordingly, and sent such a message ing in number 81. Those that went to Sagaby him; where making a fire, he kept himself home to their masters, as might occasion them dahock took a shallop; from thence came to alive; the squaws being by God's special pro- not to expect them very soon that night. Thus Kennebeck river, and then went to killing and vidence so inclined to pity, that they came to resolved, they marched away as soon as they destroying of cattle and houses; for they had him daily with victuals, by which means he perceived the coast was clear; and having intelligence of a ketch and a shallop at Damaprovided a canoe accordingly fit for the de-ril's cove, and going there they took the shaltogether, makes his deliverance the more re-sign, by the help of which they got over the lop, and killed two men, being in the number water by which they were to pass, which was about 80. The next day made up their forces As for the rest of the prisoners (which are not frozen; and in the night time turned into went about to Black point being about 120 a swamp, where they might make a fire to fighting men, and are now in two forts about Sheepscot river: The women were employ- out being discerned; so that within two or tween the two forts. ed it seems to sew, and make garments for three days they recovered the fort and garrithem; they having plundered many Engish son at Black point, from whence they were bay, and in Kennebeck river; the one place soon conveyed to Boston.

many English habitations, that they seemed matters when he came to Boston, viz. that the army do not go with speed, they will be gone not very ready to hearken to terms of peace, prisoners which he left behind were well, and forty miles farther up in the country. At the as their sagamore Madockawando doth de-not much ill used, only put to do the servile first taking of me they carried me up to Tawork about the Indians. Woe must it needs connet, and the men coming down, they them with any of their forces this winter sea- be with Christians, when put not only to so- brought me and two more men down for fear son, in regard both of the remoteness of the journ, but to serve in those tents of Kedar. of our killing their women and children; for place, and sharpness of the cold, which used Such of the wemen as were skilled in knit-they kept their women and children at Taagainst them, is known unto God only, on nished them with cloth, stuff and linen, and for there is their fishing places and planting whom we desire to wait for a confortable the inhabitants served for artificers to cut it ground. Squando doth inform them that God

He reported also that the Indians spake God hath left our nation to them to destroy,

as an angel of light in some shape or other it was before apprehended there were multi-

Francis Card's declaration of their be ginning, August, 14th.,

The Indians come to Richard Hammond's

Now the best place to land men is in Casco being eight, the other about fourteen miles This Francis Card made his relation of from the fort where I was kept; and if the doth speak to him, and doth tell him that

been out this summer, both of Kenneheck and Damarascoggin, therefore a great many of these Indians at Kennebeck do intend to go to Canada in the spring to them, and they do give gifts both of captives, and of goods to the eastern Indians, to have them go with them: but as yet I do not know what they will do, for Madockawando and Squando are of several judgments, and so have parted and Madockawando doth pretend love to the English captives as civilly as we can expect by such a people. That this is a truth, is declared by me Francis Card, the 22nd of Jan-

By the report which he brings it does not appear so difficult a matter to make an attempt to recover the place and destroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended: Insomuch as that design that was under dehate before the governor and council a little before and was let fall for the present, as a matter not feasible, hath since been set on foot with a fresh resolution: And another thing also occurred about the same time which put new life into the said design, viz. an apprehension that there were several of the Naragansetts scattered about in these woods near Piscataqua, who it was feared might join with those of Kennebeck in the spring, and so come down upon the English plantations, and spoil them all that were thereabouts. For soon after Francis Card came to Boston, some of Major Waldern's Indians at Quechecho, as they were hunting in the woods, chanced to meet with three strange Indians, two of which had guns, but those of Quechecho were without. The other Indians began to have a talk with them, to see if they could make way for their acceptance with the English; Those Indians that this motion was made unto, in a most perfidious manner gave them encouragement in the business, and appointed a place where to meet them the next day, saying they could not have them go home with them to their wigwams lest their women and children would be frighted with the sight of their guns; all which spoken upon a treacherous patience, yet useth not to fail his people, that as soon as they come within the harbour, urging account, by that means to betray them, for they had neither women nor children at their wigwams; but not having guns themselves, as the others had, they durst not then seize upon them. The next day therefore, according to appointment, their guests expecting a treaty and a friendly compliance (yet coming apart as was ordered the day before to be the more easily surprised) arrived at the place appointed and there presently the first, being thus treacherously brought into the snare, was despatched out of hand. The like was also done to the second. The third was at a distance, but he either discerned or suspected what became of his fellows, and therefore made the more haste to escape, but his deceitful friends were too quick for him, who shot him down before he could get out of their reach; so that they took him alive, as is said; but he could not live much longer by reason of his wounds. The Quechecho Indians cut off the scalps of their poor countrymen (which is their usual manner when it is too far to carry their heads) which being brought to Major Waldern, they were presently discerned to be Narragansetts by the cut of their hair. This instance is a sufficient evidence hostile intents against the English; but they nebeck to subdue the Indians in those parts,

tional person, what little trust there is to be tell on their return. put in their words, promises or engagements, though ever so solemnly made, farther than them, as if it were a part of their essence.

Whatever hopes may be of their converlittle appearance of any truth in their hearts at present, where so much of the contrary is the Indians have spent all their ammunition so ordinarily breathed out of their mouths.

These manners of the Gentiles in former times, while they remained children of disobedience, until they were renewed after another image: Nor are these incapable subjects for divine grace to work upon; yet are there some natural vices proper to every nation in the world, as Paul speaks of the Grecians, from the testimony of one of their own as they could; and then leaving their vessel

But to return. These things so concurring and several gentlemen from about Piscataqua repairing to Boston, so represented the state of things eastward before the governor and council, that it is apprehended not only necessary, but feasible also to suppress the aforesaid these mariners launched into the deep a small Indians in those parts: Whereupon it was storm with a contrary wind began to rise; of forthwith concluded that an expedition should which the English skipper found ways in his be made against them; to which end 250 soldiers, whereof about 60 were of Natick Indians, who had given good proof of their value and faithfulness to the English; all which the eastward of Sheepscot, where eight of week in February, by water under the con-duct of Major Waldern, as commander in got so well rio of them he contrived how to chief; a person well approved for his activity, get clear of the others also; therefore he peras well as fidelity and courage in matters of suaded them that the vessel would not ride this nature. They had to encounter with safely in that place, so that he prevailed with rough and contrary winds, and much cold them to let him go to another harbour called weather the first week after their setting out; Damaril's cove, two or three leagues more but having so much experience of the favour eastward. In the way as he sailed he so orand goodness of Almighty God, who is always dered his steering that sometimes the waves wont to be present with his servants in like put their trust in him, being appointed for Lim to go along with them; but he pretended answer. We that have sent forth our friends the vessel but with intent as soon as he should on the public service, being thus engaged to see trem ashore, to hoist sail for some English follow them with prayers, at present in silence harbour, having no body on board with him, wait upon the Lord of Hosts to give a blessing but a small English child about three years forth, have gone out with the like encourage- they began their voyage, they were the forof our people, and for the cause of our God. tained his purpose (for he resolved on this

dern's in the beginning of winter, out of dis- ing rather to cast himself upon the Providence content, because the husband of one of them, of God on the waters, than to trust himself and some of the relations of the other were any longer with the perfidious savages on the sent away, came back with more wit than dry land; he came safe to the isle of Shoales they carried away with them, though with before the evening of the next day, the 19th less flesh upon their backs; having wandered of February. up towards Pigwauchet, till they were almost starved there. They say some of the Indians said made his escape in the vessel, there came were seen by them, pretending they were go- an express from Major Waldern (the coming to the head of Connecticut river, with mander in chief over our forces sent to Ken-

great number in the spring. There are a of the subtlety, guile and falsehood, natural going away in the manner before described, great many Indians at Canada that have not to all these Indians, and may satisfy any rallittle heed is to be given to the stories they

The 19th of February following, John Abbot, the master of Mr. Fryer's ketch taken they that make them, for advantage in the October 12th at Black point, came into the keeping and performing. Subtlety, malice isle of Shoales, having made a desperate adand revenge, seems to be as inseparable from venture to escape. He gave a more probable

account of things in those parts. He saith they first carried to Seeepscot river, sion to christianity in after time, there is but where the vessel in which they were taken was moored all the winter; in which time and most of their provision, thought it high time to be looking out for more; to which end they caused the said Abbot to fit up the vessel (being a pinnace of about 30 tons) as well as he could, with such assistance as they could afford him; and ten of them shipped themselves in the same, intending for Penobscot; from thence to sail up that river as far to proceed on with their canoes as high up the river as the stream would permit, and so to pass on to Canada, to buy powder of the French there; it being at this time thirty two shillings a pound amongst the Indians at Kennebeck. But as Providence ordered it, after steering to make the danger seem more than really it was, insomuch that they resolved to put in at cape Bonawaggon, three leagues to were immediately despatched away the first them went on shore, leaving two Indians on were ready to overtake the vessel, which put cases, though he hath often for a time deferred, his two Indians into a fright, so that they for the trial of their faith and exercise of their made all the haste they could to get ashore, that end, to which we expect a comfortable a recessary excuse to stay behind to look after to the design; hoping our friends in this ne- old. It seems the Indians had a child or two cessary, though difficult service, thus called of their own dead in the vessel, who died after ment and resolution that sometimes Joab did. warder to go on shore with them for burial. Let us be of good courage, and play the men The said Abbot now perceiving he had ob-And let the Lord do that which seemeth him project before) first greasing the mast with a piece of fat pork left by the Indians, as high Upon the 11th of February, two Indian he could reach, that he with his own hands squaws that had run away from Major Wal-might the more easily hoist the sail, so choos-

been detained in their hands since August last) which giveth this account of their poceed-

Feb. 17th. This morning the wind northeast, soon after south and south-west, we set sail with our vessels from Black point, for Portland, but on the east side of eape Elizabeth, we espied John Paine (who was sent out a scout) who brought word the way was clear of ice and Indians; whereupon we steered for Mary point at the head of Casco bay, and got there this night, but too late to get to the fort before morning.

Feb. 18th. We sent this morning our scouts out hy land, who returning about 8 o'elock, brought word they saw the tracks of three Indians, and found a birch canoe at Muckquit, about four miles off, by which we feared we were discovered; the companies about four o' clock were drawn forth, and just beginning their march when we espied five of the enemy about half a mile off; they landed over against us on an island, and hollaed to us, it was resolved to sail for Kennebeck the first whereby we perceived they desired a treaty; hoping to gain the captives, we sent John Paine to them, they promised him to bring the captives by morning and desired peace. After this John Paine was sent again, and stayed among the Indians in the room of Simon, who came to the major. He was questioned, and answered as follows.

Quest. How came you to know we were

Ans. We continually kept out our scouts, and yesterday our Indians left a canoe at Muckquit, which this day we missed, and perceived the English had taken it, and our men that left the canoe espied you a great way off at Portland.

Quest. Why did you break your covenant this night. with me?

Ans. Blind Will stirred us up to war here, and said he would kill you at Quechecho. Simon having said this, asked the major what his business was here, to whom it was answered, we came to fetch off the captives and make war as we see good. Simon also told us that the captives were all well, that we should have them by morning, that Squando was there, and would give the captives to Major Waldern; that they intended peace, Mugg told them that the English would be the vessels. here shortly.

The major upon this dismissed Simon, and sent for Squando, to which Squando answered he would meet him half way if he would the lower end of Arowsick island and the vescome alone in a birch canoe. To this the major answered, he would not venture himself in one of their leaky canoes, and that if he had no more to say, the treaty was ended: To this Squando answered, he would be with nient place for their purpose, as well for the us again at ten o'clock, and bring the captives.

Feb. 9th. Wind north-east, the weather thick: About noon we discovered a party of Indians in fourteen canoes about three miles above us in the bay; they landed on a point on the Lord's day, February 25th. of land, and burnt one English house and shouted to some of our men that were scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on men in two vessels, with which he set sail the return of our scouts we marched against immediately for Penobscot, leaving the rest them as secretly as we could; upon sight of us they fled; but Capt. Frost came upon them with his whole body before they were

them without any damage, yet some of their them. John Paine and Walter Gendal were bullets hit some of our men. For the captain's sake immediately after this we hung out a flag of truce and the enemy did the like. John the English captives, upon which they bent Paine was sent to them to demand the reason why they fired the houses, and broke their anchored at four o'clock the same day; soon promise.

Simon methim half way, and answered, the house was fired accidentally without order fom Squando; that they had sent for the captives who were a great way off, and the foul weather hindered their coming: He questioned John Paine also why we fought them while

we were in a treaty.

Paine answered, they broke it themselves in not performing their promises, challenging our soldiers to fight; the latter Simon denied, and answered the other as before: Simon told him they had two men wounded, and expected satisfaction, but also promised the captives the next day and so left us.

Feb. 20th. The wind north-east, and snow, fair wind, whither we had immediately gone upon our knowledge that we were discoverhindered us hitherto.

Feb. 21. This morning the wind north-west, we set sail for Kennebeck, and arrived at the harbour's mouth at four o'clock. About sun set we set sail up the river, and got to the

lower end of Arowsick.
Feb. 22d. We set sail this morning but could not get to the head of the river for ice, whereupon we landed our soldiers at two o'clock about twelve miles off Aboundessit fort, and immediately began our march; at 8 o'clock at night came to the fort; we found no Indians, there we took up our quarters

Feb. 23d. We sent out scouts to discover the march of the enemy, but found so many tracks every way, that we knew not what way to follow them. At a council of war it was resolved that Major Waldern should sail for Penobscot, with two ketches, and part of the soldiers to seek after the captives, and fight the enemy if he had opportunity; the rest to build a garrison. In the absence of our forces, the vessels espied several fires helow the river, and one English house was and had sent to Boston before now, but that burnt; about sunset the soldiers returned to

Feb. 24th. This morning the major with two boats and a shallop, went to spy out a place to settle a garrison, and found one against sels are brought to it.

Feb. 25th. We rested here this sabbath. John Baker's house opposite the lower end of Arowsiek being judged the most conveconveniency of water for the soldiers, as for a cove wherein ships might ride, within command thereof, the vessels therefore were immediately anchored there, where they rested

Next day according to the advice of the commanders, Major Waldern embarked 60 to be employed in making preparation for settling a garrison in the said place.

In their way off from Gyobseut point they

and deliver the English captives that have judged we killed and wounded several of their caps as if they desired to speak with presently sent; they gave them intelligence that many Indians were at Pemmaguid with their course thither; when arriving, they after two Indians halloed to them from Mr. Gardner's fort. John Paine was sent ashore to enquire who they were, and what was hecome of the captives. Sundry sorts of Indians were found about the place with several sagamores, the chief of whom was Mattahando, who told them he was glad to see Englishmen there and that he desired peace, and promised to deliver such eaptives as were at Penobscot, the next morning; adding also, that he desired to speak with Capt. Davis. After John Paine returned to the major, he was sent back with the said Davis and stayed ashore till three sagamores went on board, and signified as much to Major Waldern, as they had before to John Paine. While they were in discourse, an English captive was espied in a canoe with his pateroon, with whom they desired to speak, but it was not granted at ed by the enemy, but that the wind and weather that time he being carried farther up the river out of sight.

> Soon after the major went on shore with six men, yet carrying no arms with them. He found their words smoother than oil, yet were there drawn swords in their hearts, of which some of their actions gave no small ground of suspicion; for they deferred all till the next morning; nor were they willing to let the man that was espied before in the canoe come on board to see his friends without leaving an hostage in his room, of which the major was very glad, that he might have opportunity of a little discourse with one whom they might trust. When they returned from the shore the sign was promised to be given for the appearance of the Indians by the firing of three guns.

> The next morning, Febuary 27th, the major with the same number as before, went to treat with them, they, with John Paine, first hollaing to them: Upon their coming on shore their persons were searched on both sides, and all arms laid aside. The whole forenoon was spent in a treaty, whereat they seemed much to rejoice in expectation of a peace with the English; yet when Major Waldern desired a present delivery of captives, with assistance of men and capoes to fight the Monoseoggan Indians, enemies to them both, it was denied, though they could not have had a better testimony of their fidelity.

> They alleged that the captives were given them by the Kennebeck Indians, and they must have something for keeping them for a winter, and therefore were not willing to let them go without a ransom; and as for their eanoes, they said they had them in present service, being then bound for Penobscot. The price demanded, twelve skins a person, was yielded to; upon which they delivered William Chadburn, John Wannick, and John Warwood, which were all that they would own, or could be proved that they had.

The part of pay which was to be in liquor, was persently laid down, the rest was promised to be sent in the afternoon. The commanders debated what was further to be done: one or two of the old sagamores (who were half out of gun shot. In this skirmish we espied two Iodians in a canoe, that waved believed) seemed sincere about the peace, professed that none of them had any hand in house just at hand, wherewith he armed the bushels of good wheat, which they brought dispatched the business about the captives.

was in their minds, soon after, upon the reinto execution. Whereupon Major Waldern about 25 Indians present at this encounter. took up the lance and came towards them, charging them with falsehood and treachery, by our men upon the enemy, if they had stroy them as soon as they had delivered the but the Indians having prepared all things goods. The Indians discovered their guilt ready for flight, as well as for fight, the more Captain Lake, preserved entire and whole, towards him, thinking to get the weapon out tives was sister to Madockawando, who was the long winter, so as it was found by the one of his hands; but he bid them stand off entertained very courteously by the commanthreatening to kill every one that offered to der in chief, and would have been carried discerned to be his, by such as had known touch him; and immediately waved his cap forthwith to her brother in hopes by her him before. over his head (which was the sign agreed means to have gained the better terms for our upon for all the soldiers to come on shore in remaining English captives, had it not been case of need) upon which token the soldiers all hasted away. In the meantime the En- upon a hunting design, and not to return in glish that went on shore to wait upon the two months. major, were forced to hestir themselves, both to secure the goods from being carried away, and to defend Major Waldern. Some of the squaws, with others of the enemy ran away; to death the same day or next; so that justice one of them catched up a bundle of guns that is by degrees pursuing those perfidious vil-

been in arms at Connecticut last June at the sumptive looks, to have received the sentence Turner, when he was slain about Green- place or state with the rest. river, (and he helped to kill Thomas Bracket at Casco in August last) and with the help of about farther, found three guns in a cow-plunder, were they found between 30 and 40 returned in safety.

the war, but only some of their young men, other three men that were with him. By away with them several other things they whom they could not rule; but several of this time some of the soldiers were got ashore, the company affirming they saw some of the and, instantly, according to their major's said Indians at Casco engaged in hostility command, pursued the enemy towards their against the English, it was resolved not to canoes; in the chase several of the enemy enter into any league of peace with them, but were slain whose bodies were found at their rather fight or suprize them after they had return to the number of seven, amongst whom was Mattahando, the sagamore, with This being determined, the major with five an old Powaw, to whom the devil had revealof his men went on shore, with part of the ed, as sometimes he did to Saul, that on the ransom, the better to beget a confidence in same day he should be with him; for he had two of the enemy chanced to come upon the them, and then to return on heard again, and a little before told the Indians that within fit his men for further service; but if he had two days the English would come and kill reward, the other received his payment in not wisely provided against all exigencies be-them all, which was at the very same time part, which however is supposed to amount forehand, he might have been prevented verified upon himself. The body of our men to the whole, the canoe wherein he was esfrom going on board any more, for stepping overtook them before they all recovered their caping, being found the next day all bloody, aside a rod or two from the place for better canoes so that without doubt, divers others circumspection, he espied the point of a lance of them were slain likewise, for they sunk from under a board, hid there, as were other a canoe wherein were five drowned before arms near by, for a treacherous design that their eyes, and many others were not able to message to the Sagamores treat for the rest ceiving the rest of the pay, to have been put they brought away with them. There were

for hiding weapons just by, where with to de-known the most direct way to their canoes; by their countenances, some of them making casily made their escape. One of the cap- and free from putrefaction by the coldness of certainly known that he was gone from home

The English took much plunder from the Indians, about a thousand weight of dry beef, with other things. Megunnaway was shot were hid near by, and then ran off with them. lains, and they, one after another brought un-Captain Frost seized an Indian called der the wheel of destruction. Simon, the Megunnaway, a notorious rogue, (that had arch-traitor, seems as it is said, by his con-

Feb. 28, they set sail for Sheepscot, but the wind failing, they put in at Kennebeck,

lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away, such as one or two great guns, from Sagadahock, and boards from Arowsick, where they found an hundred thousand foot, of which they brought home enough for the lading of their vessels, leaving the rest to be transported in a more convenient season.

While our soldiers were upon Arowsick, place, and one of them instantly received his

and split asunder.

March 1st, one of the Indian squaws, a captive, was sent to Taconnet fort, with a paddle; four they took prisoners, whom of the captives. Five days were given her to return, which were not expired, when Major Waldern with most of the soldiers were Much more damage might have been done called to return home towards Boston, where they arrived on the 16th of March, 1676-7, having first put in at Portsmouth; bringing along with them the bones, or rather body of that was near him when he was slain, easily

It is supposed by those that returned, that the enemy are by this encounter of the English so scattered and broken that they will not be able to rally again suddenly, or make any attempt hereafter, if the present advantage be seriously pursued. Thus have our enemies, many of them fallen into the pit themselves which they have been digging for others.

This day also letters were received from Major Pynchon of Springfield, but without mention of any appearance of the enemy in that quarter: whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have stumbled and fallen down backward, so that they shall never rise falls, and saw the brave and resolute Capt. of death, which may bring him into the same any more to make farther disturbance. That which crowned the present service was the performing it without loss of blood; all safely returning. Let them accordingly remember Lieut. Nutter, according to the major's order, from whence Captain Fisk with 40 men, to pay a suitable tribute of thankfulness to carried him on board, while himself searching were sent to the same place to seek after Him whose banner they went forth under and

ADVERTISEMENT.

It will be recollected, that we announced at the commencement of our labours, in collecting the historical facts in rela tion to our country, that one great object would be, to give our readers as many entire works as we possibly could, in order that the records should appear in their true and ancient form. To this rule we have adhered, keeping our own remarks distinct from the reprints. To those works we have already given, we shall now add "The History of King Philip's War" by Colonel Benjamin Church, which was printed many years ago, and has gone through many editions since its first appearance. This work treats of a memorable era in American history, and was published at a time, when there were many still living, who were eye witnesses, to most of its details; and who would have detected any errors there might have been in this account of these wars by Colonel Church. It is unquestionably a veritable history, and one that will remain a standard work, in this age of explanation, of colouring and embellishment.

There is no other work that continues Indian history down to the present day, that appears in a proper form for the Li-BRARY; and whatever may be added to this narrative, on this subject, the editor will be responsible for himself.

THE

ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

WHICH BEGAN IN THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1675.

AS ALSO OF EXPEDITIONS

MORE LATELY MADE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF NEW ENGLAND:

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE TOWARDS

COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH:

BY THOMAS CHURCH, ESQ. HIS SON,

THE SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON: PRINTED, 1716. NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND: REPRINTED AND SOLD BY SOLOMON SOUTHWICK, IN QUEEN STREET, 1772.

TO THE READER.

THE subject of this following narrative of tling a new plantation where nothing was received another heart, inclining me to put fering itself to your friendly perusal, relates brought to; no preparation of dwelling-house, forth my strength in military service: And to the former and later wars of New England, or out-houses, or fencing made. Horses and through the grace of God I was spirited for which I myself was not a little concerned in: cattle were to be provided, ground to be that work, and direction in it was renewed to For in the year 1675, that unhappy and bloody cleared and broken up; and the utmost cau- me day by day. And although many of the Indian war broke out in Plymouth colony, tien to be used, to keep myself free from of-actions that I was concerned in were very where I was then building, and beginning a fending my Indian neighbours all round difficult and dangerous, yet myself, and those

Sogkonate, and since by the English Little-Compton. I was the first Englishman that built upon that neck, which was full of In-

plantation at a place called by the Indians about me. While I was thus busily em dians. My head and hands were full about set- in their defence: And with my commission I

had our lives, for the most part, wonderfully time in great esteem among them. preserved, by the over-ruling hand of the Almighty, from first to last; which doth aloud Church was diligently settling his new farm, bespeak our praises: And to declare his wonderful works is our indispensable duty. I was ever very sensible of my own littleness, and unfitness to be employed in such great services, but calling to my mind that God is strong, I endeavoured to put all my confidence in him, and by his almighty power was carried through every difficult action: And my desire is that his name may have the

It was ever my intent, having laid myself under a solemn promise, that the many and repeated favours of God to myself, and those with me in the service, might be published for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my dismission from service in the militia, and to put off my armour, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty God, to us children of men, should appear to the world; and having my minutes by me, my son has taken the care and pains to collect from them the ensuing narrative of many passages relating to the former and latter wars; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing amiss as to the truth of it; and with as little reflection upon any particular person as might be, either alive or dead.

And seeing every particle of historical truth is precious; I hope the reader will pass a favourable censure upon an old soldier, telling of the many rencounters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleasure to remember what a great number of families, in this and the neighbouring provinces in New England, did, during the war, enjoy a great measure of liberty and peace by the hazardous stations and marches of those engaged in military exercises, who were a wall unto them on this side and on that side.

I desire prayers, that I may be enabled well to accomplish my spiritual warfare, and that I may be more than conqueror through Jesus Christ loving of me.

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

THE ENTERTAINING HISTORY OF KING PHILIP'S WAR, WHICH BEGAN IN THE YEAR 1675. WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF BENJAMIN CHURCH, ESQ.

In the year 1674 Mr. Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, being providentially at Plymouth, in the time of the court, fell into acquaintance with Capt. John Almy, of Rhode Island. Capt. Almy, with great importunity, invited him to ride with him, and view that part of Plymouth colony, that lay next to Rhode Island, known then by their Indian names of Pocasset and Sogkonate. Among other arguments to persuade him, he told him the soil was very rich, and the situation pleasant; and persuades him by all means to purchase of the company some of the court grant rights. He accepted of the invitation, views the country, their faces painted, and their hair trimmed up and was pleased with it; made a purchase, settled a farm, found the gentlemen of the island shot bags at their backs; which among that very civil and obliging. And being himself a nation is the posture and figure of preparedgained a good acquaintance with the natives; port of the English preparations for war, steady in her dependance on the English, and

The next spring advancing, while Mr. stocking, leasing and disposing of his affairs, and had a fine prospect of doing no small things; and hoping that his good success would be inviting unto other good men to become his neighbours: Behold! the rumour of war between the English and the natives gave check to his projects. People began to be very jealous of the Indians, and indeed they had no small reason to suspect that they had formed a design of war upon the English. Mr. Church had it daily suggested to him that the Indians were plotting a bloody design. That Philip, the great Mount Hope sachem, was leader therein; and so it proved, he was sending his messengers to all the neighbouring sachems to engage them into a confederacy with him in the war.

Among the rest he sent six men to Awashonks, squaw sachem of the Sogkonate Indians, to engage her in his interest: Awashonks so far listened unto them, as to call her subjects together, to make a great dance, which is the custom of that nation when they advise about momentous affairs. But what does Awashonks do, but sends away two of her men that well understood the English language, (Sassamon and George by name) to invite Mr. Church to the dance. Mr. Church upon the invitation, immediately takes with him Charles Hazelton, his tenant's son, who well understood the Indian language, and rode down to the place appointed; where they found hundreds of Indians gathered together from all parts of her dominion. Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, was lesding the dance; but she was no sooner sensible of Mr. Church's arrival, but she broke off, sat down, calls her nobles round her, orders Mr. Church to be invited into her presence; compliments being passed, and each one taking seats, she told him, King Philip had sent six men of his, with two of her people, that had been over at Mount Hope, to draw her into a confederacy with him, in a war with the English, desiring him to give her his advice in the case, and to tell her the truth, whether the Umpane men (as Philip had told her) were gathering a great army to invade Philip's country? He assured her he would tell the truth, and give her his best advice: then he told her it was but a few days since he came from Plymouth, and the English were then making no preparations for war; that he was in company with the prin cipal gentlemen of the government, who had no discourse at all about war; and he believed no thoughts about it. He asked her, whether she thought he would have brought up his goods to settle in that place, if he apprehended an entering into war with so near a neighbour? She seemed to be somewhat convinced by his talk, and said she believed he spoke the truth.

Then she called for the Mount Hope men, who made a formidable appearance, with in comb fashion, with their powder horns and person of uncommon activity and industry, he ness for war. She told Mr. Church these soon erected two buildings upon his farm, and were the persons that had brought her the re-them tell their mistress, if she continued

who went with me voluntarily in the service, got much into their favour, and was in a little and then told them what Mr. Church had said in answer to it.

Upon this began a warm talk among the Indians, but it was soon quashed, and Awashonks proceeded to tell Mr. Church, that Philip's message to her was that unless she would forthwith enter into a confederacy with him, in a war against the English, he would send his men over privately, to kill the English cattle, and burn their houses on that side the river, which would provoke the English to fall upon her, whom they would without doubt suppose the author of the mischief. Mr. Church told her he was sorry to sce so threatening an aspect of affairs; and stepping to the Mount Hopes, he felt of their bags, and finding them filled with bullets, asked them what those were for? They scoffingly replied, to shoot pigeons with.

Then Mr. Church turned to Awashonks, and told her if Philip was resolved to make war, her best way would be to knock those six Mount Hopes on the head, and shelter herself under the protection of the English: Upon which the Mount Hopes were for the present dumb. But those two of Awashonk's men, who had been at Mount Hope, expressed themselves in a furious manner against his advice. And Little-eyes, one of the queen's council, joined with them, and urged Mr. Church to go aside with him among the bushes, that he might have some private discourse with him which other Indians immediately forbid, being sensible of his ill design: But the Indians began to side and grow very warm. Mr. Church, with undaunted courage, told the Mount Hopes they were bloody wretches, and thirsted after the blood of their English neighbours, who had never injured them, but had always abounded in their kindness to them. That for his own part, though he desired nothing more than peace, yet, if nothing but war would satisfy them, he believed he should prove a sharp thorn in their sides; Bid the company observe those men that were of such bloody dispositions, whether Providence would suffer them to live to see the event of the war. which others, more peaceably disposed. might do.

Then he told Awashonks he thought it might be most adviseable for her to send to the governor of Plymouth, and shelter herself and people under his protection. She liked his advice, and desired him to go on her behalf to the Plymouth government, which he consented to, and at parting advised her, whatever she did, not to desert the English interest, to join with her neighbours in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. [He moved none of his goods from his house, that there might not be the least um-brage from such an action.] She thanked him for his advice, and sent two of her men to guard him to his house; which when they came there, urged him to take care to secure his goods, which he refused for the reasons before mentioned: But desired the Indians, that if what they feared should happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they should dispose of them; which they faithfully observed.

He took his leave of his guard and bid

kept within her own limits of Sogkonate, he at some distance from the main body. Their sey toward the enemy; but hefore he got would see her again quickly; and then has orders were to keep so far before as not to over the causey he saw the enemy run to the tened away to Pocasset,* where he met with be in sight of the army. And so they did, right into the neck. He brought back the Peter Nunnuit, the husband of the queen of for by the way they killed a deer, flayed, horse, and called earnestly and repeatedly to Pocasset, who was just then come over in a roasted, and eat the most of him, before the the army to come over and fight the enemy; canoe from Mount Hope. Peter told him army eame up with them; but the Plymouth and while he stood calling and persuading, that there would certainly be war; for Philip forces soon arrived at Swanzey, and were the skulking enemy returned to their old had held a dance of several weeks continu- chiefly posted at Major Brown's and Mr. stand, and all discharged their guns at him at ance, and had entertained the young men Mile's garrisons; and were there soon joined one clap, though every shot missed him; yet from all parts of the country. And added, with those that came from Massachusetts, one of the army, on the other side of the river, that Philip expected to be sent for to Ply- who had entered into a confederacy with received one of the balls in his foot. Mr. mouth, to be examined about Sassamon's their Plymouth brethren, against the perfidi- Church now began (no succour coming to death, who was murdered at Assawomset ous heathers. ponds;† knowing himself guilty of contriving he saw Mr. James Brown, of Swanzey, and not long content themselves with that game; Mr. Samuel Gorton, who was an interpreter, they thirsted for English blood, and they and two other men, who brought a letter from the governor of Plymouth to Philip. He observed to him further, that the young men were very eager to begin the war, and bodies they exercised more than brutish barwould fain have killed Mr. Brown, but Philip prevented it; telling them that his father gling them, and exposing them in the most had charged him to show kindness to Mr. inhuman manner; which gashed and ghostly Brown. In short, Philip was forced to promise them that, on the next Lord's day, when the English were gone to meeting they should rifle their houses and from that time forward in the bushes, shot at all passengers, and kilkill their cattle.

Peter desired Mr. Church to go and see his wife, who was but up the hill? He went and found but few of her people with her. She said they were all gone, against her will, to the dances; and she much feared there would be a war. Mr. Church advised her to go to the island and secure herself, and those that were with her; and send to the governor of Plymouth, who she knew was her friend; and so left her, resolving to hasten to Plymouth, and wait on the governor: And he was so expeditious that he was with the governor early next morning, though he waited on some of the magistrates by the way, who were of the council of war, and also met him at the governor's. He gave them an account of his observations and discoveries, which confirmed their former intelligences, and hastened their preparation for Belcher received a shot in his knee, and his defence.

Philip, according to his promise to his people, permitted them to march out of the neek on the next Lord's day when they plundered the people, at least none were killed. How-

captains of the towns to march the greatest worth, of Scituate. The governor desired to use his interest in their behalf, with the gentlemen of Rhode Island. He complied with it, and they marched the next day .-Major Bradford desired Mr. Church, with a commanded party, consisting of English and

that murder. The same Peter told him that with plundering, and destroying eattle, did Indians shall thus dare such an army! soon broached it; killing two men in the way not far from Mr. Mile's garrison; and soon af-ter, eight more at Mattapoiset:* Upon whose barities; beheading, dismembering and mangling them, and exposing them in the most objects struck a damp on all beholders.

The enemy, flushed with these exploits, grew yet holder, and skulking every where led many that ventured abroad. They came so near as to shoot down two sentinels at head of Mattapoiset neck, and set upon poles, Mr. Mile's garrison, under the very noses of most of our forces. These provocations drew out the resentment of some of Captain Prentice's troops, who desired they might have liberty to go out and seek the enemy in their own quarter, quarter-masters Gill and Belcher commanded the parties drawn out, who earnestly desired Mr. Church's company: They provided him a horse and furniture (his own being out of the way;) he which they soon found to be true. The enereadily complied with their desires and was

soon mounted. This party was no sooner over Mile's bridge, but were fired upon by an ambuscade It was but to strengthen themselves, and to of about a dozen Indians, as they were after- gain a more advantageous post. However, wards discovered to be. When they drew some, and not a few pleased themselves with off, the pilot was mortally wounded, Mr. the fancy of a mighty conquest. horse was killed under him, Mr. Gill was past, to build a fort there, to maintain the struck with a musket ball on the side of his first ground they had gained, by the Indians belly; but being clad with a buff coat, and leaving it to them; and to speak the truth, some thickness of paper under it, it never it must be said, that as they gained not that the nearest houses that the inhabitants had broke his skin. The troopers were surprised field by their sword, nor their bow; so it was deserted: But as yet offered no violence to to see both their commanders wounded and rather their fear than their courage, that obliwheeled off: but Mr. Church persuaded, at ged them to set up the marks of their conever the alarm was given by their numbers and length stormed and stamped, and told them it quest. Mr. Church looked upon it, and hostile equipage, and by the prey they made was a shame to run, and leave a wounded talked of it with contempt, and urged hard of what they could find in the forsaken houses. man there to become a prey to the barbarous the pursuing the enemy on Pocasset side, An express came the same day to the gov- enemy: For the pilot yet sat on his horse, and with the greater earnestness, because of ernor, who immediately gave orders to the though so mazed with the shot, as not to have his promise made to Awashonks, before mensense to guide him; Mr. Gill seconded him, tioned. The council adjourned themselves part of their companies, and to rendezvous and offered, though much disabled, to assist from Mount Hope to Reholoth, where Mr. at Taunton, on Monday night, where Major in bringing him off. Mr. Church asked a Treasurer Southworth, being weary of his Bradford was to receive them, and dispose them under Capt. (now made Major) Cutton, if he would go with him and tetch off the ing scarce and difficult to be obtained for tion, if he would go with him and fetch off the ing scarce and difficult to be obtained, for wounded man: He readily consented, and the army, that now lay still to cover the peo-Mr. Church to give them his company, and they, with Mr. Gill, went but the wounded ple from no body, while they were building man fainted and fell off his horse before they a fort for nothing) retired, and the power and came to him; but Mr. Church and the stran- trouble of that post was left with Mr. Church, ger dismounted, took up the man dead, and who still urged the commanding officers to laid him before Mr. Gill on his horse. Mr. move over to Pocasset side, to pursue the Church told the other two, if they would take enemy, and kill Philip, which would, in his some friendly Indians, to march in the front, care of the dead man, he would go and fetch opinion, be more probable to keep possession his horse back, which was going off the cau- of the neck, than to tarry to build a fort. He

him) to think it time to retreat: Saving, the The enemy who began their hostilities Lord have mercy on us, if such a handful of

Upon this it was immediately resolved, and orders were given to march down into the neck, and having passed the bridge and causey, the direction was to extend both wings, which being not well heeded, by those that remained in the centre, some of them mistook their friends for their enemies, and made a fire upon them in the right wing, and wounded that noble heroic youth, Ensign Savage, in the thigh, but it happily proved but a flesh wound. They marehed until they came to the narrow of the neck, at a place called Keekamuit,* where they took down the heads of eight Englishmen that were killed at the after the barbarous manner of those savages. There Philip had staved all his drums, and conveyed all his canoes to the east side of Mattapoiset river; hence it was concluded. by those that were acquainted with the motions of those people, that they had quitted the neck. Mr. Church told them that Philip was doubtless gone over to Pocasset side, to engage those Indians in rebellion with him; my were not really beaten out of Mount Hope neck, though it was true they fled from thence; yet it was before any pursued them.

A grand council was held, and a resolve

[&]quot; Tivertoo shore over against the north end of Rhode

Island.

† Middleborough.

was still restless on that side of the river, and the rather because of his promise to the squaw sachem of Sogkonate, and Captain Fuller also urged the same, until at length there came further orders concerning the fort; and withal an order for Captain Fuller with six files to cross the river to the side so much insisted on, and to try if he could get speech with any of the Pocasset or Sogkonate Indians, and that Mr. Church should go his second. Upon the captain receiving his orders, he asked Mr. Church whether he was willing to engage in this enterprise: To whom it was indeed too agreeable to be declined; though he thought the enterprise was hazardous enough for them to have more men assigned them. Captain Fuller told him, that for his own part he was grown ancient and heavy, he feared the travel and fatigue would be too much for him: but Mr. Church urged him, and told him, he would cheerfully excuse him his hardship and travel, and take that part to himself, if he might but go; for he had rather do any thing in the world than to stay there to build the fort.

Then they drew out the number assigned them, and marched the same night to the ferry, and were transported to Rhode Island, from whence, the next night, they got passage over to Pocasset side, in Rhode Island boats, and concluded there to dispose themselves in two ambuscades before day, hoping to surprise some of the enemy by their falling into one or other of their ambushments. But Capt. Fuller's party, being troubled with the epidemical plague of lust after tobacco, must needs strike fire to smoke it; and thereby discovered themselves to a party of the enemy coming up to them, who immediately fled

with great precipitation.

This ambuscade drew off about break of day, perceiving they were discovered, the other continued in their post until the time assigned them, and the light and heat of the sun rendered their station both insignificant and troublesome, and then returned unto the place of rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other party's disappointment, and the occasion of it. Mr. Church calls for the breakfast he had ordered to be brought over in the hoat; but the man that had the charge of it confessed that he was asleep when the boatmen called him, and in haste came away, and never thought of it. It happened that Mr. Church had a few cakes of rusk in his pocket that Madam Cranston (the governor of Rhode Island's Ladv) gave him when he came off the island; which he divided among the company, which was all the provisions they had.

Mr. Church, after their slender breakfast, proposed to Capt. Fuller, that he would march in quest of the enemy, with such of the company as would be willing to march with him, which he complied with, though with a great deal of scruple, because of his small! number, and the extreme hazard he foresaw must attend them.

But some of the company reflected upon Mr. Church, that notwithstanding his talk on the other side of the river, he had not shewn them any Indians since they came over. Which now moved him to tell them, that if it was their desire to see Indians, he believed he should now soon shew them what they should say was enough.

thirty-six. They moved towards Sogkonate, their hatchets. until they came to the brook that runs into was haunted much with those snakes, which of, and therefore bent their course another way, to a place where they thought it probable to find some of the enemy. Had they kept the track to the pine swamp, they had not so certain that any of them should have returned to give account how many.

Now they passed down into Punkatees neck; and in their march discovered a large wigwam full of Indian truck, which the soldiers were for loading themselves with, until Mr. Church forbid it, telling them they might expect soon to have their hands full, and business without caring for plunder. Then them wounded by the enemy. crossing the head of the creek, into the neck, they again discovered fresh Indian tracks They then got privately and undiscovered unthe one party with himself, sent the other and those that were with him, concealed themselves from them, by falling flat on the ground; but the other division not using the same caution, were seen by the enemy, which occasioned them to run; which when Mr. Church perceived, he showed himself to them but one came tumbling over an old hedge and told them he would not hurt them: But down the bank, where Mr. Church and the they ran, and Church pursued. The Indians rest were, and told him that his brother B. elimbed over a fence, and one of them facing about discharged his piece, but without effect, on the English: One of the English soldiers ran up to the fence and fired upon him that had discharged his piece; and they concluded, by the yelling they heard, that the Indian was wounded; but the Indians soon got into the thickets, whence they saw them no more for the present.

Mr. Church then marching over a plain piece of ground, where the woods were very thick on one side; ordered his little company to march at a double distance, to make as big a show (if they should be discovered) as might be; but before they saw any body, they were saluted with a volley of fifty or sixty guns; some bullets came very surprisingly near Mr. Church, who starting looked behind him, to see what was become of his now they had no way to prevent lying quite men, expecting to have seen half of them open to some or other of the enemy, but to dead, but seeing them all upon their legs, heap up stones before them, as they did, and and briskly firing at the smoke of their ene-still bravely and wonderfully defended them mies' guns (for that was all that was then to be seen.) He blessed God, and called to his * Tiverton, about half a mile above Fogland ferry

The number allowed him soon drew off to men not to discharge all their guns at once, him, which could not be many, because their lest the enemy should take the advantage of whole company consisted of no more than such an opportunity to run upon them with

Their next motion was immediately into Nunnaquahqat neck, where they discovered the pease field.* When they came to the a fresh and plain track, which they concluded fence, Mr. Church bid as many as had not to be from the great pine swamp, about a mile discharged their guns, to clap under the from the road that leads to Sogkonate. Now, fence, and lie close, while the other, at some says Mr. Church, to his men, if we follow distance in the field, stood to charge; hoping this track, no doubt but we shall soon see In- that if the enemy should creep to the fence, dians enough; they expressed their willing- to gain a shot at those that were charging ness to follow the track, and moved in it, but their guns, they might be surprised by those had not gone far before one of them narrowly that lay under the fence; but casting his escaped being bit with a rattlesnake: And eyes to the side of the hill above them, the the woods that the track led them through hill seemed to move, being covered over with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the little company seemed to be more afraid the sun, and running in a circumference with of than the black serpents they were in quest a design to surround them.

Seeing such multitudes surrounding him and his little company, it put him upon thinking what was become of the boats that were ordered to attend him; and looking up he been certain of meeting Indians enough; but espied them ashore at Sandy point, on the island side of the river, with a number of horse and foot by them, and wondered what should he the occasion, until he was afterwards informed, that the boats had been over that morning from the island, and had landed a party of men at Fogland, that were designed in Punkatees neck, to fetch off some cattle and horses, but were ambuscaded, and many of

Now our gentleman's courage and conduct were both put to the test, he encourages his very lately passed before them into the neck, men, and orders some to run and take a wall for shelter before the enemy gained it. to the fence of Capt. Almy's pease field, and It was time for them now to think of escaping divided into two parties, Mr. Church keeping if they knew which way. Mr. Church orders his men to strip to their white shirts, that with Lake, who was acquainted with the islanders might discover them to be Enground, on the other side. Two Indians glishmen; and then orders three guns to be were soon discovered coming out of the fired distinct, hoping it might be observed by pease field towards them; when Mr. Church, their friends on the opposite shore. The men that were ordered to take the wall, being very hungry, stopped a while among the pease to gather a few, being about four rods from the wall; the enemy from behind hailed them with a shower of bullets; but soon all Southworth, who was the man that was missing, was killed, that they saw him fall; and so they did indeed see him fall, but it was without a shot, and lay no longer than till he had an opportunity to clap a bullet into one of the enemy's forehead, and then came running to his company. The meanness of the English powder was now their greatest misfortune; when they were immediately upon this beset with multitudes of Indians, who possessed themselves of every rock, stump, tree or fence that was in sight firing upon them without ceasing; while they had no other shelter but a small bank and bit of a water fence. And yet, to add to the disadvantage of this little handful of distressed men, the Indians also possessed themselves of the ruins of a stone house that overlooked them; so that

tiness of their ammunition, fiercely called to let half way to them. the boat's master, and bid him either send his canoe ashore, or else be gone presently or he noe as he went on board, one grazed the hair

would fire upon him. shift for themselves; but then another diffi- of his breast. culty arose, the enemy seeing the boat leave them, were reanimated, and fired thicker and king in all twenty men, himself and his pilot same place, yet could hit the stone as it was this news he hastened to the Mount Hope turned to the Mount Hope garrison. erected.

While they were thus making the best defence they could against their numerous encmies, that made the woods ring with their ately drawn off, equipped and despatched escape, that Weetamore and her's (but now constant yelling and shouting: And night upon this design, under the command of a mentioned) had; they took into a swamp, coming on, somebody told Mr. Church they, certain officer; and having marched about and their pursuers were commanded back. espied a sloop up the river as far as Gold is- two miles, viz. until they came to the cove that After this Dartmouth's distresses required land, that seemed to be coming down towards lies south west from the Mount, where or-succour, great part of the town being laid them; He looked up and told them, succour ders were given for an halt: The comman-desolate, and many of the inhabitants killed; was now coming, for he believed it was der in chief told them he thought it proper to the most of Plymouth forces were ordered Captain Golding, whom he knew to be a take advice before he went any further; cal-thither; and coming to Russel's garrison at man for business, and would certainly fetch led Mr. Church and the pilot, and asked Ponaganset, they met with a number of the them off, if he came. The wind being fair, them, how they knew that Philip and all his enemy that had surrendered themselves pristhe vessel was soon with them; and Captain men were not by that time got to Weeta-oners on terms promised by Capt. Eels of came to speak with one another) desired him not by that time returned to her again? With them (by a friend Indian he had employed) to come to anchor at such a distance from the many more frightful questions. Mr. Church come in. And had their promises to the Inshore, that he might veer out his cable and told him, they had acquainted him with as drive ashore; which direction Captain Golding observed; but the enemy gave him such rage them from proceeding; that he thought ample of those who had now surrendered a warm salute, that his sails, colour, and it so practicable, that he, with the pilot, would themselves; which would have been a good stern, were full of bullet holes.

turned her loose to drive ashore for two more, more might be added unto them by that time and the sloop's company kept the Indians in play the while; but when at last it came to

selves against all the numbers of the enemy. Mr. Church's turn to go aboard, he had left time: And his company so small, that he island shore, but the enemy plied their shot to drink, when he first came down; he told Added moreover, that if he was sure of kil-

Two bullets from the enemy struck the ca-

Now this gentleman with his army, magarrison. The army expressed their readiness to embrace such an opportunity.

Golding it was. Mr. Church (as soon as they more's camp; or that all her own men were the garrison, and Ralph Earl, who persuaded ride affoat, and let slip his cance, that it might much as they knew, and that for his part, he ed, it is probable that most if not all the Indicould discover nothing that need to discou- ans in those parts had soon followed the ex-The canoe came ashore, but was so small the brunt. But the chief commander insis- of all that Capt. Eels, Church or Earl could that she would not bear above two men at a ted on this, that the enemies, number were so say, argue, plead, or heg, somebody else that time; and when two were got aboard, they great, and he did not know what numbers had more power in their hands improved it;

At length came over one of the boats from the his hat and cutlass at the well where he went could not think it practicable to attack them: so warmly to her as made her keep at some his company, he would never go off and leave ling all the enemy, and knew that he must distance; Mr. Church desired them to send his hat and cutlass for the Indians; they lose the life of one of his men in the action, their canoe ashore to fetch them on board; should never have that to reflect upon him: he would not attempt it. Pray Sir, then (rebut no persuasions nor arguments could pre- Though he was much dissuaded from it, yet plied Mr. Church) please to lead your comvail with them to bring their canoe to shore; he would go and fetch them. He put all the pany to yonder windmill, on Rhode Island, which some of Mr. Church's men perceiving, powder he had left into his gun (and a poor and there they will be out of danger of being began to cry out, For God's sake to take charge it was) and went presenting his gun killed by the enemy, and we shall have less them off, for their aminunition was spent, &c. at the enemy, until he took up what he went trouble to supply them with provisions. But Mr. Church being sensible of the danger of the for; at his return he discharged his gun at the return he would, and did, unto the garrison, enemy's hearing their complaints, and being enemy, to bid them farewell for that time; until more strength came to them, and a sloop made acquainted with the weakness and scan-but had not powder enough to carry the bul-to transport them to the Fall river,* in order to visit Weetamore's camp. Mr. Church, one Baxter, and Captain Hunter an Indian, proffered to go out on the discovery on the of his head a little before; another stuck in a left wing, which was accepted; they had not Away goes the hoat, and leaves them still to small stake that stood right against the middle marched above a quarter of a mile before they started three of the enemy. Captain Hunter wounded one of them in his knee, whom, when he came up, he discovered to faster than ever; upon which some of the being numbered with them, got all safe on be his near knsman; the captive desired famen that were lightest of foot, began to talk board after six hours engagement with three your for his squaw, if she should fall into of attempting an escape by flight, until Mr. hundred Indians; whose number we were their hands, but asked none for himself, ex-Church solidly convinced them of the impractold afterwards by some of themselves. A cepting the liberty of taking a whiff of tobacticableness of it; and encouraged them yet, deliverance which that good gentleman often co, and while he was taking his whiff, his told them, that he had observed so much of mentions to the glory of God, and his protection with one blow of his hatchet dethe remarkable and wonderful providence of ting providence. The next day meeting with spatched him. Proceeding to Weetamore's God hitherto preserving them, that it encou- the rest of his little company, whom he had camp, they were discovered by one of the raged him to believe, with much confidence, left at Pocasset (that had also a small skir-enemy, who ran in and gave information, that God would yet preserve them; that not mish with the Indians, and had two men upon which a lusty young fellow left his meat a hair of their head should fall to the ground; wounded) they returned to the Mount Hope upon his spit,† running hastily out, told his bid them be patient, courageous and prudent-garrison; which Mr. Church used to call the companions, he would kill an Englishman bely sparing of their ammunition, and he made loosing fort. Mr. Church then returning to fore he eat his dinner; but failed of his deno doubt but they should come well off yet, the island, to seek provision for the army, sign, being no sooner outbut shot down. The &c. until his little army again resolved, one meets with Alderman, a noted Indian, that enemies' fires, and what shelter they had was and all, to stay with, and stick by him. One was just come over from the squaw sachem's by the edge of a thick cedar swamp, into of them, by Mr. Church's order, was pitching cape of Pocasset, having deserted from her, which, on this alarm, they betook themselves, a flat stone up an end before him in the sand, and brought over his family; who gave him and the English as nimbly pursued; but when a bullet from the enemy, with a full an account of the state of the Indians, and were soon commanded back by their chiefforce, struck the stone while he was pitching where each of the sagamore's head quarters tain, after they were come within hearing of it an end; which put the poor fellow to a were. Mr. Church then discoursed with the cries of their women and children, and so miserable start, till Mr. Church called upon some who knew the spot well where the In-him to observe, how Goddirected the hullets, dians said Weetamore's* head quarters were, sloop the enemy pursued them, and wounded that the enemy could not hit him when in the and offered their service to pilot him. With two of their men. The next day they re-

Soon after this, was Philip's head quarters visited by some other English forces; but All the ablest soldiers were now immedi- Philip and his gang had the very fortune to willingly lead the way to the spot, and hazard step towards finishing the war. But in spite

[&]quot; Squaw sachem of Pocasset.

^{*} South part of Freetown. † Probaby a wooden spit. ! In Dartmouth.

them on their surrendering themselves, they were carried away to Plymouth, there sold, and transported out of the country, being about eight score persons. An action so hateful to Mr. Church, that he opposed it to the loss of the good will and respects of some that before were his good friends. But while these things were acting at Dartmouth, Philip made his escape, leaving his country, fled over Taunton river, and Rehoboth plain and Patuxet river, where Capt. Edmunds, of Providence, made some spoil upon him, and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming of a superior officer, that put him by. And now another fort was built at Pocasset, that proved as troublesome and chargeable as that at Mount Hope; and the remainder of the summer was improved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled some hundred of miles into the country, near as far as Albany. And now strong suspicions began to arise of the Narraganset Indians, that they were ill affected, and designed mischief; and so the event soon discovered. The next winter they began their hostilities upon the English. The united colonies then agreed to send an army to suppress them: Governor Winslow to command the army. He undertaking the expedition, invited Mr. Church to command a company in the expedition, which he declined, craving excuse from taking commission, he promised to wait upon him as a Reformado through the expedition. Having rode with the general to Boston, and from thence to Rehoboth; upon the general's request he went thence the nearest way over the ferries, with Major Smith, to his garrison in the Narraganset country, to prepare and provide for the coming of General Wiuslow; who marched round through the country with his army, proposing by night to surprise Pumham* (a eertain Narraganset sachem) and his town; but being aware of the approach of our army, made their escape into the deserts; but Mr. Church meeting with fair winds arrived safe at the major's garrison in the evening and soon began to inquire after the enemies? resorts, wigwams, or sleeping places, and having gained some intelligence, he proposed to the Eldriges, and some other brisk hands that he met with, to attempt the surprising of some of the enemy, to make a present of to the general, when he should arrive, which might advantage his design: Being brisk blades, they readily complied with the motion, and were soon upon their march. The night was very cold, but blessed with the moon; before the day broke they effected their exploit, and by the rising of the sun arrived at the major's garrison, where they met the general, and presented him with eighteen of the enemy they had captured. The general, pleased with the exploit, gave them thanks, particularly to Mr. Church, the mover and chief actor of the business; and sending two of them, (likely boys) a present to Boston; smiling on Mr. Church, told him, that he made no doubt but his faculty would supply them with Indian boys enough before the war was ended.

Their next move was to a swamp, which

* Sachem of Shawomet, or Warwick.

he could rally some hands to go with him. Thirty men immediately drew out and followed him: They entered the swamp, and passed over the log, that was the passage into the fort, where they saw many men and scwigwams in the east end of the fort, made towards him, but on a sudden, while they were looking each other in the face, Captain Gardner settled down Mr. Church stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap, and calling to him by his name; he looked up in his face, but spoke not a word, being mortally shot through the head; care to be taken of the captain, he despatched information to the general, that the best and forwardest of his army, that hazarded their lives to enter the fort, upon the muzzle of the fort that the English were now possessed of, to get a shot at the Indians that were in the swamp, and kept firing upon them. He soon met with a broad and bloody track, where the enemy had fled with their wounded men; following hard in the tract, he soon spied one of the enemy who clapped his Mr. Church immediately commanded no man ning from tree to tree to gain advantages of using several inventions, till at length he gained an opportunity to call to, and inform a sernumber of the enemy almost within shot of

and without any regard to the promises made | the Indians had fortified with a fort. Mr. | clapped down out of sight of the fort, but Church rid in the general's guard when the all this while never discovered Mr. Church, bloody engagement began; but being impa- who observed them to keep gathering unto tient of being out of the heat of the action, im- that place, until there seemed to be a formiportunately begged leave of the general that he dable black heap of them. Now brave boys might run down to the assistance of his friends: (said Mr. Church to his men) if we mind the general yielded to his request provided our hits, we may have a brave shot, and let our sign for firing on them, he their rising to fire into the fort. It was not long before the Indians rising up as one body, designing to pour a volley into the fort; when our Church nimbly started up and gave them such a veral valuant captains lie slain: Mr. Church round volley, and unexpected clap on their spying Captain Gardner of Salem, amidst the hacks, that they, who escaped with their lives, were so surprised, that they scampered, they knew not whither themselves, about a dozen of them ran right over the log into the fort, and took into a sort of hovel that was built with poles, after the manner of a corn crib. Mr. Church's men having their cartridges fixed, were soon able to obey his order, which was immediately to charge, and run and observing his wound, Mr. Church found on upon the hovel, and overset it, calling, as the ball entered his head on the side that was be ran on, to some that were in the fort, to next the upland, where the English entered assist him in oversetting it; they no sooner the swamp, upon which, having ordered some came to face the enemies' shelter, but Mr. Church discovered that one of them had found a hole to point his gun through, right at him; but however encouraged his company and ran right on, till he was struck with of the enemies' guns, were shot in their backs, three bullets, one in his thigh, which was and killed by them that lay behind. Mr. near half cut off as it glanced on the joint of Church with his small company hastened out his hip-bone; another through the gathering of his breeches and drawers, with a small flesh wound; a third pierced his pocket, and wounded a pair of mittens, that he had berrowed of Captain Prentice; being wrapper up together had the misfortune of having many holes cut through them with one bullet; but however, he made a shift to keep on gun across his breast, made towards Mr. his legs, and nimbly discharged his gun at Church, and beekoned to him with his hand; them that had wounded him; being disabled Mr. Church immediately commanded no man now to go a step, his men would have carried to hurt him, hoping by him to have gained him off, but he forbid their touching of him, some intelligence of the enemy, that might until they had perfected their project of overbe of advantage; but it unhappily fell out setting the enemies, shelter; bid them run, that a fellow that lagged behind coming for now the Indians had no guns charged, up, shot down the Indian, to Mr. Church's While he was urging them to run on, the Ingreat grief and disappointment; but imme- dians began to shoot arrows, and with one diately they heard a great shout of the enemy, pierced through the arm of the Englishman which seemed to be behind them, or between that had hold of Mr. Church's arm to support them and the fort; and discovered them run- him. The English, in short, were discouraged, and drew back; and by this time the English firing upon the English that were in the fort. people in the fort had began to set fire to the Mr. Church's great difficulty now was how wigwams and houses in the fort, which Mr. to discover himself to his friends in the fort, Church laboured hard to prevent; they told him, They had orders from the general to burn them; he begged them to forbear until he jeant in the fort, that he was there, and had discoursed with the general; and hastenmight be exposed to their shots, unless they ing to him, he begged to spare the wigwams, observed it. By this time he discovered a &c. in the fort from fire, told him, the wigwams were musket-proof, being all lined with him, making towards the fort. Mr. Church baskets tubs of grain, and other provisions, and his company were favoured by a heap of sufficient to supply the whole army, until brush that was between them and the enemy, the spring of the year; and every wounded and prevented their being discovered to man might have a good warm house to them. Mr. Church had given his men their lodge in, who otherways would necessarily particular orders for firing upon the enemy, perish with the storms and cold : And moreand as they were rising up to make their shot; over, that the army had no other provisions the fore-mentioned sergeant in the fort called to trust unto, and depend upon; that he out to them, for God's sake not to fire, for he knew that the Plymouth forces had not so believed they were some of their friend ln- much as one biscuit left, for he had seen dians; they clapped down again, but were their last dealt out, &c. The general advissoon sensible of their serjeant's mistake. The ing a few words with the gentlemen that enemy got to the top of the tree, the body were about him, moving towards the fort, de-whereof the serjeant stood upon, and there signing to ride in himself, and bring in the

whole army; but just as he was entering the swamp, one of the captains met him, and asked him, whither he was going? he told him into the fort; the captain laid hold of his horse, and told him, his life was worth an hundred of theirs, and he should not expose himself. The general told him, that the brunt was over, and that Mr. Church had informed him that the fort was taken, &c. and as the case was circumstanced he was of the mind, that it was most practicable for him, and his army to shelter themselves in the fort. The captain in a great heat replied, that Church lied; and told the general, that if he moved another step towards the fort he would shoot his horse under him. Then brushed up another gentleman, a certain doctor, and opposed Mr. Church's advice, and said, if it were complied with, it would kill more men than the enemy had killed; for (said he) by to-morrow the wounded men will be so stiff that there will be no moving of them: And looking upon Mr. Church, and seeing the blood flow apace from his wounds, told him, That if he gave such advice as that was, he should bleed to death like a dog before he would endea-vour to staunch his blood: though after they had prevailed against his advice they were sufficiently kind to him. And burning up all the houses and provisions in the fort; the army returned the same night in the storm and cold; and I suppose that every one who was acquainted with that night's march deeply laments the miseries that attended them, especially the wounded and dying men. But it mercifully came to pass that Captain Andrew Belcher arrived at Mr. Smith's that very night from Boston, with a vessel loaded with provisions for the army who must otherwise have perished for want.

Some of the enemy that were then in the fort have since informed us, that near a third of the Indians belonging to all the Narraganset country were killed by the English and by the cold of that night, that they fled out of their fort so hastily that they carried nothing with them: That if the English had kept in the fort, the Indians would certainly have been necessitated, either to surrender themselves to them, or to have perished by hunger, and the severity of the season.* Sometime after this fort-fight a certain Sogkonate Indian hearing Mr. Church relate the manner of his being wounded, told him, that he did not know but he himself was the Indian that wounded him, for he was one of that company of Indians that Mr. Church made a shot upon, when they were rising to make a shot into the fort. They were in number about sixty or seventy, that just then came down from Pumham's town, and never before then fired a gun against the English; that when Mr. Church fired upon them he killed fourteen dead upon the spot, and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of whom died afterwards of their wounds, in the cold and storm the following night.

sign to return home.

persuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the Nipmuck* country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and so lame as not to be able to mount his horse without two men's assistance.

In this march, the first thing remarkable was, they came to an Indian town, where there were many wigwams in sight, but an icy swamp, lying between them and the wigwams, prevented their running at once upon it as they intended: There was much firing upon each side before they passed the swamp. But at length the enemy all fled, and a certain Mohegan, that was a friend Indian, pursued and seized one of the enemy that had a small wound in his leg, and brought him before the general, where he was examined. Some were for torturing him to bring him to a more ample confession of what he knew concerning his countrymen. Mr. Church, verily believing he had been ingenuous in his confession, interceded and prevailed for his escaping torture. But the army being bound forward in their march, and the Indian's wound somewhat disenabling him for travelling, it was concluded he should be knocked on the head: Accordingly he was brought before a great fire and the Mohegan that took him was allowed, as he desired, to be his executioner. Mr. Church taking no delight in the sport, framed an errand at some distance among the baggage-horses, and when he got ten rods, or thereabouts, from the fire, the executioner fetching a blow with a hatchet at the head of the prisoner, he being aware of the blow, dodged his head aside, and the executioner missing his stroke, the hatchet flew out of his hand, and had like to have done execution where it was not designed. The prisoner, upon his narrow escape, broke from them that held him, and, notwithstanding his wound, made use of his legs, and happened to run right upon Mr. Church, who laid hold on him, and a close scuffle they had, but the In- many other doleful desolations in those parts. dian having no clothes on slipped from him, and ran again, and Mr. Church pursued the Indian, although being lame, there was no soon return again into their colony; the coungreat odds in the race, until the Indian stum- cil of war was called together, and Mr. bled and fell, and they closed again, seuffled Church was sent for to them, being observed and fought pretty smartly, until the Indian by the whole colony to be a person extraorby the advantage of his nakedness, slipped from his hold again, and set out on his third race, affairs of war. It was proposed in council, with Mr. Church close at his heels, endeavour-that lest the enemy, in their return, should ing to lay hold on the hair of his head, which fall on Rehoboth, or some other of their outwas all the hold could be taken of him: and towns, a company, consisting of 60 or 70 running through a swamp that was covered men, should be sent into those parts; and Mr. with hollow ice, it made so loud a noise that Church invited to take the command of them. Mr. Church expected (but in vain) that some He told them, that if the enemy returned of his English friends would follow the noise, into that colony again, they might reasonably and come to his assistance. But the Indian hap-pened to run athwart a large tree, that lay fal-and if he should take the command of men, he lennear breast high, where he stopped and cried should not lie in any town or garrison with out aloud for help; but Mr. Church being soon them, but would lie in the woods as the upon him again, the Indian seized him fast by enemy did: And that to send out such small the hair of his head, and endeavouring by twist- companies against such multitudes of the ene.

Mr. Church was moved with other wound- wounds had somewhat weakened him, and ed men, over to Rhode Island, where, in the Indian a stout fellow, yet he held him in about three months time, he was in some good play, and twisted the Indian's neck as well, measure recovered of his wounds, and the fe- and took the advantage of many opportuniver that attended them; And then went over to ties, while they hung by each other's hair, the general to take his leave of him, with a de- gave him notorious bumps in the face with his head. But in the heat of this scuffle they But the general's great importunity again heard the ice break with somebody coming apace to them, which when they heard, Church concluded there was help for one or other of them, but was doubtful which of them must now receive the fatal stroke; anon somebody comes up to them, who proved to be the Indian that had first taken the prisoner. Without speaking a word, he felt them out (for it was so dark he could not distinguish them by sight) the one being clothed, and the other naked, he felt where Mr. Church's hands were fastened in the Netop's hair, and with one blow settled his hatchet in between them and ended the strife. He then spoke to Mr. Church, and hugged him in his arms, and thanked him abundantly for catching his prisoner, and cut off the head of his victim, and earried it to the camp; and giving an account to the rest of the friend Indians in the camp, how Mr. Church had seized his prisoner, &c. they all joined a mighty shout.

Proceeding in this march, they had the success of killing many of the enemy; until at length their provisions failing, they returned home.

King Philip (as was before hinted) was fled to a place called Scattaenok, between York and Albany, where the Moohags* made a descent upon him and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence.

His next kennelling place was at the falls of Connecticut river,† where, sometime after, Capt. Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed him a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hurled down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the river, and on the backside of Wetnset hills meets with all the remnants of the Narragauset and Nipmuck ! Indians that were there gathered together, and became very numerous, and made their descent on Sudbury and the adjacent parts of the country, where they met with and swallowed up valiant Capt. Wadsworth and his company, and made The news whereof coming to Plymouth, and they expecting probably the enemy would ing to break his neck, but though Mr. Church's my that were now mustered to gether, would

^{*} The swamp fight happened on December 29, 1675. "The swamp fight happened on December 29, 1675 in which about fifty English were killed in the action and died of their wounds; and about three hundred or three hundred and fifty Indians, men, women, and children, were killed, and as many more captured. It is said five hundred wigwams were burnt with the fort; and two hundred more in other parts of Narcaganset. The place of the fort was an elevated ground or piece of upland, of perhaps three or four acres, in the middle of a hideous swamp; about seven miles near due west from Narraganset south ferry.

^{*} Country about Worcester, Oxford, Craston, &c.

[&]quot; Mohawks. † Above Deerfield. † About Rutland.

be but to deliver so many men into their next to it half off; upon which he smilingly the beath, and met him there without their

to send with him.

Then preparing for his removal, he went Island. with his small family to Plymouth, to take leave of their friends, where they met with his wife's parents, who much persuaded that my were upon the rocks a fishing; he bid the (which they supposed to be a mighty safe place) or at least that she might be there until Indians; told them, that he had a great mind her soon expected lying-in was over, (being near her time.) Mr. Church no ways inclining to venture her any longer in those parts, and no arguments prevailing with him, he resolved to set out for Taunton, and many of their friends accompanied them. There they found get a fair opportunity to discourse with them, Captain Pierce with a commanded party, who that he could draw them off from Philip, for offered Mr. Church to send a relation of his he knew they never heartily loved him. The with some others to guard him to Rhode enemy halloed and made signs for the canoe Island; but Mr. Church thanked him for his to come to them; but when they approached refused to accept it. In short, they got safe to Captain John Almy's house upon Rhode Island, where they met with friends and good Mr. Clark's garrison that Mr. Church was so much importuned to leave his wife and children at, was destroyed by the enemy.

from any particular service in the war, began to think of some other employ; but he no

hands, to be destroyed, as the worthy Captain said, that he thought he was out of his way, arms, excepting that one of them had a lance Wadsworth and his company were. His ad- to leave the war, and resolved he would go in his hand; they urged Mr. Church to come vice upon the whole was, that if they sent to war again. Accordingly his second son ashore, for they had a great desire to have out any forces, to send out no less than 300 being born on the 12th of May, and his wife some discourse with him. He told them, if soldiers; and that the other colonies should be asked to send out their quotas also; adding, that if they intended to make an end Barnstable; which landed him at Sogkonesset, leave it, he would come ashore and discourse of the war by subduing the enemy, they must make a business of the war, as the enemy did; and that of his own part, he had wholly laid aside all his own private business and told him they were glad to see him alive. above on the beach, as a sentinel, and to see conceros, ever since the war broke out. He He replied, he was glad to see them alive, that the coasts were clear; and when Mr. told them, that if they would send forth such for he had seen so many fires and smokes Church came up to the Indians, one of them forces as he should direct, he would go towards their side of the country, since he happened to be honest George, one of the with them for a six weeks' march, which was left them, that he could scarce eat or sleep two that Awashonks formerly sent to call him long enough for men to be kept in the woods with any comfort, for fear they had all been to her dance, and was so careful to guard him at once; and if they might be sure of liberty destroyed. For all travelling was stopped, back to his house again, the last Sogkonate Into return in such a space, men would go out cheerfully; and he would engage 150 of the best soldiers should list voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add 50 more; Providence, Warwick, Pawtuxet, and all in a swamp ahout three miles off. Mr. Church and 100 of the friend Indians; and with such over the Narraganset country, and that they asked him, what it was he washe asked him, what it was he washere? He provides an army, he made no doubt, but he might do prevailed daily against the English on that halloed and called him ashore? He answergood service; but on other terms he did not side of the country: Told them, he longed to ed, that he took him for Church as soon as incline to be concerned.

Their reply was that they were already in debt, and so big an army would bring such that Providence had brought him there at that his mistress would be glad to see him, and speak charge upon them, that they should never juncture; for they had concluded the very with him; he told him further, that he believed be able to pay; and as for sending out In-dians, they thought it no ways adviseable, thirds English, and one third Indians, in some the English, and that she had left Philip, and and in short none of his advice practicable. measure agreeable to his former proposal; did not intend to return to him any more; he Now Mr. Church's consort, and his then only expecting Boston and Connecticut to join was mighty earnest with Mr. Church to tarry son were till this time remaining at Duxbury, with their quotas. In short, it was so con-there while he would run and call her; but and he fearing for their safety there (unless the cluded, and that Mr. Church should return to he told him no, for he did not know but the war was more vigorously engaged in) resolv- the Island, and see what he could muster Indians would come down and kill him before ed to move to Rhode Island, though it was there, of those that had moved from Swanzey, he could get back again; he said, if Mountmuch apposed both by government and rela- Dartmouth, &c. So returning the same way Hope, or Pocasset Indians could catch him, tions; but at length, the governor considering he came; when he came to Sogkonesset, he he believed they would knock him on the that he might be no less serviceable by being had a sham put upon him about a boat he head, but all Sogkonate Indians knew him on that side of the colony, gave his permit, had brought to go home in, and was forced very well, and he believed none of them and wished he had twenty more as good men to hire two of the friend Indians to paddle would hurt him. In short, Mr. Church refus-

It fell out, that as they were in their voyage passing by Sogkonate-point, some of the encnear the rocks as that he might call to those some of the Sogkonate Indians, and that they were their relations, and therefore they need not fear their hurting of them. And he added that he had a mighty conceit, that if he could the surf made such a noise against the rocks, or to be willing to run the risk. n at, was destroyed by the enemy.

they could not hear any thing they said. Then
Mr. Church being at present disenabled Mr. Church, by signs with his hands, gave been in his thought since the war broke out, he cut off the top of his fore-finger, and the lnear him) accordingly two of them ran along till now, ever have an opportunity to speak

him in a canoe from Elisabeth's to Rhode ed to tarry, but promised he would come over again, and speak with Awashonks, and some other Indians that he had a mind to talk with.

Accordingly he appointed him to notify Awashonks, her son Peter, their chief Capshe might be left at Mr. Clark's garrison, Indians that managed the canoe to paddle so tain, and one Nompash (an Indian that Mr. Church had formerly a particular respect for) to meet him two days after, at a rock at the ever since the war broke out to speak with lower end of Captain Richmond's farm, which was a very noted place; and if that day should prove stormy, or windy, they were to expect him the next moderate day, Mr. Church telling George that he would have him come with the persons mentioned, and no more.

They giving each other their hand upon it parted, and Mr. Church went home, and the next morning to Newport, and informed the government of what had passed between him respectful offer, but for some good reasons them they skulked and hid in the clefts of the and the Sogkonate Indians, and desired their rocks; then Mr. Church ordered the canoe permit for him and Daniel Wilcox (a man that to be paddled off again, lest if he came too well understood the Indian language) to go near they should fire upon him. Then the over to them. They told him, that they entertainment. But, by the way, let me Indians appearing again, beckoned and called thought he was mad, after such service as not forget this remarkable Providence, viz. in the Indian language, and bid them come he had done, and such dangers as he escaped, That within twenty four hours, or there ashore, for they wanted to speak with him now to throw away his life, for the rogues abouts, after their arrival at Rhode Island, The Indians in the came answered them would as certainly kill him, as ever he went again; but they on the rocks told them, that over; and utterly refused to grant his permit,

them to understand that he would have two that if he could discourse with the Sogkonate of them go down upon the point of the beach Indians, he could draw them off from Philip, sooner took a tool to cut a small stick, but (a place where a man might see who was and employ them against him; but could not, it, &c. At length they told him, if he would for formality's sake; upon which, with one go, it should be only with the two Indians that came with him; but they would give him and sat down. no permit under their hands. He took his him so resolute, nor if he went did they ever

expect to see his face again.

used such arguments with his tender, and now almost broken hearted wife, from the experience of former preservations and the prospect of the great service he might do, might Heaven's protection, he set out. drawing near the place, they saw the Indians whether he intended to swallow shell and all? setting on the bank, waiting for their coming, and then handed it to Awashonks, she ven-Mr. Church sent one of his Indians ashore in tured to take a good hearty dram, and passed one of the canoes to see whether they were it among her attendants. the same Indians whom he had appointed to meet him, and no more; and if so to stay ashore tobacco, and having distributed it, they began and send George to fetch him; accordingly to talk. George came and fetched Mr. Church ashore, while the other cance played off to see the event, and to carry tidings if the Indians should when she saw him last) been down at Sogprove false.

shonks and the other Indians he appointed to they had never joined with Philip against the to meet him were there? He answered they were; he then asked him if there were no more than they whom he appointed to be there? breaking out so suddenly, and yet he was To which he would give him no direct an afterwards coming down, and came as far as swer. However, he went ashore, where he Punkateese, where a great many Indians set was no sooner landed, but Awashonks and upon him, and fought him a whole afternoon, the rest that he had appointed to meet him though he did not come prepared to fight, and there, rose up and came down to meet him; had but nineteen men with him, whose chief and each of them successively gave him their design was to gain an opportunity to discourse hands, and expressed themselves glad to see with some Sogkonate Indians. Upon this there him, and gave him thanks for exposing himself to visit them. They walked together about and talk among the fierce looking creatures, a gunshot from the water, to a convenient and all rising up in a hubbub; and a great place to sit down. Where at once rose up a surly looking fellow took up his tombog, or great body of Indians, who had lain hid in the wooden cutlass, to kill Mr. Church, but some grass, (that was high as a man's waist) and others prevented him. gathered round them, till they had closed them in; being all armed with guns, spears, hachets, understood what it was that the great fellow in their warlike appearance. It was doubtless no. Why, said the interpreter, he says, you informed him that she had a desire to see him, ing to his desire and order, he should not have and discourse about making peace with the English. She answered yes; then said Mr. do; and desired of her, that if they might talk discourse of making peace with the English. about peace, which he desired they might, her Mr. Church asked them, what proposals they

consent, they laid aside their guns, and came

Mr. Church pulled out his calabash and leave of them, resolving to prosecute his de- asked Awashonks, whether she had lived so sign; they told him they were sorry to see long at Wetuset, as to forget to drink Occapeches; and drinking to her, he perceived that she watched him very diligently, to see He bought a bottle of rum, and a small roll (as he thought) whether he swallowed any of of tobacco, to carry with him, and returned the rum; he offered her the shell, but she to his family. The next day, being the day desired him to drink again first, he then told appointed for the meeting, he prepared two her, there was no poison in it, and pouring light canoes for the design, and his own man, some into the palm of his hand, sipped it up, with the two Indians for his company. He and took the shell and drank to her again, and drank a good swig, which indeed was no more than he needed. Then they all standing up, he said to Awashonks, you won't drink for fear there should be poison in it; and then handed it please God to succeed his design, &c., that it to a little ill-looking fellow, who catched it he obtained her consent to his attempt; and readily enough, and as greedily would have committing her, the babes and himself to swallowed the liquor when he had it at his mouth; but Mr. Church catched him by the from the shore about a league to paddle; throat and took it from him, asking him,

The shell being emptied, he pulled out his

Awashonks demanded of him the reason why he had not (agreeable to his promise konate before now, saying, that probably if Mr. Church asked George whether Awa- he had come then, according to his promise,

English.

He told her he was prevented by the war at once arose a mighty murmur, confused noise,

The interpreter asked Mr. Church, if he &c. with their hair trimmed and faces painted, (they had hold of) said? He answered him, somewhat surprising to our gentleman at first, killed his brother at Punkateese, and therefore but without any visible discovery of it, after he thirsts for your blood. Mr. Church bid the a small silent pause on each side he spoke to interpreter tell him that his brother began Awashonks, and told her, that George had first; that if he had kept at Sogkonate, accord-

hurt him.

Then the chief captain commanded silence, Church, it is customary when people meet to and told them, that they should talk no more treat of peace, to lay aside their arms, and not about old things, &c. and quelled the tumult, to appear in such hostile form as your people so that they sat down again, and hegan upon a men might lay aside their arms, and appear would make, and on what terms they would more tractable. Upon which there began a break their league with Philip? Desiring considerable noise and murmur among them them to make some proposals that he might Mr. Church's case, told him, that he had so in their own language, till Awashonks asked carry to his masters, telling them that it was much kindness for him, and was so pleased him, what arms they should lay down, and not in his power to conclude a peace with with the business he was engaged in, that he where? He (perceiving that the Indians them, but that he knew that if their proposals would run the venture of his vessel and cargo, looked very surly, and much displeased) re- were reasonable, the government would not be to wait upon him, Accordingly, next morn

with any of them, and was very loth to lose plied, only their guns at some small distance, unreasonable; and that he would use his interest with the government for them; and to encourage them to proceed, put them in mind that the Pequots once made war with the English, and that after they subjected themselves to the English, the English became their protectors, and defended them against other nations that would otherwise have destroyed them, &c. After some further discourse and debate. he brought them at length to consent, that if the government of Plymouth would firmly engage to them, that they, and all of them, and their wives and children, should have their lives spared, and none of them transported out of the country, they would subject themselves to them, and serve them in what they were able.

> Then Mr. Church told them, that he was well satisfied the government of Plymouth would readily concur with what was proposed, and would sign their articles: and complinenting them upon it, how pleased he was with the thoughts of their return, and of the former friendship that had between them, &c.

> The chief captain rose up, and expressed the great value and respect he had for Mr. Church; and bowing to him said, Sir, if you'll please to except of me and my men, and will head us, we'll fight for you, and will help you to Philip's head before the Indian corn be ripe; and when he had ended, they all expressed their consent to what he said, and told Mr. Church they loved him, and were willing to go with him and fight for him, as long as the English had one enemy left in the country.

> Mr. Church assured them, that if they proved as good as their word, they should find him their's and their children's fast friend. And (by the way) the friendship is still maintained

between them to this day.

Then he proposed unto them, that they should choose five men to go straight with him to Plymouth: they told him no; they would not choose, but he should take which five he pleased; some compliments passed about it, at length it was agreed, they should choose three, and he two. Then he agreed, that he would go back to the island that night, and would come to them the next morning, and go through the woods to Plymouth; but they afterwards objected, that his travelling through the woods would not be safe for him; the enemy might meet with him, and kill him, and then they should lose their friend, and the whole design ruined beside. And therefore proposed, that he should come in an English vessel, and they would meet him, and come on board at Sogkonate point, and sail from thence to Sandwich, which, in fine, was conchided upon.

So Mr. Church promising to come as soon as he could possibly obtain a vessel, and then they parted. He returned to the island, and was at great pains and charge to get a vessel but with unnecountable disappointments, sometimes by the falseness, and sometimes by the faintheartedness of men that he bargained with, and sometimes by wind and weather, &c. until at length Mr. Anthony Low put into the harbour with a laden vessel bound to the westward, and being made acquainted with

great swelling sea.

rocks, but had nothing but a miserable broken told her, he was come to invite her and her canoe to get aboard in; yet Peter Awashonks ventured off in it, and with a great deal of difficulty and danger got aboard: and by this pecting her and her subjects to receive orders, time it began to rain and blow exceedingly, and until further order could be had from the govto Newport, carrying Peter with them.

yield his voyage.

Lord's day morning, with orders to take those men that were chosen to go down, or some rest) expressed themselves concerned that of them at least with him. The time being they could not be confided in, nor improved. expired that was appointed for the English He told them, it was best to obey orders, and army to come, there was great looking for that if he could not accompany them to Sandthem. Mr. Church on the Monday morning wich, it should not be above a week before (partly to divert himself after his fatigue, and he would meet them there; that he was conpartly to listen for the army) rid out with his fident the governor would commission him to wife, and some of his friends to Portsmouth, improve them. The major hastened to send under a pretence of cherrying; but came home them away with Jack Havens, (an Indian who his number of men tendering to go with him, without any news from the army: but by had never been in the wars) in the front with midnight or sooner, he was roused with an aflag of truce in his hand. They being gone, express from Major Bradford, who was Mr. Church, by the help of his man Toby (the arrived with the army at Pocasset; to whom Indian whom he had taken prisoner as be he forthwith repaired, and informed him of the whole of his proceedings with the Sogkonate Indians. With the major's consent and advice, he returned again next morning to the back to Pocasset. This Toby informed them island, in order to go over that way to Awa-that there were a great many Indians gone shouks, to inform her that the army was ar- to Wespoiset to eat Clams, other provisions rived. &c. Accordingly from Sachueeset being very scarce with them, that Philip neck* he went in a canoe to Sogkonate; told himself was expected within three or four her that Major Bradford was arrived at Pocas-set, with a great army, whom he had informed Indians they were? he answered some Wee-him, and two more, for a reserve at the river, of all his proceedings with her; that if she temores Indians, some Mount Hope Inwould be advised and observe order she nor dians, some Narraganset Indians, and some her people need not to fear being burt by other Upland Indians in all about three hun- in getting over the river. Proceeding in their them; told her, she should call all her people dred. down into the neck, lest if they should be found that on the morrow they would come down for to get them together at such short warning. Mr. Church returned to the island and

brought them to Sogkonate point; but coming he sent him by two men to Major Bradford, there they met with a contrary wind and a and proceeded to Sogkonate. They saw several Indians by the way skulking about, but at Plymouth; and by that time they had The Indians were there waiting upon the let them pass: arriving at Awashonks camp, people up to Punkateese, where Major Bradford, now was with the Plymouth army, exforced them up the sound; and then they went ernment. She complied, and soon sent out that he had promised Awashonks, and had away through Bristol ferry, round the island orders for such of her subjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by Then Mr. Church dismissed Mr. Low, and twelve o'clock of the next day, she with most told him, that inasmuch as Providence opposed of her number appeared before the English his going by water, and he expected that the camp at Punkateese. Mr. Church tendered the army would be up in a few days, and prob- major to serve under his commission, provided were to improve him, if he pleased, but as for Then he writ the account of his transactions the Indians he would not be concerned with that he thought he might obtain of his honour with the Indians, and drew up the proposals them. And presently gave forth orders for a commission to lead them forth to fight Philip. and articles of peace, and despatched Peter Awashonks, and all her subjects, both men, with them to Plymouth, that his honour the women and children, to repair to Sandwich, governor, if he saw cause, might sign them, and to be there upon peril, in six days. Awa-Peter was sent over to Sogkonate on the shonks and her chiefs gathered round Mr. Church, (where he was walked off from the rest) expressed themselves concerned that mother, and those that were with her, prisoners. Next morning the whole army moved

The Rhode Island boats by the major's straggling about, mischief might light on them; order, meeting them at Pocasset, they were soon embarked, it being just in the dusk of hearing a great noise below them towards the and receive her, and give her further orders. the evening, they could plainly discover the sea, they dismounted their horses, left them She promised to get as many of her people enemies fires at the place the Indian directed and crept among the hushes, until they together as possibly she could; desiring Mr. to; and the army concluded no other but they came near the bank, and saw a vast company Church to consider that it would be difficult were bound directly thither, until they came of Indians of all ages and sexes, some on to the north end of the island, and heard the horseback running races, some at foot-ball, word of command for the boats to bear away, some catching eels and flat-fish in the water, to the army the same night. The next morn- Mr. Church was very fond of having this some clamming, &c., but which way with ing the whole army marched towards Sogko- probable opportunity of surprising that whole safety to find out what Indians they were, nate, as far as Punkateese; and Mr. Church company of Indians embraced; but orders, it they were at a loss. But at length retiring with a few men went down to Sogkonate to was said, must be obeyed, which was to go to into a thicket, Mr. Church hallooed to them; call Awashonks, and her people to come up Mount Hope, and there to fight Philip. This they soon answered him, and a couple of to the English camp. As he was going down, with some other good opportunities of doing smart young fellows, well mounted, came upon they met with a Pocasset Indian; who had spoil upon the enemy, being unhappily miss- a full career to see who it might be that called, killed a cow and got a quarter of her on his ed, Mr. Church obtained the major's consent and came just upon Mr. Church before they back, and her tongue in his pocket; who gave to meet the Sogkonate Indians, according to discovered him; but when they perceived them an account, that he came from Pocasset his promise. He was offered a guard to Ply- themselves so near Englishmen, and armed, two days since in company with his mother, mouth, but chose to go with one man only, were much surprised, and tacked short about and several other Indians, now hid in the who was a good pilot. About sunset he, to run as fast back as they came forward, until

ing they set sail with a wind that soon swamp above Nomquid; disarming of him, with Sabin his pilot, mounted their horses at Rehoboth, where the army now was, and by two hours by sun next morning arrived safe refreshed themselves, the governor and treasurer came to town. Mr. Church giving them a short account of the affairs of the army, &c. His honour was pleased to give him thanks for the good and great service he had done at Sogkonate, told him, he had confirmed all sent the Indian back again that brought his letter from Awashonks He asked his honour whether he had any thing later from Awashonks? He told him he had not. Whereupon he gave his honour an account of the major's orders relating to her and ably if he should be gone at that juncture, it the Indians might be accepted with him, to fight hers, and what discourse passed pro and con, might ruin the whole design; would therefore the enemy. The major told him, his orders about them; and that he had promised to meet them, and that he had encouraged them, His honour smilingly told him, that he should not want commission if he would accept it, nor yet good Englishmen enough to make up a good army. But in short, he told his honour the time was expired that he had appointed to meet the Sogkonates at Sandwich. The govenor asked him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by his honour's leave. The governor asked him how many men he would have with him? He answered not above half a dozen, with an order to take more at Sandwich, if he saw cause, and horses provided. He no sooner moved it, but had among which were Mr. Jabez Howland, and Nathaniel Southworth; they went to Sandwich that night, where Mr. Church (with need Indian whom he had taken prisoner as he enough) took a nap of sleep. The next morn-was going to Sogkonate) took said Toby's ing, with about sixteen or eighteen men, he proceeded as far as Agawom, where they had great expectation of meeting the Indians, but met them not; his men being discouraged about half of them returned : only half a dozen stuck by him, and promised so to do until they should meet with the Indians. When they came to Sippican river,* Mr. Howland that if he should meet with enemies and be forced back, they might be ready to assist them march, they crossed another river, and opened a great bay, where they might see many miles along shore, where were sands and flits; and

[&]quot; The south-east corner of Rhode Island.

^{*} In Tiverton. † Adjnining Fogland ferry.

[&]quot; Rochester.

which, after a small pause, they turned about their horses, and came up to him; one of them that could speak English Mr. Church took aside and examined, who informed him, that the Indians below were Awashonks and her company, and that Jack Havens was among them; whom Mr. Church immewas come to meet her; Jack Havens soon came, and by that time Mr. Church had asked him a few questions, and had been satisfied by him, that it was Awashonks and her company that were below, and that Jack had lusty men; Awashonks and her chiefs came been kindly treated by them. A company of Indians all mounted on horseback, and well armed, came riding up to Mr. Church, but treated him with all due respects. He then ordered Jack to go tell Awashonks, that enemy; and presented him with a very fine he designed to sup with her in the evening, firelock. Mr. Church accepts their offer, and to lodge in her camp that night. Then taking some of the Indians with him, he went back to the river to take care of Mr. Howland. Mr. Church having a mind to try what metal he was made of, imparted his notion to the Indians that were with him, and gave them directions how to act their parts; when he came pretty near the place, he and his Englishmen pretendedly fled, firing on their retreat towards the Indians that pursued them, and they firing as fast after them. Mr. Howland being upon his guard, hearing the guns, and by and by seeing the motion both of the English and Indians, concluded his friends were distressed, was soon on the full career on horseback to meet them, until he perceiving their laughing, mistrusted the truth. As soon as Mr. Church had given him the news, they hastened away to Awashonks. Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither Awashonks and her chiefs soon came and paid their respects; and the multitude gave shouts as made the heavens to ring.

It being now about sun-setting, or near the dusk of the evening, the Netops came running from all quarters loaden with the matter, making a huge pile thereof, near Mr. Church's shelter, on the open side thereof; but by this time supper was brought in, in three dishes, viz., a curious young bass in one dish, eels and flat fish in a second, and shell-fish in a third, but neither bread nor salt to be seen at table; but by that time supper was over, the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, &c., was fired, and all the Indians, great and small gathered in a ring round it. Awashonks with the oldest of her down made the first ring next the fire, and all the lusty stout men standing up made the next, and then all the rabble in a confused crew surrounded on the outside. Then the chief captain stepped in between the rings and the fire, with a spear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, danced round the fire. and began to fight with it, making mention of all the several nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the English; and at naming of every par- same night into the woods, got to Middle- their guards to meet with them at Nemas

would bow to him and thank him; and down his spear and hatchet, and came out; and another stepped in and acted over the same dance, with more fury, if possible, than the first; and when about half a dozen of diately sent for to come to him, and ordered their chiefs had thus acted their parts, the the messenger to inform Awashouks that he captain of the guard stepped up to Mr. soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one swearing of them, and having in that manner engaged all the stout to Mr. Church, and told him, that now they were all engaged to fight for the English, and he might call forth all, or any of them at any time as he saw occasion to fight the drew out a number of them, and set out next morning before day for Plymouth, where they arrived the same day.

The governor being informed of it, came time he had Englishmen enough to make up a good company, when joined with Mr. Church's Indians, that offered their voluntary service, to go under his command in quest of the enemy. The governor then gave him a commission, which is as follows:

hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered to raise a company of volunteers of about two hundred men, English and Indians; the English not exceeding the number of sixty, of which company, or so many of them as you can obtain, or shall see the command and conduct, and to lead them forth now and hereafter, at such time, and unto such places within this colony, or elsewhere, within the confederate colonics, as you shall think fit; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, or subdue our Indian enemies, or any part or parties of them that by the providence of God you may meet tops of dry pines, and the like combustible with; or them, or any of them, by treaty and composition to receive to mercy, if you see reason (provided they be not murderous rogues, or such as have been principal actors. in those villanies:) and forasmuch as your company may be uncertain, and the persons often changed, you are also hereby empowered, with the advice of your company, to choose and commissionate a lieutenant, and to establish sergeants, and corporals as you see cause: And you herein improving your best judgment and discretion and utpeople, men and women mixed, kneeling most ability, faithfully to serve the interest noted murderers: viz. Philip and all that of God, his majesty's interest, and the interest of the colony; and carefully governing your said company at home and abroad. These shall be unto you full and ample commission, warrant and discharge. Given under the public seal, this 24th day of July,

Per JOS. WINSLOW, Gov.

one of the men in the bushes called to them, ticular tribe of Indians, he would draw out borough before day, and as soon as the light and told them his name was Church, and and fight a new fire-brand, and at finishing appeared, took into the woods and swampy nced not fear his hurting of them. Upon his fight with each particular fire-brand, thickets, towards a place where they had some reason to expect to meet with a pareel when he had named all the several nations of Narraganset Indians, with some others and tribes, and fought them all, he stuck that belonged to Mount-Hope. Coming near to where they expected them, Captain Church's Indian scout discovered the enemy, and well observing their fires, and postures, returned with the intelligence to their captain, who gave such directions for the surrounding of them, as had the desired effect; Church and told him, they were making surprising them from every side so unexpectedly, that they were all taken, not so much as one escaped. And upon a strict examination, they gave intelligence of another parcel of the enemy, at a place called Munponset-Pond. Captain Church hastened with his prisoners through the woods to Plymouth, disposed of them all, excepting only one Jeffery, who proving very ingenuous and faithful to him, in informing where other parcels of Indians harboured; Captain Church promised him, that if he continued to be faithful to him, he should not be sold out of the country, but should be his waiting man, to take care of early to town next morning, and by that his horse, &c. and accordingly he served him faithfully as long as he lived.

But Captain Church was forthwith sent out again, and the terms for his encouragement being concluded on, viz., That the country should find them ammunition and provision, and have half the prisoners and arms they took: the captain and his Eng-"Captain Benjamin Church, you are lish soldiers to have the other half of the prisoners and arms, and the Indian soldiers the loose plunder. Poor encouragement! But after some time it was mended.

They soon captured the Munponsets, and brought them in, not one escaping. This stroke he held several weeks, never recause at present to improve, you are to take turning empty handed. When he wanted intelligence of their kennelling places, he would march to some place likely to meet with some travellers or ramblers, and scattering his company, would lie close; and seldom lay above a day, or two, at the most, before some of them would fall into their hands, whom he would compel to inform where their company was; and so by his method of secret and sudden surprises took great numbers of them prisoners.

The government observing his extraordinary courage and conduct, and the success from heaven added to it, saw cause to enlarge his commission; gave him power to raise and dismiss his forces, as he should see occasion; to commissionate officers under him, and to march as far as he should see cause, within the limits of the three united colonies: To receive to merey, give quarter, or not; excepting some particular and were at the destroying of Mr. Clark's garrison, and some few others.

Major Bradford being now at Taunton with his army, and wanting provisions, some carts were ordered from Plymouth for their supply, and Captain Church to guard them; but he obtained other guards for the carts, as far as Middleborough, ran before with a small company, hoping to meet with Receiving commission, he marched the some of the enemy, appointing the earts and

the enemy; but his time was too short to wait for gaining advantage, and therefore ran right in upon them, surprised and captivated about 16 of them, who, upon examination, informed, that Tispaquin, a very famous captain among the enemy was at Assawompset, with a numerous company.

But the carts must now be guarded, and the opportunity of visiting Tispaquin must now be laid aside: The carts are to be faithfully guarded, lest Tispaquin should attack them.

Coming towards Taunton, Captain Church taking two men with him, made all speed to the town; and coming to the river side, he hallooed, and inquiring of them that came to the river, for Major Bradford, or his captains: he was informed they were in the town, at the tayern .- He told them of the carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding them, which already prevented his improving opportunities of doing service.-Prayed therefore that a guard might be sent over to receive the carts, that he might be at liberty; refusing all invitations and persuasions to go over to the tavern to visit the major: he at length obtained a guard to receive the carts; by whom also he sent his prisoners, to be conveyed with the carts, to Plymouth, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by Bridgwater.

Hastening back, he proposed to camp that as they came to the river that runs into the great pond through the thick swamp, at the upon them, but it being in the dusk of the evening, the enemy made their escape in a mile into the neck, took the advantage of a the horses by the bridles, the rest on the guard looked sharp out for the enemy, within hearing on every side, and some very near; but in the dead of the night, the enemy being out of hearing, or still, Captain Church moved out of the neck, (not the same way he came in, lest he should be ambuscadued) towards Cushnet, t where all the houses were burnt; and crossing Cushnet river, being extremely futigued with two nights and one day's ramble without rest or sleep; and observing good forage for their horses, the capwere fast asleep, sentinels and all.

cut,* about an hour after sun's rising next | er in sight, but they discovered a company morning; he arrived there about the break- of the enemy viewing of their tracks, where ing of the daylight, discovered a company of they came into the neck; Captain Church, and those with him, soon dispersed into the brush on each side of the way, while the file sent got undiscovered to the passage of the river, and found their watch all fast asleep; but these tidings thoroughly awakened the whole company. But the enemy giving them no present disturbance, they examined their knapsacks, and taking a little refreshment, the captain orders one party to guard the horses, and the other to scout, who soon met with a track, and following of it, they were brought to a small company of Indians who proved to be Little Eyes, and family, and near relations, who were of Sogkonate, but had forsaken their countrymen, upon their making peace with the English. Some of Captain Church's Indians asked him, If he did not know this fellow? Told him. this is the rogue that would have killed you at Awashonk's dance; and signified to him that now he had an opportunity to be revenged on him. But the captain told them, it was not Englishmen's fashion to seek revenge; and that he should have the same quarter the rest had. Moving to the river side, they found an old canoe, with which the captain ordered Little Eves and his company to be carried over to an island; telling him, he would leave him on that island until he returned; and lest the English should light on them, and kill them, he would leave his consin Light-foot (whom the English knew to be night at Assawompset neck. But as soon their friend) to be his guard. Little Eyes expressed himself very thankful to the captain. He leaving his orders with Light-foot. entering of the neck, the enemy fired upon returns to the river side, towards Poneganthem, but hurt not a man. Captain Church's set, to Russell's orchard; coming near the Indians ran right into the swamp, and fired orchard, they clapped into a thicket, and there lodged the rest of the night without any fire; and upon the morning light appearthe thickets: the captain then moving about ing, moves towards the orchard, discovers some of the enemy, who had been there the small valley to feed his horses; some held day hefore, and had beat down all the apples, and carried them away; discovered also where they had lodged that night, and saw the ground where they set their baskets bloody, being, as they supposed, and as it was afterwards discovered to be, with the flesh of swine, &c. which they had killed that day. They had lain under the fences without any fires, and seemed, by the marks they left behind them, to be very numerous; perceived also by the dew on the grass, that they had not been long gone; and therefore moved apace in pursuit of them. Travelling tain concluded upon baiting, and taking a three miles, or more, they came into the nap: setting six men to watch the passage country road, where the track parted, one of the river, two to watch at a time, while parcel steered towards the west end of the the others slept, and so to take their turns, great cedar swamp, and the other to the east while the rest of the company went into a end. The captain halted, and told his Inthicket, to sleep under the guard of two sen- dian soldiers, that they had heard, as well tinels more. But the whole company being as he, what some men had said at Plymouth. very drowsy, soon forgot their danger, and about them, &c. That now was a good oppor-The tunity for each party to prove themselves: captain first awakes, looks up, and judges the track being divided, they should follow he had slept four hours, which being longer one, and the English the other, being equal than he designed, immediately rouses his in number. The Indians declined the mocompany, and sends away a file to see what tion, and were not willing to move anywhere was become of the watch at the passage of without him; said, they should not think the river, but they no sooner opened the rive themselves safe without him. But the captain insisting upon it, they submitted; h

track they pleased; they replied, they were hight, and able to travel; therefore, if he pleased, they would take the west track. And appointing the ruins of John Cook's house at Cushnet, for the place to meet ut, each company set out briskly to try their fortunes. Captain Church, with his English soldiers, followed their track until they came near entering a miry swamp, when the captain heard a whistle in the rear, (which was a note for a halt) looking behind him, he saw William Fobes start out of the company and make towards him, who hastened to meet him as fast as he could: Fobes told him they had discovered abundance of Indians, and if he pleased to go a few steps back he might see them himself: he did so. and saw them across the swamp, observing them, he perceived they were gathering whortle-berries, and that they had no apprehensions of their being so near them; the captain supposed them to be chiefly women, and therefore calling out Mr. Dillano, who was acquainted with the ground, and the Indian language, and another named Mr. Barns; with these two men he takes right through the swamp as fast as he could, and orders the rest to hasten after them. Captain Church, with Dillano and Barns, having good horses, spurred on, and were soon amongst the thickest of the Indians, and out of sight of their own men. Among the enemy was an Indian woman, who with her husband had been drove off from Rhode Island, notwithstanding they had an house upon Mr. Sanford's land. and had planted an orchard before the war; vet the inhabitants would not be satisfied till they were sent off; and Captain Church, with his family, living then at the said Sanford's. came acquainted with them, who thought it very hard to turn off such old quiet people: but in the end it proved a providence and an advantage to him and his family, as you may see afterwards. This Indian woman knew Captain Church, and as soon as she knew him, held up both her hands, and came running towards him, crying aloud, Church, Church, Church. Captain Church bid her stop the rest of the Indians, and tell them, the way to save their lives was not to run, but yield themselves prisoners, and he would not kill them; so with her help and Dillano's, who could call to them in their own language, many of them stopped and surrendered themselves, others seampering and easting away their baskets, &c., betook themselves to the thickets, but Captian Church being on horseback, soon caree up with them, and laid hold of a gun that was in the hand of one of the foremost of the company, pulled it from him, and told him he must go back. And when he had turned them, he began to look about him to see where he was, and what was become of his company, hoping they might be all as well employed as himself, but could find none but Dillano, who was busy gathering up prisoners. The captain drove his that he had stopped to the rest, inquiring of Dillano for their company, but could have no news of them; but moving back picked un now and then a skulking prisoner by the way. When they came near the place where hey first started the Indians, they discovered their company standing in a body tegether, Near Raynham. In Middleborough. In Darmouth, gave the Indians their choice to follow which and had taken some few prisoners; when

ting through the swamp, and neither seeing

great loss what to do.

they found they had taken and killed sixtysix of the enemy. Captain Church then asked that the number that each company had the old squaw, what company they belonged taken and slain, was equal. The Indians unto? She said, they belonged part to Philip, and killed three of the enemy, and taken sixand part to Quanappin and the Narraganset ty-three prisoners, as the English had done be Sachem, discovered also, upon her declaration, that both Philip and Qunnappin were about two miles off, in the great cedar swamp; he inquired of her, what company before afraid of what might have been the they had with them? She answered, abun-unequal success of the parties; but the Indance of Indians. The swamp, she said, dians had the fortune to take more arms was full of Indians from one end unto the than the English. They told the captain, other, that were settled there, that there were that they had missed a brave opportunity by near a hundred men came from the swamp parting; they came upon a great town of with them, and left them upon that plain to the enemy, viz. Captain Tyasks company, gather whortle-berries, and promised to call them as they came back out of Sconticut-fired upon the enemy before they were dis-Neek; whither they went to kill cattle and covered, and ran upon them with a shout; horses for provisions for the company. She, the men ran and left their wives and childperceiving Captain Church move towards the neck, told him, if they went that way they would all be killed. He asked her, where-if their captain and the English company about they crossed the river? She pointed to had been with them they might have taken the upper passing place. Upon which Cap- some hundreds of them; and now they detain Church passed over so low down as he termined not to part any more. thought it not probable they should meet with his track in their return; and hastened to-found out) a great army to waylay Captain ton or Bridgwater, to attack those towns that wards the island, where he left Little Eyes Church at the entering of Assawompsetwith Light-foot. Finding a convenient place Neck, expecting he would have returned the by the river side for securing his prisoners, same way he went in; but that was never his Captain Church and Mr. Dillano went down method to return the same way that he came; to see what was become of Captain Light-foot, and at this time going another way, he escapand the prisoners left in his charge. Light-foot ed falling into the hands of his enemies. The seeing and knowing them, soon came over next day they went home by Scipican, and with his broken canoe, and informed them, got well with their prisoners to Plymouth. that he had seen that day about one hundred He soon went out again, and this stroke he men of the enemy go down into Sconticut- drove many weeks; and when he took any bread in the store-house, and so was forced Neck, and that they were now returning number of prisoners, he would pick out some to run from house to house to get household again: upon which they three ran down im- he took a fancy to, and would tell them, he bread for their march; but this nor any thing mediately to a meadow where Light-foot said took a particular fancy to them, and had else prevented his marching by the beginning the Indians had passed, where they not only chose them for himself to make soldiers of; of the afternoon exercise. Marching with saw their tracks, but also them: whereupon they lay close until the enemy came into the said meadow, and the foremost set down his load and halted, until all the company came up, and then took up their loads and marched soldiers called them treacherous dogs, as a smart firing at a distance from them; but again the same way that they came down in- some of them would sometimes do, all the no- it being near night, and the firing but of short to the neck, which was the nearest way unto tice he would take of it, would only be to continuance, they missed the place, and went their camp; had they gone the other way along the river, they could not have missed Captain Church's tracks, which would doubt- but that signifies nothing, these my best sol- that Captain Church made that side of the less have exposed them to the loss of their pri- diers were a little while ago as wild and surly country too hot for him, designed to return to soners, if not of their lives. But as soon as as you are now; by that time you have been the other side of the country that he came the coast was clear of them, the captain sends but one day along with me, you'll love me last from. And coming to Taunton river his Light-foot to fetch his prisoners from the too, and be as brisk as any of them. And it with his company, they felled a great tree island, while he and Mr. Dillano returns to proved so; for there was none of them but across the river, for a bridge to pass over on; the company, sent part of them to conduct (after they had been a little while with him, and just as Philip's old uncle Akkompoin, Light-foot and his company to the aforesaid and seen his behaviour, and how cheerful and some other of his chiefs were passing meadow, where Captain Church and his and successful his men were) would be as over the tree, some brisk Bridgwater lads company met them. Crossing the enemies' ready to pilot him to any place where the In-had ambushed them, fired upon them, and track they made all haste until they got dians dwelt, or haunted (though their own killed the old man, and several others, which over Mattapoiset river,* near about four fathers or nearest relations should be among put a stop to their coming over the river that miles beyond the ruins of Cook's house, them) or to fight for him, as any of his own night. where he appointed to meet his Indian com. men. pany, whither he sent Dillano with two more to meet them; ordering them, that if

him : they told him they found it difficult get- Accordingly, finding no Indians there, they waited until late in the night, when they arnor hearing any thing of him, they conclud- rived with their booty. They dispatched a ed the enemy had killed him, and were at a post to their captain, to give him an account of their success; but the day broke before Having brought their prisoners together they came to him; and when they had compared successes, they very remarkably found fore them. Both English and Indians were surprised at this remarkable providence, and were both parties rejoicing at it; being both (Tyasks was the next man to Philip.) They ren, and many of them their guns. They took Tyasks wife and son, and thought that

That night Philip sent (as afterwards they

and if any would behave themselves well, he what men were ready, he took with him the would do well by them, and they should be post that came from Bridgwater to pilot him his men, and not sold out of the country. If to the place, where he thought he might meet he perceived they looked surly, and his Indian with the enemy. In the evening they heard clap them on the back, and tell them, come, into Bridgwater town. It seems the occacome, you look wild and surly, and mutter, sion of the firing was, that Philip finding ready to pilot him to any place where the In- had ambushed them, fired upon them, and

they saw their captain they hastened to meet the Indians were not arrived to wait for them. | country, viz. to the eastward of Taunton river, by which his business was nearer home. The other was, that when he fell on with a push upon any body of the enemy (were they never so many) they fled, expecting the great army. And his manner of marching through the woods was such, as if he were discovered, they appeared to be more than they were; for he always marched at a wide distance one from another, partly for their safety: And this was an Indian custom to march thin and scattered. Captain Church inquired of some of the Indians that were become his soldiers, how they got such advantage often of the English in their marches through the woods? They told him, that the Indians gained great advantage of the English by two things; the Indians always took care in their marches and fights, not to come too thick together; but the English always kept in a heap together, that it was as easy to hit them as to hit a house. The other was, that it at any time they discovered a company of English soldiers in the woods, they knew that there was all, for the English never scattered; but the Indians always divided and scattered.

Captain Church now at Plymouth, something or other happened that kept him at home a few days, until a post came to Marshfield on the Lord's day morning, informing the governor that a great army of Indians were disenvered, who it was supposed were designing to get over the river towards Taunlay on that side of the river. The governor hastened to Plymouth, raised what men he could by the way, came to Plymouth in the beginning of the forenoon exercise; sent for Captain Church out of the meeting-house, gave him the news, and desired him immediately to rally what of his company he could; and what men he had raised should join them. The captain bestirs himself, but found no

Next morning Captain Church moved Captain Church was in two particulars very early with his company, which was inmuch advantaged by the great English army creased by many of Bridgwater, that enlisted that was now abroad. One was, that they under him for that expedition, and, by their drove the enemy down to that part of the piloting, soon came very still to the top of

^{*} In Rochester.

ncross the river; and the captain spied an Indian sitting on the stump of it on the to sit down, till further order: or, upon discoother side of the river, and he clapped his gun up, and had doubtless despatched him, but that one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of their own men; upon which the Indian upon the stump looked about, and Captain Church's Indian seeing his face perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be Philip, clapped up his gun and fired, but it was too late, for Philip immediately threw himself off the stump, leaped down a bank on the side of the river, and made his escape. Captain Church, as soon as possible, got over the river, and scattered in quest of Philip and his company; but the enemy scattered and fled every way; but he picked up a considerable many of their women and children, among which was Philip's wife, and son of about nine years old. Discovering a considerable new track along the river, and examining the prisoners, found it was Qunnappin and the Narragansets, that were drawing off from those parts towards the Narraganset country; he inquired of the prisoners, whether Philip was gone in the same track? They told him they did not know, for he fled in a great fright when the first English gun was fired, and they had none of them seen or heard anything of him since. Captain Church left part of his company there to secure the prisoners they got, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the rest of his company hastened in the track of the enemy, to overtake them, if it might be, before they got over the river, and ran some miles along the river, until he came to a place where the Indians had waded over; and he with his company waded over after them up to the arm-pits; being almost as wet before with sweat as the river could make them. Following about a mile further, and not overtaking them, and the captain being under necessity to return that night to the army, came to a lialt, told his company, he must return to his other men. His Indian soldiers moved for leave to pursue the enemy (though he returned;) said, the Narragansets were great rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their relations; named Tockamona, (Awashonk's brother) and some others. Captain Church bid them go and prosper, and made Lightfoot their chief, and gave him the title of captain: Bid them go and quit themselves like men. And away they scampered like so many horses. Next morning early they returned to their captain, and informed him, that they had come up with the enemy, and killed several of them, and brought him thirteen of them prisoners; were mighty proud of their exploit, and rejoiced much at the op-

the great tree which the enemy had fallen; to his company. Gave them orders to march; secure stands at that end of the swamp where softly, and upon hearing a whistle in the rear, very of any of the enemy, to stop, for his design was, if he could discover where the enemy were, not to fall upon them (unless necessitated to it) until next morning. The Indians in the front came up with many women and children, and others that were faint and tired, and so not able to keep up with the company; these gave them an account that Philip with a great number of the enemy, were a little before. Captain Church's Indians told the others, they were their prisoners, but if they would submit to order, and be still, no one should hurt them: they being their old acquaintance, were easily persuaded to conform. A little before sunset there was a hult in the front, until the captain came up, they told him, they discovered the enemy. He ordered them to dog them, and watch their motion till it was dark. But Philip soon came to a stop, and fell to breaking and chopping wood, to make fires; and a great noise they made. Captain Church draws his company up in a ring, and sat down in the swamp without any noise or fire. The Indian prisoners were much surprised to see the English soldiers; but the captain told them, if they would be quiet and not make any disturbance or noise, they should meet with civil treatment; but if they made any disturbance, or offered to run, or make their escape, he would immediately kill them all; so they were very submissive and obsequious. When the day broke, Captain Church told his prisoners, that his expedition was such at this time that he could not afford them any guard: told them, they would find it to be their interest to attend the orders he was now about to give them; which was, that when the fight was over, which they now expected, or as soon as the firing ceased, they must follow the track of his company, and come to them. (An Indian is next to a blood-hound to follow a track.) He said to them, it would be in vain for them to think of disobedience, or to gain any thing by it, for he had taken and killed a great many of the Indian rebels, and should in a little time kill and take all the rest, &c. By this time it began to be so light, as the time that he usually chose to make his onset. He moved, sending two soldiers before, to try if they could privately discover the enemies' postures. But very unhappily it fell out, that the very same time Philip had sent two of his as a scout upon his own track, to see if none dogged them; who spied the two Indian men, and turned short about, and fled with all speed to their camp, and Captain Church pursued as fast as he could. The two Indians set a yelling and howling, and made the most hideous noise they could inportunity of avenging themselves. Captain vent, soon gave the alarm to Philip and his Church sent the prisoners to Bridgwater, camp; who all fled at the first tidings, left and sent out his scouts to see what enemies their kettles boiling, and meat roasting upon or tracks they could, discovering some small their wooden spits, and ran into a swamp tracks, he follows them, found where the ene- with no other breakfast than what Captain my had kindled some fires, and roasted some Church afterwards treated them with. Capflesh, &c., but had put out their fires and tain Church pursuing, sent Mr. Isaac Howwere gone. The eaptain followed them land with a party on one side of the swamp, by the track, putting his Indians in the while himself with the rest ran on the other his head, which despatched him without an-front; some of which were such as he had side, agreeing to run on each side, until they other blow. But Captain Church looking newly taken from the enemy, and added met on the further end, placing some men in behind him, saw Totoson, the Indian whom

Philip entered, concluding that if they headed him and beat him back, that he would take back in his own track. Captain Church and Mr. Howland soon met at the further end of the swamp, (it not being a great one) where they met with a great number of the enemy, well armed, coming out of the swamp; but, on sight of the English, they seemed very much surprised and tacked short. Captain Church called hastily to them, and said, if they fired one gun they were all dead men; for he would have them to know that he had them hemmed in, with a force sufficient to command them; but if they peaceably surrendered they should have good quarter, &c. They, seeing both Indians and English come so thick upon them, were so surprised that many of them stood still and let the English come and take the guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked.

Many, both men, women, and children of the enemy, were imprisoned at this time, while Philip, Tispaquin, Totoson, &c., concluded that the English would pursue them upon their tracks, so were waylaying their tracks at the first end of the swamp, hoping thereby to gain a shot upon Captain Church, who was now better employed in taking prisoners, and running them into a valley, in form shaped something like a punch-bowl, and appointing a guard of two files, treble armed with guns taken from the enemy. But Philip having waited all this while in vain, now moves on after the rest of his company, to see what was become of them. And by this time Captain Church was got into the swamp ready to meet him; and as it happened made the first discovery, elapped behind a tree until Philip's company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, killed many of them, and a close skirmish followed. Upon this Philip, having grounds sufficient to suspect the event of his company that went before them, fled back upon his own track; and coming to the place where the ambush lay, they fired on each other, and one Lucus, of Plymouth, not being so careful as he might have been about his stand, was killed by the Indians. In this swampskirmish Captain Church with his two men, who always run by his side as his guard, met with three of the enemy, two of which surrendered themselves, and the captain's guard seized them; but the other, being a great, stout, surly fellow, with his two locks tied up with red, and a great rattle-snake skin hanging to the back part of his head, (whom Captain Church concluded to be Totoson) ran from them into the swamp; Captain Church in person, pursued him close, till coming pretty near up with him, presented his gun between his shoulders, but it missing fire, the Indian perceiving it, turned and presented at Captain Church, and missing fire also, (their guns taking wet with the fog and dew of the morning;) but the Indian turning short for another run, his foot tripped in a small grape-vine and he fell flat on his face; Captain Church was by this time up with him, and struck the muzzle of his gun an inch and a half into the back part of

he thought he had killed, come flying at him him no quarter, but was to be forthwith put in sight of the guard that were set to keep it. Barrow replied, that the sentence of the prisoners, who, spying Totoson and others that were following him, in the very he was ashamed to live any longer, and de-us fond of their company as any men's; and no small danger from his friends' bullets, for taken a few whiffs, he said he was ready; some of them came so near him that he upon which one of Captain Church's Indians mish being over, they gathered their prison- mous Totoson arriving at Agawom,* his son, Church to pilot him to Philip, and to help ers together, and found the number they had which was the last that was left of the family, to kill him, that he might revenge his brokilled and taken was one hundred and seven- (Captain Church having destroyed all the ther's death. Told him, that Philip was night included) who after the skirmish, came the miserable condition he had brought him- in the south end of the miry swamp, just at to them as they were ordered.

took from the enemy, they hastened to and brush over him, and came into Saud-Bridgwater, sending an express before to pro- wich, and gave this account of his death, and vide for them, their company being now very offered to show them where she left his body; numerous. The gentlemen of Bridgwater but never had the opportunity, for she innnemet Captain Church with great expressions of diately fell sick and died also. honor and thanks, and received him and his

dian soldiers to guard them. They being until Philip was slain, and promising satiswell treated with victuals and drink, they had faction and redress for some mistreatment a merry night; and the prisoners laughed as that he had met with; he fixes for another he should have the honour (if he would please loud as the soldiers, not being so treated a expedition. He had soon volunteers enough to accept of it) to beat up Philip's head quarlong time before.

soon have his head, and that this bout had al-

most broke his heart.

enemy.

mouth received thanks from the government some news of Philip? He replied, that was for his good service, &c.; many of his soldiers what he wanted. They told him, they had were disbanded; and he thought to rest himrid hard with some hopes of overtaking him, self awhile, being much fatigued, and his and were now come on purpose to inform and wading through rivers, &c. But it was nount-Hope; an Indian came down from nut long before he was called upon to rally, thence (where Philip's camp now was) on upon advice that some of the enemy were to Sand-point, over ngainst Trip's and haldiscovered in Dartmouth woods. He took looed, and made signs to be fetched over; and his Indians, and as many English volunteers being fetched over, he reported that he was as presented, to go with him; and, scatter fled from Philip, who (said he) has killed ing into small parcels, Mr. Jabez Howland my brother just before I came away, for giv-(who was now, and often, his lieutenant, and ing some advice that displeased him. And a worthy good soldier) had the fortune to dis-said, he was fled for fear of meeting with the cover and imprison a parcel of the enemy, same his brother had met with. Told them In the evening they met together at an appointed place, and by examining the prisonneck. Captain Church thanked them for ers, they gained intelligence of Totoson's their good news, and said, he hoped by tohaunt; and being brisk in the morning, they morrow morning to have the rogue's head. soon gained an advantage of Totoson's com- The horses that he and his company came pany, though he himself with his son of about on, standing at the door, (for they had not eight years old made their escape, and one been unsaddled) his wife must content herold squaw with them, to Agawom, his own self with a short visit, when such game was as any among the enemy, fell into the hands to their horses, and away. of the English at this time. Captain Church told him, that because of his inhuman mur-wich, and Springfield. This Agawom lies in Ware ders and barbarities, the court had allowed ham.

Now having no provisions but what they and died. The old squaw flung a few leaves

Captain Church being now at Plymouth army with all due respect and kind treatment. again, weary and worn, would have gone home Captain Church drove his prisoners that to his wife and family, but the government night into Bridgwater pound, and set his In-being solicitous to engage him in the service to make up the company he desired, and Some of the Indians now said to Captain marched through the woods, until he came to allotted number drawn out to him, and the Church, Sir, you have now made Philip ready Pocasset; and not seeing or hearing of any of to die, for you have made him as poor and the enemy they went over the ferry to Rhodemiserable as he used to make the English; Island, to refresh themselves. The Captain the enemy, and he sure not to show himself for you have now killed or taken all his re- with about half a dozen in his company, took lations. That they believed he would now horse and rid about eight miles down the island, to Mr. Sandford's, where he had left his wife; who no sooner saw him but fainted The next day Captain Church moved and with surprise; and by that time she was a arrived with all his prisoners safe at Ply-little revived, they spied two horsemen commouth. The great English army was now ing a great pace. Captain Church told his at Taunton, and Major Talcot, with the company that those men (by their riding) Connecticut forces, being in these parts of came with tidings. When they came up the country, did considerable spoil upon the they proved to be Major Sandford, and Captain Golding; who immediately asked Cap-Now Captain Church being arrived at Ply- tain Church, what he would give to hear health impaired, by excessive heats and colds, him, that there was just now tidings from country; but Sam Barrow, as noted a rogue ahead; they immediately mounted, set spurs

The two gentlemen that brought him the like a dragon; but this happened to be fair to death, and therefore he was to prepare for tidings, told him, they would gladly wait upseasonable juncture made a shot upon them, sired no more favour than to smoke a whiff of (in short) they went with him. And they and rescued their captain; though he was in tohacco before his execution. When he had were soon at Trip's ferry (with Captain Church's company) where the deserter was; who was a fellow of good scuse, and told thought he felt the wind of them. The skir-sunk his hatchet into his brains. The fa- his story handsomely. He offered Captain ty-three, (the prisoners which they took over rest) fell sick: the wretch, reflecting upon now upon a little spot of upland, that was self into, his heart became a stone within him, the foot of the Mount, which was a spot of ground that Captain Church was well acquainted with. By that time they were got over the ferry, and came near the ground, half the night was spent. The captain commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he asked Major Sandford's and Captain Golding's advice, what method was best to take in making the onset, but they declined giving him any advice, telling him, that his great experience and success forbid their taking upon them to give advice. Then Captain Church offered Captain Golding that ters. He accepted the offer, and had his pilot. Captain Church's instructions to him were, to be very careful in his approach to until by daylight they might see and discern their own men from the enemy; told him also, that his custom in like cases was, to creep with his company on their bellies, until they came as near as they could; and that as soon as the enemy discovered them they would cry out; and that was the word for his men to fire and fall on. Directed him when the enemy should start, and take into the swamp, they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what poise they could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come

Captain Church knowing that it was Philip's custom to be foremost in the flight, went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scituate the command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of trees, &c. that he could find, and took care to place them at such distance that none might pass undiscovered between them, charged them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp; but being somewhat further through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade. Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sandford by the hand, said, Sir, I have so placed them that it is searce possible Philip should escape them. The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's eamp. Captain Church at first thought it might be some gun fired by accident; but before he could speak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of Philip's gang going forth to ease himself,

^{*} Several places were called Agawom; as at Ips-

Captain Golding thought the Indian looked stow gratuities upon him; and accordingly right at him, (though probably it was but his he got many a penny by it. conceit) so fired at him, and upon his firing the whole company that were with him fired upon the captain with his company returned to the time to rise from their sleep, and so overshot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who starting at the first gun, threw his petunk, and powder-horn over his head, catched up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and and sixpence a man, which was all the reran directly on two of Captain Church's ambush; they let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to purpose, sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it : he fell upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceived they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp, tacked short about. One of thee nemy, who seemed to be a great, surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, Iootash, Iootash. Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him who that was that called so? He answered, it was old Annawon, Philip's great captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks. The man that had shot down Philip, ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it, and let no man more know it, until they had drove the swamp clean; but when they had drove the swamp through, and found the enemy had escap ed, or at least the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemies night-shelter was; and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death; upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas. Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland, so some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches, (being otherwise naked) and drew him through the mud to the upland, and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said, that for a smuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him; accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech, directing it to Philip, and said, he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was he would now chop his arse for him; and so he went to work, and did as he was ordered. Philip having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly; Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot

when he had done, looked round him, and him, to show to such gentlemen as would be-

This being on the last day of the week, the enemies' shelter, before the Indians had island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head, for the enemics which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it is scanty reward and poor encouragement; though it was better than what had been for some time before. For this march they received four shillings ward they had, except the honour of killing Philip. This was in the latter end of August, 1676.

Captain Church had been but a little while at Plymouth, before a post from Rehoboth came to inform the government, that old Annawon, Philip's chief captain, was with his company ranging about their woods, and was very offensive and pernicious to Rehoboth and Swansey. Captain Church was immediately sent for again, and treated with to engage in one expedition more; he told them, their encouragement was so poor, he feared his soldiers would be dull about going again; but being a hearty friend to the cause, he rallies again, goes to Mr. Jabez Howland, his old lieutenant, and some of his soldiers that used to go out with him; told them how the ease was circumstanced, and that he had intelligence of old Annawon's walk and haunt, and wanted hands to hunt him; they did not want much entreating, but told him, they would go with him, as long as there was an Indian left in the woods. He moved and ranged through the woods to Pocasset.

It being the latter end of the week, he proposed to go on to Rhode Island, and rest until Monnay; but on the Lord's day morning, there came a post to inform the captain, that early the same morning a canoe with several Indians in it passed from Prudence Island to Poppasquash-Neck.* Captain Church thought, if he could possibly surprise them, he might probably gain some intelligence of more game; therefore he made all possible speed after them. The ferry-boat being out of the way, he made use of canoes; by that time they had made two freights, and had got over the captain, and about fifteen or sixteen of his Indians, the wind sprung up with such violence that canoes could no more pass. The Captain seeing it was impossible for any more of his soldiers to come to him. he told his Indians, if they were willing to go with him, he would go to Poppasquash, and see if they could catch some of the enemy Indians. They were willing to go, but were sorry they had no English soldiers; so they marched through the thickets that they might not be discovered, until they came unto the salt meadow, to the northward of Bristol town, that now is. Then they heard a gun, the captain looked about, not knowing but it might be some of his own company in the rear; so halting till they all came up, he found it was none of his own company that fired. Now though he had but a few

men, was minded to send some of them on on a scout. He moved it to Captain Light foot to go with three more on a scout; he said he was willing, provided the captain's man Nathaniel, (which was an Indian they had lately taken) might be one of them, because he was well acquainted with the neck. and coming lately from among them, knew how to call them. The captain bid him choose his three companions, and go; and if they came across any of the enemy, not to kill them if they could possibly take them alive; that they might gain intelligence concerning Annawon. The captain with the rest of his company moved but a little way further toward Poppasquash, before they heard another gun, which seemed to be the same way with the other, but further off; but they made no halt until they came on to the narrow of Poppasquash Neck; where Captain Church left three men more, to watch if any should come out of the neck. and to inform the scout when they returned which way he was gone.

He parted the remainder of his company, half on one side of the neck, and the other with himself went on the other side of the neck, until they met; and meeting neither with Indians nor canoes, returned big with expectations of tidings by their scout; but when they came back to the three men at the parrow of the neck, they told their captain the scout was not returned, had heard nor seen anything of them: this filled them with thoughts of what should become of them; by the time they had sat and waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they despaired of their returning to them. Some of the Indians told their captain, they feared his new man Nathaniel had met with his old Mount-Hope friends, and was turned rogue. They concluded to make no fires that night (and indeed they had no great need of any) for they had no victuals to cook, had not so much as a morsel of bread with them.

They took up their lodging scattering, that if possibly their scout should come in the night, and whistle (which was their sign) some or other of them might hear them. They had a very solitary, hungry night; and as soon as the day broke they drew off through the brush to a hill without the neck, and looking about them they espied one Indian man come running somewhat towards them; the captain ordered one man to step out and shew himself. Upon this the Indian ran right to him, and who should it be but Captain Light-foot, to their great joy. Captain Church asked him, what news? He answered, Good news, they were all well, and had catched ten Indians, and that they guarded them all night to one of the flankers of the old English garrison; that their prisoners were part of Annawon's company, and that they had left their families in a swamp above Mattapoiset Neck.* And as they were marching towards the old garrison, Lightfoot gave Captain Church a particular account of their exploit, viz. that presently after they left him, they heard another gun, which seemed towards the Indian burying place, and moving that way, they discovered two of the enemy fleeing on a horse. 'The

* In Swanzey. There is another Mattapoiset iu

Rochester.

^{*} On the west-side of Bristol.

scout elapping into the brush, Nathaniel bid them sit down, and he would presently call all the Indians thereabout unto him. They hid, and he went a little distance back from them, and set up his note, and howled like a wolf. One of the two immediately left his horse and came running to see who was there; but Nathaniel howling lower and lower drew him in between those that lay in wait for him, who seized him; Nathaniel continuing the same note, the other left the horse also, following his mate, and met with the same. When they caught these two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their story, that there were eight more of them come down into the neck to get provisions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. These two being some of Nathaniel's old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his enticing story, (telling what a brave captain he had, how bravely he lived since he had been with him, and how much they might better their condition by turning to him, &c.) persuaded and engaged them to be on his side, which indeed now began to be the better side of the hedge. They waited but a little while before they espied the rest of theirs coming up to the burying place, and Nathaniel soon howled them in as he had done their mates before.

When Captain Church came to the garrison he met his lieutenant and the rest of his company; and then making uq good fires they fell to roasting their horse-beef, enough to last them the whole day, but had not a morsel of bread; though salt they had, which they always carried in their pockets, which, at this time was very acceptable to them. Their next motion was towards the place where the prisoners told them they had left their women and children, and surprised them all, and some others that were newly come to them. And upon examination they held to one story, that it was hard to tell where to find Annawon, for he never roosted twice in a place. Now a certain Indian soldier that Captain Church had gained over to be on his side, prayed that he might have liberty to go and fetels in his father, who, he said, was about four miles from that place, in a swamp, with no other than a young squaw. Captain Church inclined to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain some intelligence of Annawon; and so taking one Englishman and a few Indians with him, leaving the rest there, he went with his new soldier to look for his father. When he came to the swamp he bid the Indian go to see if he could find his father; he was no sooner gone but Captain Church discovered a track coming down out of the woods, upon which he and his little company lay close, some on one side of the track, and some on the other. They heard the Indian soldier make a howling for his father; and at length somebody answered him, but while they were listening, they thought they heard somebody coming towards them, presently saw an old man coming up with a gun on his shoulder, and a young woman following. in the track which they lay by. They let them come up between them, and then started up and laid hold of them both. Captain Church immediately examined them apart,

told false stories. He asked the young woman, what company they came from last? She said, from Captain Annawon's. He and had success. asked her, how many were in company with him when she left him? She said fifty or sixty. He asked her, how many miles it was to the place where she left him? She said, she did not understand miles, but he was up in Squannaconk swamp.* The old man who had been one of Philip's council, upon that they were almost out of sight; looking examination, gave exactly the same account. Captain Church asked him, if they could get there that night? He said, if they went presently, and travelled stoutly, they might get there by senset. He asked, whither he was going? He answered, that Annawon had sent him down to look for some Indians, that were gone down into Mount-Hope neck to kill some provisions. Captain Church let it began to grow dark the scouts returned. him know that those Indians were all his And then (said he) we may move again seprisoners. By this time came the Indian eurely. When it began to grow dark the old soldier and brought his father and one Indian more. The captain was now in great strait of mind what to do next, he had a mind to give Annawon a visit, now he knew where to find him; but his company was very small, but half a dozen men beside himself, and was under a necessity to send somebody back and acquaint his lieutenant and company with his proceedings. However, he asked his small company that were with anon they heard a noise; the captain staved him, whether they would willingly go with him, and give Annawon a visit? They told him, they were always ready to obey his commands, &c., but withal told him, that of a mortar. The old man had given Capthey knew this Captain Annawon was a great soldier; that he had been a valiant captain Annawon now lay, and of the difficulty of under Asuhmequin, Philip's father, and that he had been Philip's ehieftain all this war; a very subtle man, and of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taken from whence he could see their camps. He alive by the English; and moreover they knew that the men that were with him were resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief soldiers; and therefore feared whether it was practicable to make an attempt upon him with so small a handful of assistants as were now with him: told him further, that it would be a pity that after all the grent things he had done, he should throw away his life at last. Up- his son, and some of his chiefs had taken up on which he replied, that he doubted not Au- their lodging and made great fires without nawon was a subtle and valiant man: that he them, and had their pots and kettles hoiling, had a long time but in vain sought for him. and never till now could find his quarters; and he was very loath to miss of the opportunity; and doubted not but if they would cheerfully go with him, the same Almighty Providence that had hitherto protected and befriended them would do so still, &c. Upon this with were so near the arms as almost to touch with one consent they said, they would go. them; but the rocks were so steep that it Captain Church then turned to one Cook, of Plymouth, (the only Englishman then with lowered themselves by the boughs and the him) and asked him, what he thought of it? bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Who replied, Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me. Then old man, asked him if there was no possibili-Captain Church asked the old Indian, if he ty of getting at them some other way? He could carry his horse with him? (For he con- answered, no: that he and all that belonged veyed a horse thus far with him.) He replied, to Annawon were ordered to come that way, that it was impossible for a horse to pass the and none could come any other way without swamps: therefore he sent away his new In-difficulty or danger of being shot. dian soldier with his father and the captain's horse to his lieutenant, and orders for him and his daughter to go down foremost, with

telling them, what they must trust to if they eure them there, and to come out in the morning in the Rehoboth road, in which he might expect to meet him, if he were alive

The captain then asked the old fellow, if he would pilot him anto Annawon? He answered, that he having given him his life, he was obliged to serve him. He bid him move on then, and they followed. The old man would out-travel them so far sometimes over his shoulder, and seeing them behind, he would halt. Just as the sun was setting, the old man made a full stop and sat down, the company coming up also sat down, being all wenry. Captain Church asked, what news? He answered, that about that time in the evening Captain Annawon sent out his scouts to see if the coast was clear, and as soon as man stood up again, Captain Church asked him, if he would take a gun and fight for him? He bowed very low and prayed him not to impose such a thing upon him, as to fight against Captain Annawon his old friend But says he, I will go along with you and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you. It being now pretty dark they moved close together; the old man with his hand, and asked his own men what noise they thought it might be? They concluded it to be the pounding tain Church a description of the place where getting at him. Being sensible that they were pretty near them, with two of his Indians he creeps to the edge of the rocks, saw three companies of Indians at a little distance from each other, being easy to be discovered by the light of their fires. He saw also the great Annawon and his company, who had formed his camp or kennellingplace, by falling a tree under the side of the great elefts of rocks, and setting a row of bireh bushes up against it, where he himself, and spits roasting; their arms also he discovered, all set together in a place fitted for the purpose, standing up an end against a stick lodged in two crotehes, and a mat placed over them, to keep them from the wet or dew. The old Annawon's feet and his son's head, was impossible to get down, but as they

Captain Church then ordered the old man to move to Taunton with the prisoners to se- their baskets at their backs, that when Annawon saw them with their baskets he should

under the shadow of these two and their bas- friends again, &c. kets, and the captain himself crept close bethe midst of them. When they discovered lives should all be spared, excepting Captain themselves who they were, told them that Annawon's, and it was not in his power to would be best for them quietly and peacea- to his masters at Plymouth, and he would enbly to surrender themselves, which would treat them for his life. Now when Captain procure good quarter for them: otherwise, if Church found not only his own men, but all expect no other but that Captain Church himself; and so they lay looking one upon with his great army, who had now entrap-ped them, would cut them to pieces; told said nothing to him, for he could not speak and deliver all their arms unto them, and speak English; at length Annawon raised keep every man his place until it was day, himself up, cast off his blanket, and with no they would assure them that Captain Church, more clothes than his small breeches, walked who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him, should be as kind tain Church thought no other but that he unto them. Now they being old acquaint- was tired with lying still so long, and ance, and many of them relations, did much wished to walk a little to stretch his limbs the readier give heed to what they said, com- but by and by he was gone out of sight and plied and surrendered up their arms unto hearing, and then Captain Church began to them, both their guns and hatchets, &c., and suspect some ill design in him, and got all were forthwith carried to Captain Church.

Church asked Annawon, What he had for should any where get a gun he should not supper? For (said he) I am come to sup with you. Taubut (said Annawon) with a big voice; and looking about upon his women, bid them hasten and get Captain ing the same way that Annawon went. The Church and his company some supper; then moon now shining bright, he saw him at a turned to Captain Church and asked him, whether he would eat cow-beef or horsebeef; the captain told him cow-beef would be most acceptable. It was soon got ready, and pulling his little bag of salt out of his pocket, which was all the provision he brought with him; this seasoned his cow-beef so that with it and the dried green corn, which the old that war against the English, so suppose the squaw was pounding in the mortar, while they were sliding down the rocks, he made a very hearty supper. And this pounding in the mortar proved lucky for Captain Church's getting down the rocks; for when the old squaw pounded, they moved, and wampum, in various figures and flowers, and when she ceased to turn the corn, they ceased creeping, the noise of the mortar prevented the enemy's hearing their creeping. And the corn being now dressed supplied the want of bread, and gave a fine the former manner, which Philip was wont relish with the cow-beef. Supper being over, to put upon his head; it had two flags on Captain Church sent two of his men to in- the back part, which hung down on his back, that he had subdued now all the enemy (he Annawon said they got in the Moliog's counsupposed) excepting this company of Annatry. Then he pulled out two horns of glazwon's, and now if they would be orderly and ed powder, and a red cloth blanket lie keep their places until morning, they should told Captain Church these were Philip's royal-

not mistrust the intrigue. Captain Church have good quarter, and that he would carry ties, which he was wont to adorn himself with and his handful of soldiers crept down also them to Taunton, where they might see their

The messenger returned, that the Indians threw himself back again, and lay silent un- to sleep departed from him. After he had til Captain Church had secured all the arms, lain a little while he looked up to see how &c. And having secured that company, he his watch managed, but found them all fast sent his Indian soldiers to the other fires and asleep. Now Captain Church had told Capcompanies, giving them instructions, what to tain Annawon's company, as he had orderdo and sav. Accordingly, they went into ed his Indians to tell the others, that their their Captain Annawon was taken, and it promise him his life, but he must carry him they should pretend to resist or make their the Indians fast asleep, Annawon only exceptescape, it would be in vain, and they could ed, whom he perceived was as broad awake as them also if they would submit themselves, Indian, and thought Annawon could not a little way back from the company; Capthe guns close to him, and crowded himself Things being so far settled, Captain close under young Annawon, that if he make a shot at him without endangering his son; lying very still a while, waiting for distance coming with something in his hands, and coming up to Captain Church, he fell upon his knees before him, and offered him what he had brought, and speaking in plain English, said, Great captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the last war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong unto you. Then opening his pack, he pulled out Philip's belt curiously wrought with wampum, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white pietures of many birds and beasts. This, when hung upon Captain Church's shoulders. reached his ancles; and another belt of wampum he presented him with, wrought after form the other companies, that he had killed and another small belt with a star upon the Philip, and had taken their friends in Mount- end of it, which he used to hang on his breast; Hope neck, but had spared their lives, and and they were all edged with red hair, which

when he sat in state. That he thought himself happy that he had an opportunity to persent them to Captain Church, who had won bind the old man, with his hatchet in his yielded to his proposals. Captain Church them, &c., spent the remainder of the night hand, and stepped over the young man's head thought it was now time for him to take a in discourse; and gave an account of what to the arms; the young Annawon discover- nap, having had no sleep in two days and one mighty success he had formerly in wars ing of him, whipped his blanket over his head night before; told his men that if they would against many nations of Indians, when he and shrunk up in a heap. The old Captain let him sleep two hours, they should sleep all served Asuhmequin, Philip's father, &c. In Annawon started up on his breech, and the rest of the night. He laid himself down the morning, as soon as it was light, the capcried out Howoh, and despairing of escape, and endeavoured to sleep, but all disposition tain marched with his prisoners out of that swampy country, townrds Taunton, met his lieutenant and company about four miles out of town, who expressed a great deal of joy to see him again, and said, it was more than ever he expected. They went into Taunton, were civilly and kindly treated by the inhabitants, refreshed and rested themselves that night. Early next morning, the captain took old Annawon, and half a dozen of his Indian soldiers, and his own man, and went to Rhode Island, sending the rest of his company and his prisoners by his lieutenant to Plymouth. Tarrying two or three days upon the island, he then went to Plymouth, and carried his wife and his two children with him.

Captain Church had been but a little while at Plymouth, when he was informed of a parcel of Indians who had haunted the woods between Plymouth and Sippican, that did great damage to the English, in killing their cattle, horses, and swine; the captain was soon in pursuit of them: went out from Plymouth the next Monday in the afternoon; next morning early they discovered a track; the captain sent two Indians on the track to see what they could discover, whilst he and his company followed gently after, but the two Indians soon returned with tidings that they discovered the enemy sitting round their fires, in a thick place of brush. When they came pretty near the place, the captain ordered every man to creep as he did and surround them by creeping as near as they could, till they should be discovered, and then to run on upon them and take them alive, if possible, (for their prisoners were their pay:) they did so, took every one that was at the fires, not one escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their story, that they belonged to Tispaquin, who was gone with John Bump, and one more, to Agawom* and Sippican, to kill horses, and were not expected back in two or three days.

This same Tispaquin had been a great captain, and the Indians reported that he was such a great Pauwau, that no bullet could enter him, &c. Captain Church said, he would not have him killed, for there was a war broke out in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go with him to fight the eastern Indians. Agreeably he left two old squaws of the prisoners, and bid them tarry there until their Captain Tispaquin returned, and to tell him, that Church had been there, and had taken his wife and children, and company, and carried them down to Plymouth; and would spare all their lives and his too, if he would come down to them, and bring the other two that were with him, and they should be his soldiers, &c., Captain Church then returned to

^{*} Wareham. ‡ Rochester...

Plymouth, leaving the old squaws well pro-loners as, by the blessing of God, the said him into his room and discoursed freely; Leverett, who then lay sick; who requested for him and them to make sale of such priswere with him; but when Captain Church returned from Boston, he found to his grief, the hends of Annowan, Tispaquin, &c. cut off, which was the last of Philip's friends. The general court of Plymouth, then sitting, out, and took divers parties of Indians; and sent for Captain Church, who waited upon in one of which parties there was a certain for his good service, which they unanimously take particular notice of, and asking him voted, which were all that Captain Church where he belonged, he told him to Swanzev; had for his aforesaid service.

of January, Captain Church received a commission from Governor Winslow, to scour the was what they were searching for, it being woods of some of the lurking enemy, which much wanted; and then returned the said they were well informed were there. Which Conscience to his post again at Swanzey, to a commission is as follows:-

Being well informed that there are certain parties of our Indian enemies (remains of the people or allies of Philip, late Sachem of Mount Hope, our mortal enemy) that are still lurking in the woods, near some of our plantations, that go on to disturb the peace of his majesty's subjects in this and the neighbouring colonics, by their frequent robberies, and other insolences: Captain Benjamin Church is therefore hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered to raise a company of volunteers, consisting of English and Indians, so many as he shall mediately Sir Edmund sent an express for judge necessary to improve in the present ex- Captain Church; who, then being at Littlepedition, and can obtain: And of them to Compton, received it on a Lord's day, in the take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth unto such place or places, within ing, took his horse and set out for Boston, this or the neighbouring colonies, as he shall as ordered; and by sunrise next morning got think fit, and as the providence of God, and to Braintree, where he met with Colonel his intelligence, may lead him; to discover, Page on horseback, going to Weymouth and pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, and subdue Hingham to raise forces to go east; who our said Indian enemy, or any party or par- said he was glad to see him, and that his exties of them, that, by the providence of God, cellency would be as glad to see him in Bosthey may meet with: Or them, or any of ton so early: So parting he soon got to Bosthem, to receive to mercy, if he see cause; ton, and waited upon his excellency; who (provided they be not murderous rogues, or informed him of an unhappy war broke out such as have been principal actors in those in the eastern parts; and said he was going villanies.) And for the prosecution of this himself in person, and that he wanted his design, liberty is hereby granted to the said company with him: But Captain Church Captain Church, and others, to arm and set not finding himself in the same spirit he used this colony of New Plymouth, to go forth to the out such of our friendly Indians as he is wil- to have, said he hoped his excellency would ling to entertain.—And for a smuch as all these give him time to consider of it. He told him our enemies that have been taken, or at any he might; and also said that he must come our courts and councils, been rendered law-many acquaintance in Boston, who made it and destruction of the common enemy; ful captives of war, and condemned to per-their business some to encourage and others. And whereas you, Benjamin Church, are ap-

vided for, and biscuit for Tispaquin when he captain and company, or any of them, shall rcturned: Telling his soldiers that he doubt-ed not but he had laid a trap that would take der, shall be their own, and to be distributed him. Captain Church, two days after, went amongst themselves, according to such agreeto Boston, (the commissioners then sitting) ment as they may be at one with another: And and waited upon the honourable Governor it shall be lawful, and is hereby warrantable, Captain Church to give him some account oners as their perpetual slaves; or otherwise of the war; who readily obliged his honour to retain and keep them as they think therein, to his great satisfaction, as he was meet, (they being such as the law allows to pleased to express himself; taking him by be kept.) Finally, the said Captain Church the hand, and telling him, if it pleased God herein improving his best judgment and dishe lived, he would make it a brace of a hun-cretion, and utmost ability, faithfully to serve dred pounds advantage to him out of the Mas-the interest of God, his majesty's interest, sachusetts colony, and would endeavour that and the interest of the colony; and carefully the rest of the colonies should do proportion-governing his said company at home and ably ; but he died within a fortnight after, and abroad : These shall be unto him full and amso nothing was done of that nature. The ple commission, warrant, and discharge. Givsame day Tispaquin came in, and those that en under the public seal, January 15th, 1676. Per JOSIAH WINSLOW, Gov.

Accordingly, Captain Church, accompanied with several gentlemen and others, went them accordingly, and received their thanks old man whom Captain Church seemed to the captain asked his name, who replied his Afterwards, in the year 1676, in the month name was Conscience; Conscience, said the captain, smiling, then the war is over, for that certain person the said Indian desired to be sold to, and so returned home.

> A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIONS IN THE MORE LATE WARS AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY AND INDIAN REBELS, IN THE EAST-ERN PARTS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE AFORESAID CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CHURCH.

In the time of Sir Edmund Andross's government, began that bloody war in the eastern parts of New England; so that imafternoon meeting; going home after meettime may be taken by our forces, have, by and dine with him. Captain Church having and to join with their forces for the repelling

saying, that he having knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go with him, and be his second, with other enconragements. But in short, the said Captain Church did not accept, so was dismissed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government reassumed; and then Governor Bradstreet sent for Captain Church to come to Boston as soon as his business would permit; whereupon he went to Boston, and waited upon his honour; who told him he was requested by the council to send for him, to see if he could be prevailed with to raise volunteers, both English and Indians, to go east; for the eastward Indians had done great spoil upon the English in those parts; giving him an account of the miseries and sufferings of the people there. Captain Church's spirits being affected, said if he could do any service for his honour, the country and their relief be was ready and willing. He was asked how he would act? He said, he would take with bim as many of his old soldiers as he could get, both English and Indians. The gentlemen of Boston requested him to go to Rhode Island government to ask their assistance: So giving him their letter and about forty shillings in money. he took leave, and went home to Bristol on a Saturday, and the next Monday morning he went over to Rhode Island, and waited upon their governor, delivering the letter as ordered; prayed his honour for a speedy answer: Who said they could not give an answer presently; so he waited on them till he had their answer; and when he had obtained it, he carried it to the Boston gentlemen; who desired him to raise what volunteers he could in Plymouth colony, and Rhode Island government, and what was wanting they would make up out of theirs that was already out in the eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Captain Church made what despatch he could, and raised about two hundred and fifty men, volunteers, and received his commission from Governor Hinckley, which is ns followeth, viz:--

" The Council of war of their Majestys' colony of New Plymouth, in New England, to Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief.

"Whereas the Kennebeck and eastern Indians, with their confederates, have openly made war upon their majestys' subjects of the provinces of Maine, New Hampshire, and the Massachusetts colony, having committed many barbarous murders, spoils and rapines upon their persons and estates : And whereas there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now raised and detached out of the several regiments and places within assistance of our neighbours and friends of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown, perual servitude; this council do also deter to discourage him from going with his excelpointed to be major and commander-in-chief mine, and hereby declare, That all such pristlency: So after dinner his excellency took of all the forces. English and Indians, de-

tached within this colony, for the service of Willard, and Captain Nathaniel Hall, with of-war sloops, and other small vessels for their majesties uforesaid: these are in their majesties name to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to attend that service, by leading and exercising of your inferior officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief commander; and to pursue, fight, take, kill, or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors, by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity. And you are to observe and obey all such orders and instructions as from time to time you shall receive from the commissioners of the colonies, the council of war of this colony, or the governor and council of the Massachusetts' colony. In testimony whereof the publie seal of the said colony of New Plymouth is hereunto affixed. Dated in Plymouth, the sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque regni Regis et Reginæ Willielmi et Maria Anglia, &c. Primo.

THOMAS HINKLEY, Pres't.

And now marehing them all down to Boston, then received his further orders and instructions, which are as followeth:

Boston, Sept. 16th, 1689. · To all sheriffs, marshals, constables, and other officers military and civil, in their majesties province of Maine.

"Whereas, pursuant to an agreement of the commissioners of the united colonies, Major Benjamin Church is commissioned commander in chief over that part of their Majesties forces (levied for the present expedition against the common enemy) whose head-quarters are appointed to be at Falmouth, in Casco Bay: In their Majesties numes, you, and every one of you are required to be aiding and assisting to the said Major Church in his pursuit of the enemy, as any emergency shall require; and so impress boats, or other vessels, carts, carriages, horses, oxen, provision, and ammunition, and men for guides, &c., as you shall receive warrants from the said chief commander, or his lieutenant so to do: you may not fail to do the same speedily and effectually, as you will answer your neglect and contempt of their Majesties authority and service at your uttermost peril. Given under my hand and seal the day and year above written. Annoque Regni Regis et Reginæ Willielmi and Mariæ, Primo.

By Thomas Danforth, President of the province of Maine.

By the governor and council of the Massachusetts colony: to Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas, you are appointed and commissioned by the council of war, of the colony of New Plymouth, commander in chief of the forces raised within the said colony, against the common Indian enemy, now ordered into the eastern parts, to join with some of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repelling, and subduing of the said enemy: rational capacity for so doing. The better to attend and observe, and in the absence of the

several command, belonging to this colony, siderable time. You are to see that your now in or about Caseo Bay, be, and are soldiers arms be always fixed, and that they hereby put under you, as their commander in be furnished with ammunition, provisions chief for this present expedition. And in and other necessaries, that so they may be in pursuance of the commissions severally given a readiness to repel and uttack the enemy. to either of them, they are ordered to observe and obey your orders and directions as their commander in chief until further order from the governor and council, or the commissioners of the colonies. Dated in Boston, the 17th day of September, Anno Dom. 1689, Annogse Regni Regis et Reginæ Guilliehni et Mariæ, Anglia &c. Primo.

S. BRADSTREET, GOV. Past in Council, Attest. Isaac Addington, Secr.

By the Commissioners of the colonies of the Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, for managing the present war against the common enemy.

"Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, commander in chief of the Plymouth forces, with others of the Massachusetts, put under his command.

"In pursuance of the commission given you, for their Majesties service in the present expedition against the common Indian enemy, their aiders and abettors; reposing confidence as you shall see meet, for the discovering, present expedition. pursuing, subduing, and destroying the said capable of; always intending the preserving of any of the near towns from incursions, and destruction of the enemy, yet chiefly improving your men, for the finding and following the of those parts, and is writ unto to advise and said enemy abroad, and if possible to find inform you all he can. out and attack their head quarters and prin-

the two companies of soldiers under their transportation to attend you, for some con-In your pursuit you are to take special care to avoid danger by ambushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts and a forlorn hope before your main body, and by all possible means endeavouring to surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all mutinies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, according to the rules of war herewith given you.

"You are, according to your opportunity, or any occasion more than ordinary occuring, to hold correspondence with Major Swaine, and to yield mutual assistance when and as you are capable of it, and you may have reason to judge it will be of most public service; and it will be meet you and he should agree of some signal whereby your Indians may be known from the enemy. You are to encourage your soldiers to be industrious, vigorous, and venturous in their service, to search out and destroy the enemy, acquainting them, it is agreed by the several colonies, that they shall have the benefit of the captives, in your wisdom, prudence and fidelity in the and all lawful plunder, and the reward of trust committed to you, for the honour of Eight Pounds per head, for every fighting God, good of his people, and the security of Indian man slain by them, over and above the interest of Christ in his churches, ex- their stated wages; the same being made appecting and praying that in your dependence pear to the commander in chief, or such as upon him, you may be helped and assisted shall be appointed to take care therein. If with all that grace and wisdom which is re- your commission officers, or uny of them quisite for carrying you on with success in should be slain, or otherwise uncopable of this difficult service; and though much is service, and for such reason dismissed, you and must be left to your discretion, as Provi- are to appoint others in their room, who shall dence and opportunity may present from time have the like wages, and a commission sent to time in places of attendance: yet the fol- upon notice given, you to give them commislowing instructions are commended unto sions in the mean time. You are to take efyour observation, and to be attended to so feetual care that the worship of God be kept far as the state of matters with you in such up in the army, morning and evening prayer a transaction will admit. You are with all attended as far as may be, and as the emerpossible speed to take care that the Plymouth geneies of your affairs will admit, to see that forces, both English and Indians, under your the holy subbath be duly sanctified. You are command, be fixed and ready, and the first to take eare as much as muy be, to prevent opportunity of wind and weather, to go on or punish drunkenness, swearing, cursing, or board such vessels as are provided to trans-port you and them to Casco, where, if it shall God. You are to advise with your chief ofplease God you arrive, you are to take under ficers in any matters of moment, as you shall your care and command the companies of have opportunity. You are from time to time Capt. Nathaniel Hall, and Capt. Simon Wil- to give intelligence and advice to the governor lard, who are ordered to attend your command, and council of the Massachusetts, or commiswhom, together with the Plymouth forces, sioners of the colonies, of your proceedings and such as from time to time may be added and occurences that may happen, and how it unto you, you are to improve in such a way shall please the Lord to deal with you in this

common enemy, by all opportunities you are to be serviceable to you, dismiss them as soon

"Captain Sylvanus Davis is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs

"Such further instructions as we shall see It is therefore ordered that Captain Simon enable you thereto, we have ordered two men-commissioners, you shall observe the orders

"If you find the vessels are not likely to as you may.

governor and council of the Massachusetts. Given under our hands in Boston, Sept.

18, 1639. Thos. Hinkley, Thomas Danforth, Pres. John Walley, Elisha Cooke, Samuel Mason. William Pitkin.

THE FIRST EXPEDITION EAST.

Being ready, Major Church embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them for Caseo, having a brave gale at S. W., and on Friday about three o'clock, they got in sight of Casco harbour; and discovering two or three small ships there, not knowing whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the said commander, Major Church, gave orders that every man that was able should make rendy, and all lie close, giving orders how they should act in case they were enemies. He going day; so he hastened to bed to get some rest. in the Mary sloop, together with the Resolution, went in first, being both well fitted presently ordering the companies to make with guns and men; coming to the first, hailed them, who said they were friends, presently manned their boat, brought to, and so came along side of them; who gave the said Church an account, that yesterday there was a very great army of Indians and French with them upon the island, at the going out of the harbour, and that they were come on purpose to take Casco fort and town; likewise informed him that they had got a eaptive woman aboard (Major Walden's daughter of Piscataqua) that could give him a full account of their number and intentions: He bid them give his service to their captain, in the other. So most of them were ready and tell him, he would wait upon him after for action, (viz.) the Seconet Indians, but he had been on shore and given some orders the Cape Indians were very bare, lying so and directions. Being come pretty near, he ordered all the men still to keep close, giving an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being town, just going to breakfast, there was an glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news Mrs. Lee had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He, going to Captain Davis's to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by Boston castle; and now having inquired into the state of the town, found them in a poor condition to defend themselves against such a number of enemies: He gave them an account of his orders and instructions, and told them what forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all land, and not before, lest the enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the privateer, who were Dutchmen; but as he went, called aboard every vessel, and ordered the officers to take care that their men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the people of the town expected the enemy to fall upon them every minute, but withal charging them to keep undiscovered; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discoursed with Mrs. Lee, who informed him that the company she came with had fourseore eanoes, and that there were more of them whom she had not seen, which came from other places, and that they told her when they came all together, they should made, and three knapsacks of powder, went make up seven hundred men. He asked immediately to the army, who were very

with them, but did not know whether Casteen was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the fort and town, discoursing with the gentlemen there according to his instructions; and when it began to grow dark, he ordered the vessels to come as near the fort as might be, and land the soldiers with as little noise as possible; ordering them as they landed to go into the fort and houses that stood near, that so they might be ready upon occasion; having ordered provisions for them, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering the officers to take special care that they were ready to march into the woods an hour before day: And also directing the watch to call him two hours before

At the time prefixed he was called, and ready; and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the towns people went with them into a thick place of brush, about half a mile from the town; now ordering them to send out their seouts, as they used to do, and seeing them all settled at their work, he went into town by sunrise again, and desired the inhabitants to take care of themselves, till his men had fitted themselves with some necessaries: For his Indians most of them wanted both bags and horns; so he ordered them to make bags like wallets, to put powder in one end, and shot long at Boston before they embarked, that they had sold everything they could make a penny of; some tying shot and powder in the corners of their blankets. He being in alarm, so he ordered all the soldiers in town to move away as fast as they could, where the firing was; and he, with what men more were with him of his soldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Captain Bracket's sons, who told him their father was taken, and that they saw a great army of the Indians in their father's orchard. By this time our Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more ammunition. Presently came a messenger to him from the town and informed him, that they had knocked out the heads of several casks of bullets, and they were all too big, being musket bullets, and would not fit their guns, and that if he did not go back himself a great part of the army would be kept back from service for want of suitable bullets.

He ran back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all their casks of bullets; being brought, knocked out their heads, and turned them all out upon the green by the fort, and set all the people in the town, that were able, to make slugs; being most of them too large for their use, which had like to have been the overthrow of their whole army: he finding some small bullets, and what slugs were her whether Casteen was with them? She hotly engaged; but coming to the river the the ambuseade, whether they saw any In

and instructions directed unto you from the answered, that there were several Frenchmen | tide was up; he called to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian called Captain Lightfoot, lail down his gun, and came over the river, taking the powder upon his head, and a kettle of bullets in each hand, and got safe to his fellow soldiers. He perceiving great firing upon that side he was of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Major Church's companies, one of English and the other of Indians, being in all about fourseore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he presently ordered them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a Casco man; so one Swarton, a Jerseyman, appearing, who he could hardly understand; he asked him how far it was to the head of the river, or whether there was any place to get over? he said there was a bridge about three quarters of a mile up, where they might get over: So he, calling to his soldiers engaged on the other side, told them that he would soon be with them over the bridge, and come upon the backs of the enemy; which put new courage into them; so they immediately moved up towards the bridge, marching very thin, being willing to make what show they could, shouting as they marched: they saw the enemy running from the river-side, where they had made stands with wood to prevent anybody from coming over the river; and coming to the bridge, they saw on the other side that the enemy had laid logs and stuck birch brush along to hide themselves from our view.

> He ordered the company to come altogether, bidding them all to run after him, who would go first, and that as soon as they got over the bridge to scatter, that so they might not be all shot down together, expecting the enemy to be at their stands; so runningup to the stands, found none there, for they were just gone, the ground being such they tumbled with them behind the said stands. He ordered the Captain with his company of English to march down to our men engaged, and that they should keep along upon the edge of the marsh, and himself with his Indian soldiers would march down through the brush: and coming to a parcel of low ground, which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down lay very thick, and the young brush being grown up made it had travelling; but coming near the back of the enemy, one of his men called unto him their commander and said, that the enemy ran westward to get between us and the bridge, and he, looking that way, saw men running, and making a small stop, heard no firing, but a great chopping with hatchets; so concluding that the fight was over, made the best of their way to the bridge again, lest the enemy should get over the bridge into the town, the men being most of them out (our ammunition lay exposed) coming to the bridge where he left six Indians for an anobuseade on the other side of the river, that if any enemy offered to come over, they should fire at them, which would give him notice, so would come to their assistance; (but in the way having heard no firing nor shouting, concluded the enemy were drawn off) he asked

dians? They said yes, abundance. He asked them where? They answered, that they ran over the head of the river by the cedar swamp, and were running into the neck towards the town.

There being but one Englishman with him, he bid his Indian soldiers scatter, run very thin to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy; and soon coming to Lieutenant Clark's field, on the south side of the neck, and seeing the cattle feeding quietly, and perceiving no track, concluded the ambuscade had told them a falsehood; they hastily returned back to the said bridge, perceiving there was no noise of the enemy. He hearing several great guns fire at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy: he having ordered that in case such should be, that they should notice; he being a stranger to the country, concluded the enemy had by some other way got to the town; whereupon he sent his men to the town, and himself going to the river, near where the fight had been, asked them how they did, and what was become of the enemy? Who informed him that the enemy drew off in less than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a gun at them since. He told them he had been within little more than a gun shot of the back of the enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for thick brushy ground, &c. Now some of his men returning from the town gave him the account, that they went while they saw the colours standing and men walking about as not molested. He presently ordered that all his army should pursue the enemy; but they told him that most of them had spent their ammunition, and that if the enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come and knocked them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unsizeable that some of them were forced to make slugs while they were engaged. He then ordered men, and to leave none behind; which was done by some canoes they had got. Captain Hall and his men being first engaged, did great service, and suffered the greatest loss in his men; but Captain Southworth with his company, and Captain Numposh with the Seconet Indians, and the most of the men belonging to the town, all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him and his whole company from being cut off.

By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carying in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, and causing the enemy to their drawing off. The poor inhabitants juncture, they had been all cut off; and said further, that it was the first time that ever the the said Church with his volunteers were killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who died, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

his forces, ranging all the country thereabout, stroyed. Their answer was, they could do in pursuit of the enemy; and visiting all the nothing till Sir Edmund was gone. Waiting garrisons at Black Point, Spurwink, and there three weeks upon great expenses, he Blue Point, and went up Kennebeck river, concluded to draw up some of the circumbut to little effect. And now winter drawing stunces of Casco, and places adjacent, and near, he received orders from the government to leave it upon the Council Board, before of the Massachusetts Bay, to settle all the the Governor and Council; having got it garrisons, and put in suitable officers accord- done, obtained liberty to go up where the ing to his best discretion, and to send home Governor and Council were sitting, he inall his soldiers, volunteers and transports; formed their honors, that he had waited till which orders he presently obeyed. Being his patience was worn out, so had drawn up obliged to buy him a horse to go home by the matter to leave upon the Board before land, that so he might the better comply with them, which is as follows: his orders. The poor people, the inhabitants of Casco, and places adjacent, when they saw he was going away from them, lamented sadly, and begged earnestly that he would suffer them to come away in the transports; fire some of their great guns to give him spring of the year the enemy would come ward in the late expedition against the compromised them, that if the governments that of forces, coming then for the destruction

> not be a prey to the barbarous enemy. done, and taking their leave one of another,

After this engagement Mojor Church, with off, otherwise they would certainly be de-

To the honored Governor and Council of the Massachusetts.

GENTLEMEN,

Whereas, by virtue of yours, with Plysaying, that if he left them there, that in the month's desires and commands, I went eastand destroy them and their families. So by mon Indian enemy, where Providence so their earnest request the said Major Church ordered that we attacked their greatest body had now sent him, would send him the next of Falmouth, which we know marched off, spring, he would certainly come with his repulsed with considerable damage, leaving volunteers and Indians to their relief: and the ground, and never since seen there, or that as soon as he had been home, and taken in any place adjacent: the time of the year a little care of his own business, he would being then too late to prosecute any further certainly wait upon the gentlemen of Boston, design, and other accidents falling contrary and inform them of the promise he had made to my expectation, impeding the desired to them; and if they did not see cause to success. Upon my then removal from the send them relief, to entreat their honors province of Maine, the inhabitants were very seasonably to draw them off, that they might solicitous that this enemy might be further prosecuted; willing to venture their lives Taking his leave of those poor inhabitants, and fortunes in the said enterprise, wherein some of the chief men there waited upon him they might serve God, their king and counto Black Point, to Captain Scottaway's gar- try, and enjoy quiet and peaceable habitarison; coming there, they prevailed with the tions; upon which I promised to signify the said Captain Scottaway to go with him to same to yourselves, and willing to venture Boston, which he readily complied with, that little which Providence hath entrusted provided the said Church would put another me with, on the said account. The season in to command the garrison; which being of the year being such, if some speedy action be not performed in attacking them, they they set out and travelled through all the will certainly be upon us in our out towns, country, home to Boston; having employed God knows where, and the inhabitants there them to get over all the wounded and dead himself to the utmost to fulfil his instructions not being able to defend themselves, without last received from Boston gentlemen, which doubt many souls may be cut off, as our cost him about a month's service over and last year's experience wofully hath declared. above what he had pay for from the Plymouth The inhabitants there trust to your protecgentlemen: and in his travel homeward sev-tion, having undertaken government and ernl gentlemen waited upon the said Major your propriety; if nothing he performed on Church, who was obliged to bear their ex- the said account, the best way (under corpences. When he came to Boston gentle- rection) is to demolish the garrison, and men, he informed them of the miseries those draw off the inhabitants, that they may not poor people were in by having their provi- be left to a merciless enemy; and that the sions taken from them by order of the Pre- arms and ammunition may not be there for sident—then went home; stayed not long the strengthening of the enemy; who with-there before he returned to Boston, where out doubt have need enough, having ex-Captain Scottaway waited for his coming, hausted their greatest store in this winter that he might have the determination of the season. I have performed my promise to government of Boston to carry home with them, and acquitted myself in specifying the fly with shaine, who never gave one shout at him; and it being the time of the small-pox same to yourselves: not that I desire to be their drawing off. The poor inhabitants there, and Major Church not having had it, in any action, although willing to serve my wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had taking up his lodging near the Court-house, king and country, and may pass under the favoured them so much; saying, that if Major took the first opportunity to inform those censure of scandalous tongues in the last Church, with his forces, had not come at that gentlemen of the Court his business; who expedition, which I hope they will amend on said they were very busy in sending home the first opportunity of service. I leave to Sir Edmund, the ship being ready to sail. mature consideration, the loss of trade and eastward Indians had been put to flight, and The said Major Church still waiting upon fishery; the war brought to the doors; what them, and at every opportunity entreating a triumph it will be to the enemy, derision wonderfully preserved, having never a man those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people to our neighbors, besides dishonor to God of Casco, informing the necessity of taking and our nation, and grounds of frowns from care of them, either by sending them relief our prince, the frustration of those whose early in the spring, or suffering them to draw leyes are upon you for help, who might have

unto you, that I might discharge myself in The answer returned was, that he intended my trust from yourselves, and promise to the to lodge that night at the Grayhound, in inhabitants of the province, but especially Roxbury, and that in the morning would my duty to God, her majesty, and my nation, come to Pollard's at the south end of Bospraying for your honors' prosperity, sub- ton; which accordingly he did. Soon after Your servant, scribe,

BENJ. CHURCH. A true copy given in at Boston, this 6th of February, 1689, at the Council Board.

Attest. T. S.

Major Church said, moreover, that in thus doing he had complied with his promise to those poor people of Casco, and should be quit from the guilt of their blood. The governor was pleased to thank him for his care and pains taken; then taking his leave of them went home, and left Captain Scottaway in a very sorrowful condition, who returned home some time after with only a copy of what was left on the board by the said Church. Major Church not hearing any thing till May following, and then was informed, that those poor people of Casco thinking the return was something rude, were cut off by the barbarous enemy; and that although they made their terms with Monsieur Casteen, who was commander of those enemies, yet he suffered those merciless savages to massacre and destroy the most of them. To conclude this first expedition east; I shall just give you a hint how Major Church was treated, although he was commander-in-chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government, after he came home, for Plymouth gentlemen paid him but forty-two pounds; telling him, he must go to Boston gentlemen for the rest, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one penny for all travel and expenses in raising volunteers, and services done; except forty shillings or thereabout, for going from Boston to Rhode Island on their business, and back to Boston again; also, for sending a man to Providence for Captain Edmunds, who raised a company in those parts, and went east with them.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION EAST.

In the year 1690, was the expedition to Canada, and Major Walley often requested Majnr Church, that if he would not go himself in that expedition, that he would not hinder others: he answered the said Walley, that he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him. And the said Church going down to Charlestown, to take his leave of some of his relations and friends, who were going into that expedition, promised his wife and family not to go into Boston, the small-pox being very rife there. Coming to Charlestown, several of his friends in Boston came over to see him; there, Major Walley came to him, and in-

Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose eil wanted to have some discourse with him. he came thither received a letter from the honorable Captain Sewall, to request him to the council; the answer he returned by the bearer was, that he thought there was no need of his hazarding himself so much as to come and speak with them; not that he was afraid of his life, but because he had no mind to be concerned; and further by reason they would not hearken to him about the poor people of Casco. But immediately came Mr. Maxfield to him, saying, that the council bid him tell the said Church, that if he would take his horse and ride along the middle of the street, there might be no danger, they were then sitting in council: he bid them go and tell his masters, not to trouble themselves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming: however, called him back to drink a glass of wine, and then he would go with him. So coming to the council, they were very thankful to him, and told him that the occasion of their sending for him was, that there was a captive come in who gave them an account, that the Indians were come down, and had taken passession of the stone fort at Pejepscot, so that they wanted his advice and thoughts about the matter; whether they would tarry and keep in the fort or not; and whether it was not expedient to send some forces to do some spoil upon them; and further to know whether he could not be prevailed with to raise some volunteers and go, to do some spoil upon them? He answered them, he was unwilling to be concerned any more; it being very difficult and chargeable to raise volunteers, as he found by experience in the last expedition. But they using many arguments prevailed so far with him, that if the government of Plymouth saw cause to send him, he would go, thinking the expedition would be short; took his leave of them and went home. And in a short time after, there came an express from Governor Hinkley, to request Major Church to come to Barnstable to him-he having received a letter from the government of Boston to raise some forces to go east: whereupon the said Major Church went the next day to Barnstable, as ordered; finding the governor and some of the council of war there, discoursed him, concluding that he should take his Indian soldiers, and two English captains, with what volunteers could be raised; and that one captain should go out of Plymouth and Barnstable county, and the other out of Bristol county, with what forces he could raise, concluding to have but few officers, to save and the next day after the said Church came charge. The said Church was at great charge and expense in raising of forces. formed him, that the governor and council Governor Hinkley promised that he would wanted to speak with him; he answered take care to provide vessels to transport the him, that he had promised his wife and said army with ammunition and provisions, family not to go into Boston; saying, if they by the time prefixed by himself, for the gohad any business, they could write to him, vernment of Boston had obliged themselves and that he would send them his answer. by their letter, to provide any thing that was Soon after came over two other gentlemen wanting; so at the time, Major Church orders and instructions, as from time to time

otherwise applied themselves to their king-with a message, that the governor and coun-marched down all his soldiers out of Bristol county to Plymouth, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there were neither provisions, ammunition, nor transports; so he immediately sent an express to the governor who was at Barnstable, to give him an account that he with the men were come to Plymouth, and found nothing rendy; in his return to the said Church, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent John Lathrop of Barnstable in a vessel with some ammunition and provision on board, to him at Plymouth; also sent him word that there was more on board of Samuel Alling of Barnstable, who was to go for a transport, and that he himself would be at Plymouth next day; but Alling never came near him, but went to Billingsgate, at Cape Cod, as he was informed. The governor being come, said to Major Church that he must take some of the open sloops, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expensive to the said Church; his soldiers being all volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians always begging for money to get drink; but he, using his utmost diligence, made what dispatch he could to be gone, being ready to embark, received his commission and instructions from Governor Hinkley, which are as followeth, viz.

> The Council of War of their Majesties' colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England: To Major Benjamin Church, Commanderin-Chief, &c.

Whereas, the Kennebeck and Eastward Indians, with the French, their confederates, have openly made war upon their majesties subjects of the provinces of Maine, New-Hampshire, and of the Massachusetts colony, having committed many barbarous murders, spoils, and rapines upon their persons and estates: and whereas, there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now raised and detached out of the several regiments and places within this colony of New-Plymouth, to go forth to the assistance of our neighbors and friends of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown; and whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed major and commander-in-chief of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, together with such other of their majesties' subjects as elsewhere shall enlist themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their majesties, as aforesaid. These are in their majestics' name to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to intend that service, by leading and exercising your inferior officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief commander: and to pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity, and to accept to mercy, or grant quarter and favor to such or so many of said enemies as you shall find needful for promoting the design aforesaid: and you are to observe and obey all such

the colonies, or the council of war of the is desired to be done the first opportunity said colony of New-Plymouth, or from the that the service will admit. You are to see governor and council of the Massachusetts. that your soldiers' arms be always fixed, and to Casco, or places adjacent, that may be In testimony whereof is affixed the public they provided with ammunition, and other seal of this colony. Dated in Plymouth, the second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690, to repel or attack the enemy. You are to Annoque regni Regis et Regime Williehni et take special care to avoid danger in the pur-Mariæ, &c. Secundo.

THO. HINKLEY, President.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief of the Plymouth of the enem forces, with other of the Massachusetts put intelligence. under his command.

In pursuance of the commission given you for their Majesties' service, in the present exand French, their aiders and abettors, on the request of our brethren and friends of the the same crown of England; for our assisted to you for the honor of his name, the interest of Christ in these churches, and the carrying of you on with success in this diffitended to by you, so far as the state and cir- Dom. 1690. cumstances of that affair will admit.

"You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth forces, both English and Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready on the first opportunity of wind and weather, to go on board such vessels, as are provided to transport you to Piscataqua; and there to take under your care and com-mand such companies of the Massachusetts colony, as shall by them be ordered and added to you there, or elsewhere from time to time; all which you are to improve in such way, and from place to place, as with the advice of your council, consisting of the commission officers of the Massachusetts colony, and Plymouth, under your conduct, shall seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or destroying of said common enemy, on all opportunities, according to commission, and such further orders and instructions as you have or may receive from the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, the Commissioners for the United colonies, or the Governor and Council of Plymouth; so far as you may be capable, intending what you can the preserving of the near towns from the incursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to intend the finding out, pursuing, taking, and destroying the enemy abroad, and if possible to attack them in their head quarters and principal rendezvous, and for the better enabling you thereunto, motion and order, until you shall see cause conduct these forces now here present at he saw but one man get over, and he only

you shall receive from the commissioners of to dismiss them, or any one of them, which their rendezvous at Portsmouth; and they necessaries, that they may be always ready suit of the enemy by keeping out scouts, and a forlorn, to prevent the ambushments of the enemy on your main body in their marches. And by all possible means to surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain better

"You are to take effectual care that the worship of God be kept up in the army, that morning and evening prayer be attended, pedition against the common enemy, Indian and the holy sabbath duly sanctified, as the ing your way, to take your journey back emergency of your affairs will admit.

"You are to take strict care to prevent or Massachusetts colony, subjects of one and punish drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and all other vices, lest the anger of God be theretance of them therein: reposing confidence by provoked to fight against you. You are, in your wisdom, prudence, proneness and from time to time to give intelligence and faithfulness in the trust under God commit-advice to the Governor of the Massachusetts, and to us, of your proceedings and occurrences that may attend you. And in case of good of the whole people; praying and ex- a failure of any commission officers, you are pecting that in your dependence on him, you to appoint others in their stead. And when, may be helped and assisted with all that with the advice of your council aforesaid, grace, wisdom and courage necessary for the you shall after some trial, see your service not like to be advantageous to the accomcult service; and though much is and must plishment of the public end aforesaid; that be left to your discretion, with your council then you return home with the forces; esof officers, us Providence and opportunity pecially if you shall receive any orders or may present from time to time in places of directions so to do from the Massachusetts, or action: yet the following instructions are from us. Given under my hand, at Plycommended to you to be observed and at- mouth, the second day of September, Anno

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & President.

Now having a fair wind Major Church soon got to Piscataqua, who was to apply himself to Major Pike, a worthy gentleman, who said he had advice of his coming from Boston gentlemen; also he had received directions that what men the said Church should want must be raised out of Hampshire, out of the several towns and garrisons : Major Pike nsked him how many men he should want? He said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about nine days' time he was supplied with two companies of soldiers. He having been at about twenty shillings a day charge in expenses whilst there. Now he received Major Pike's instructions; which are as followeth:

Porstmouth, New Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.

To Major Benjamin Church, Commander-in-Chief of their Majesties' forces now de-signed upon the present expedition eastward, and now resident at Portsmouth,

The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence in your loyalty and valor, from experience of your former actions, and of God's presence with you in the same; in if you are in a rational capacity of so doing; pursuance of an order received from them, commanding it: these are in their majesties' we have appointed the vessels that transport names to empower and require you, as com- the river, and the rest under the great falls; you, and the provisions, &c. to attend your mander-in-chief, to take into your care and those who ran into the river were killed; for

are alike required to obey you: and with them to sail eastward by the first opportunity most commodious for landing with safety and secresy; and to visit the French and Indians at their head-quarters at Ameras-cogen, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the enemy; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly rooting out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be found; and also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places.

You being there arrived, and understandagain either by land or water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motion whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, in all to consult your council, the commanders or commission officers of your several companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine: and so the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be your conduct. Given under my hand the day and year above-Per ROBERT PIKE.

Being ready, they took the first opportunity, and made the best of their way to Pejepscot fort, where they found nothing .-From thence they marched to Ameras-cogen, and when they came near the fort, Major Church made a halt, ordering the captains to draw out of their several companies sixty of their meanest men, to be a guard to the doctor and knapsacks, being not a mile from said fort; and then moving towards the fort, they saw young Doney and his wife, with two English captives. The said Doney made his escape to the fort, his wife was shot down, and so the two poor captives were released out of their bondage. The said Major Church and Captain Walton made no stop, making the best of their way to the fort, with some of the army, in hopes of getting to the fort before young Doney; but the river, through which they must pass, being as deep as their armpits; however, Maj. Church, as soon as he was got over, stripped to his shirt and jacket, leaving his breeches behind, ran directly to the fort, having an eye to see if young Doney, who ran on the other side of the river, should get there before him. The wind now blowing very hard in their faces as they ran, was some help to them; for several of our men fired guns, which they in the fort did not hear, so that we had taken all in the fort had it not been for young Doney, who got to the fort just before we did, who ran into the south gate, and out of the north, all of the men following him, except one, who all ran directly down to the great river and falls. The said Church and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the said Walton to run directly, with some forces, into the fort, and himself, with the rest, ran down to the river after the enemy, who ran some of them into

mised them their lives. And in the said fort sixty men, and followed presently with the where the boat was (it was pretty dark) they there were several English captives, who whole body; the scout coming near a river discovered some men, but did not know were in a miserable condition; among them discovered the enemy to be on the other side what or who they were. The major ordered was Captain Huckings's wife, of Oyster-river. of the river. But three of the enemy were those that were with him all to clap down Major Church proceeded to examine the man come over the river, to the same side of the and cock their guns, and he called out and tuken, who gave him an account that most river which the scout was of; ran hastily asked them who they were. And they said, of the fighting men were gone to Winter-down to their canoe, one of which lay at Indians. He asked them whose men they harbor, to provide provisions for the Bay of each end of the canoe, and the third stood were? They said, Captain Southworth's.— Fundy Indians, who were to come and join up to paddle over. The scout fired at them, with them to fight the English. The soldiers and he that paddled fell down upon the They said, in those little buts that the enemy being very rude, would hardly spare the In-canoe, and broke it to pieces, so that all made when they took that garrison. The lian's life, while in examination, intending three perished. The firing put the enemy major told them they must not make any when he had done that he should be executed; to the run who left their canoes and pro-but Captain Huckings's wife, and another visions to ours; and old Doney, and one down upon them before day. They laughed, woman went down on their knees and begged Thomas Baker, an Englishman, who was a and said, our major is afraid. Having givfor him, saying, "He had been a means to prisoner amongst them, were up at the falls, en them their directions, he, with Capt. Consave their lives and a great many more, and and heard the guns fire, expected the other verse went on hoard the Mary sloop; dehad helped several to opportunities to run Indians were come to their assistance, so signing to write home, and send away in the away and make their escape; and that never, came down the river in a canoe; but when morning the two sloops which had the small since he came among them, had fought they perceived that there were English as pox on board. But before day our Indians against the English, but being related to Ha- well as Indians, old Doney ran the canoe began to make fires, and to sing and dance; kins's wife, kept at the fort with them, he ashore, and ran over Baker's head, and fol- so the major called to Captain Southworth having been there two years; but his living lowed the rest, and then Baker came to ours to go ashore and look after his men, for the was to the westward of Boston." So, upon and gave an account of the beaver hid at enemy would be upon them by and by. He their request, his life was spared. Next day Pejepscot plain, and coming to the place ordered the boat to be hauled up to carry the said Church ordered that all their corn where the plunder was, the major sent a him ashore, and called Captain Converse to should be destroyed, being a great quantity, saving a little for the two old Squaws which he designed to leave at the fort, to give an or could discover any coming up the river; to go ashore, the enemy fired upon our men; account who he was, and from whence he who returned and said they saw nothing but the Indians, notwithstanding that one Philip, came; the rest being knocked on the head, old tracks at the said fort. except the aforementioned, for an example, ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best heaver was, they said it was carried away to make a present to the major being much disturbed at the mo-lieve, but said to him, "You are afraid."the Bay of Fundy Indians, who were coming to their assistance.

Now being ready to draw off from thence, he called the two old Squaws to him, and gave each of them a kettle and some biscuits, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name said commander seeing he was put by of his so that our men had all time to fall down beof Captain Church, and lived in the westerly part of Plymouth government; and that those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philip's men, and that he had then they moved to the vessels and embarked, met with them in Philip's war, and drew them off from him to fight for the English, against the said Philip and his associates, who then promised him to fight for the En- and went up the river; being the same In- major, with all the forces on board, landed glish as long as they had one enemy left; dians that the major expected, and would as fast as they could, the enemy firing smartand said that they did not question but be-fore Indian corn was ripe to have Philip's being much disturbed at what the major had The enemy had a great advantage of our

all he could say or do could not prevnil; eight or nine canoes, who turned short about got down the bank which was but low. The

orept up the bank, and there lay in open men as were in their country; and that they the night ran aground. In the morning Ansight; and those that ran under the fulls had killed and taken one thousand three thony Bracket, having been advised and they made no discovery of, notwithstanding hundred and odd of Philip's men, women directed by the Indian that had made his several of his men went in under the said and children, and Philip himself, with several escape from our forces, came down near falls, and were gone some considerable time, other Sachems, and that they should tell where the aforesaid vessel lay aground, and could not find them; so, leaving a watch Hakins and Worumbos, that if they had a got aboard, who has proved a good pilot and there, returned up to the fort, where he found mind to see their wives and children they captain for his country. The next day hebut one man taken, and several women and children, among whom was Captain Hakins's there they might hear of them. Major wife and Worumbos's wife, the Sachem of Church having done, moved with all his podack; and the masters of the vessels thinkthat fort, with their children; the said Ha- forces down to Mequait, where the transports ing it not safe putting out in the night, so kins was Sachem of Pennucook, who de- were (but in the way some of his soldiers late in the year, anchored there at Perpostroyed Major Walden and his family, some threatened the Indian man prisoner very dack. The vessels being much crowded, time before. The said two women, viz. Humuch, so that in a thick swamp he gave them the major ordered that three companies kins's and Worumbos's wives, requested the the slip and got away), and when they all got should go on shore, and no more, himself with said Church that he would spare them and on board the transport, the wind being fair, Captain Converse went with them to order their children's lives, promising, upon that made the best of their way for Winter-har-their lodging, and finding just houses concondition, he should have all the captives bor, and the next morning before day, and venient for them, viz. two barns and one that were taken, and in the Indians' hands, as soon as the day appeared, they discovered house; so seeing them all settled and their He asked them how many. They said about some smoke rising towards Skaman's gar- watches out, the major and Capmin Converse fourscore: so upon that condition, he pro-rison. He immediately sent away a scout of returned to go on board, and coming near scout to Pejepscot fort, to see if they could go with him, and just as the day began to make any discovery of the enemy's tracks, appear, as the major was getting into the boat an Indian of ours, who was out upon the Now having got some plunder, one of the watch, heard a man cough, and the sticks captains said it was time to go home, and crack; who gave the rest an account, that several others were of the same mind; and he saw Indians; which they would not betion of theirs, expecting the enemy would His answer was, that they might see them eome in a very short time, where they might come creeping. They hughed, and said, have a great advantage of them. Notwithstanding ull he could say or do, he was they will bite you by and by." So presently obliged to call a council, according to his instructions, wherein he was out-voted. The being misty their guns did not go off quick, intentions, proffered if sixty men would stay fore their guns went off, and saved themwith him, he would not embark as yet; but selves from that volley, except one man, who was killed.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soland as they were going in the vessels, on the diers surprised them so that they left their back side of Mayr-point, they discovered arms, but soon recovered them again, and head, notwithstanding he had twice as many said to him, drew off from the fleet, and in forces, who were between the sunrising and the enemy, so that if a man put up his head or not come out till they all had it; whereupon tertown was coming with a spare horse for hand they could see it, and would fire at it. they all presently began to grow better, and However some, with the major, got up the to make excuses, except one man who debank behind stumps and rocks, to have the sired to stay out till night before he went in. advantage of firing at the enemy; but when The major going to the gentlemen told them, the sun was risen the major slipped down the that one thing more would work a perfect hank again, where all the forces were ordered cure upon his men, which was to let them go to observe his motion, viz. that he would give home; which did work a cure upon all, exthree shouts, and then all of them should cept one, and he had not the small-pox. So run with him up the bank. So, when he he ordered the plunder should be divided had given the third shout, ran up the bank, forthwith, and sent away all the Plymouth and Captain Converse with him, but when the forces. But the gentlemen there desired said Converse perceived that the forces did him to stay, and they would be assisting to not follow as commanded, called to the ma- him in raising new forces, to the number of jor and told him the forces did not follow; who, notwithstanding the enemy fired smartly send to Boston for provisions, which they at him, got safe down the bank again, and did, and sent Captain Plaisted to the Goverrallying the forces up the bank, soon put the nor and Council at Boston. And in the enemy to flight, and following so close, that mean time the major with those gentlemen they took thirteen canoes, and one lusty man, who had Joseph Ramsdel's scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our Indians, and diers; who all met at the bank on the same having his deserts was himself scalped .-This being a short and smart fight, some of ton; whose return from the Boston gentleour men were killed and several wounded. men was, that the Canada expedition had Some time after an Englishman, who was drained them so that they could do no more: prisoner amongst them, gave an account that so that Major Church, notwithstanding he the enemy, for they killed several prisoners said forces to serve his king and country, according to custom.

barked for Piscataqua, and the major went to Boston, in the Mary, sloop, Mr. Alden to Wells, and removed the captain there, master, and Captain Converse with him, on and put in Captain Andros, who had been a Saturday; and waiting upon the Goverwith him and knew the discourse left with nor and some of the gentlemen in Boston, the two old squaws at Ameras-cogen, for they looked very strange upon them, which soon after, come with a flag of truce to said have so much as one pleasant word, nor any all chief suchems, and were very pleased Church seeing two gentlemen who he knew to hear of the women and children, viz. Ha- had money, asked them to lend him forty kins's and Worumbos's wives and children; shillings, telling them his necessity: yet who all said three several times that they they refused. So being bare of money was more, for the French made fools of them .them go. Major Church being come to Piscataqua, and two of his transports having the small-pox on board, and several of the men having got great colds by their hard service, pretended they were going to have the small-pox, thinking by that means to be sent home speedily. The major being willing to try them, went to the gentlemen there, and desired them to provide a house, for some that the people belonging to it were just re- back into town, and the said Church went had provided an bospital for them. So they drew out seventeen men, that had, as they said, all the symptoms of the small-pox. He ordered them all to follow him, and coming to the house he asked them how they vered; and that if they went in they must told that his brother, Caleb Church, of Wa- ting my faithful promise to you, and the duty

what was sent away; and that they would went into all these parts and raised a sufficient number of men, both officers and solday that Captain Plaisted returned from Boswas obliged to give them a treat and dismiss After this action was over, our forces em-them. Taking his leave of them came home Hakins and Worumbos to come there in not only troubled them, but put them in some fourteen days, if they had a mind to hear of consternation what the matter should be, that their wives and children. Who did then, or after so much toil and hard service could not Wells's garrison, and had leave to come in, money in their pockets; for Major Church and more appearing came in, to the num- had but eight pence left, and Captain Conher of eight, without any terms, being verse none, as he said afterwards. Major would never fight against the English any obliged to lodge at Mr. Alden's three nights, and the next Tuesday morning Captain Con-They saying as they did, the said Andros let verse came to him, not knowing each others circumstances as yet, and said he would walk with him out of town; so coming near Pollard's at the south end, they had some discourse; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips. Major Church told Captain Converse that he had but eight pence left, and could not borrow any money to carry him home. And the said Converse said, that he had not a penny left, so they of his men expected they should have the were obliged to part without going to Polsmall-pox; who readily did, and told him lard's. The said Captain Converse returned eovered of the small-pox, and had been all over to Roxbury; and at the tavern he met at meeting. The major, returning to his offi- with Stephen Braton, of Rhode-Island, a cers, ordered them to draw out all their men drover; who was glad to see him, the suid that were going to have the small-pox, for he Church, and he as glad to see his neighbour; whereupon Major Church called for an eightpenny tankard of drink, and let the said He answered, yes, forty pounds, if he wantliked it? They said very well. Then he ed it. So he thanked him, and said he would told them that the people in the said house have but forty shillings, which he freely lent and all had the small-pox, and were reco- him. And presently after Mr. Church was General Court at Plymouth, and not forget-

him, having heard the night before that his brother was come in; by which means the said Major Church got home. And for all his travel and expenses in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but £14 of Plymouth gentlemen, and not a penny of Boston, notwithstanding he had worn out all his clothes, and run himself in debt, so that he was obliged to sell half a share of land in Tiverton, for about £60, which is now worth £300 more and above what he had.

Having not been at home long, before he found out the reason why Boston gentlemen looked so disaffected on him, as you may see by the sequel of two letters Major Church sent to the gentlemen in the eastward parts; which are as followeth:-

Bristol, November 27, 1690.

WORTHY GENTLEMEN:

According to my promise when with you last, I waited upon the Governor at Boston, upon the Saturday, Captain Converse being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council was to picet on the Monday following in the afternoon, at which time we our forces had killed and wounded several of had been at considerable expenses in raising both there waited upon them, and gave them an account of the state of your country, and great necessities. They informed us, that their General Court was to convene the Wednesday following, at which time they would debate and consider of the matter; myself being bound home, Captain Converse was ordered to wait upon them, and bring you their resolves. I then took notice of the Council that they looked upon me with an ill aspect, not judging me worthy to receive thanks for the service I had done in your parts, nor as much as asked me whether I wanted money to bear my expenses, or a horse to carry me home. But I was forced, for want of money, being far from friends, to go to Roxbury on foot, but meeting there with a Rhode Island gentleman, acquainted him of my wants, who tendered me ten pounds, whereby I was accommodated for my journey home. And being come home, I went to the minister of our town, and gave him an account of the transactions of the great affairs I had been employed in, and of the great favour God was pleased to show me, and my company, and the benefit ! hoped would accrue to yourselves, and desired him to return public thanks; but at the same interim of time a paper was presented unto him from a Court of Plymouth, which was holden before I came home, to command a day of humiliation through the whole government, because of the frown of God upon those forces sent under my command, and the ill-success we had, for want of good conduct. All which was caused by those false reports which were posted home by those illuffected officers that were under my conduct, especially one which yourselves very well know, who had the advantage of being at home a week before me, being sick of ac-Braton know his circumstances, asked him tion, and wanting the advantage to be at the whether he would lend him forty shillings? bank, which he every day was mindful of, more than fighting the encury in their own country.

After I came home, being informed of a

upon them. I gave them an account of my eastward transactions, and made them sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted to them by ill hands, and found some small favorable acceptance with them, so far that I was credited. I presented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending those forces to relieve you, with that expense and charge they had been at; which thanks they gratefully received, and said a few lines from yourself would have been well accepted. I then gave them an account of your great necessities, by being imprisoned in your garrisons, and the great mischief that would attend the public concerns of this country by the loss of their Majesties' interest, and so much good estate of yours and your neighbours, as doubtless would be on the deserting of your town. I then moved for a free contribution for your relief, which they with great forwardness promoted, and then ordered a day of thanksgiving through the government, upon the 26th day of this instant-upon which day a collection was ordered for your relief (and the places near adjacent) in every respective town in this government; and for the good management of it, that it might be safely conveyed unto your hands, they appointed a man in each county for the receipt and conveyance thereof. The persons nominated and accepted thereof, are: for the county of Plymouth, Captain Nathaniel Thomas of Marshfield; for the county of Barnstable, Captain Joseph Lathrop of Barnstable; and for the county copy of the Court's order. The gentlemen reputation; for the wise man says, "A good the fit it as a great favor to hear of your welfare. that I now write to, viz. John Wheelwright, hear of the effects of the treaty, and have an Esq., Captain John Littlefield, and Lieutenant account of this contribution, I intend again Joseph Story. I deferred writing, expecting to write to you, being very desirous, and every day to hear from you concerning the should think myself very happy to be fa-Indians coming to treat about their prison-vored with a few lines from yourselves, or ers that we had taken. The discourse I made any gentlemen in the enstward parts. Thus, with them at Ameras-cogea, I knew would leaving you to the protection and guidance have that effect as to bring them to a treaty, of the great God of heaven and earth, who which I would have thought myself happy is able to protect and supply you in your is as follows: to have been improved in, knowing that it great difficulties, and to give you deliverance would have made much for your good. But in his own due time. no intelligence coming to me from any gentlemen in your parts, and hearing nothing but by accident, and that in the latter end of the week, by some of ours coming from Boston, informed me that the Indians were come into your town to seek for peace, and that Boston, there met with Captain Elisha Andros, who informed me that the place of treaty was Sacaty-hock, and that Captain Alden was gone from Boston four days before I came there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him, and that all the forces to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant proved themselves as perfidious as ever, and to promise ourselves compliance accordingly, and have sent this messenger on purpose to which the late overture of peace, the enemy have to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant proved themselves as perfidious as ever, and to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace, the enemy have to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace, the enemy have to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace, the enemy have to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace, the enemy have to Major Frost, Captain Walton, Lieutenant and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace, the enemy have the late overture of peace, the enemy have the late overture of peace, the enemy have the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late overture of peace and have sent the late overture of peace and have sent the late overture of peace and have sent this messenger on purpose to whole the late ov imprudence in their actions as to be deluded

I lay under, I went thither, where, waiting by Indians, and to have a treaty so far from any English town, and to draw off the forces upon what pretence soever, to me looks very ill. My fear is that they will deliver

I remain, gentlemen, Your most assured friend. To serve you to my utmost power,

Postscript. Esquire Wheelwright, Sir, I B. C.

To Major Pike. Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.

HONORED SIR: These come to wait upon you, to bring those that we have taken, which, if kept, you the tenders of my hearty service to yourwould have been greatly for your security, self and lady, with due acknowledgement of in keeping them in awe, and preventing them thankfulness for all the kindness and favor I from doing any hostile action or mischief, I received from you in the eastward parts, knowing that the English being abroad are when with you. Since I came from those very earnest to go home, and the Indians are parts, I am informed by Captain Andros, very tedious in their discourses, and by that that yourself and all the forces, are drawn means will have an advantage to have their off from the eastward parts. I admire at it, captives at very low rates, to your great considering that they had so low esteem of damage. Gentlemen, as to Rhode Island, I what was done, that they can apprehend the have not concerned inyself as to any relief eastward parts so safe before the enemy were for you, having nothing in writing to show brought into subjection. I was in hopes, to them; yet upon discourse with some gen-when I came from thence, that those who tlemen there, they have signified a great for-were so desirous to have my room, would wardness to promote such a thing. I lying have been very brisk in my absence, to have under great reflections from some of yours got themselves some honor, which they very in the eastward parts, that I was a very much gaped after, or else they would not covetous person and came there to enrich have spread so many false reports to defame myself, and that I killed their cattle and bar-me—which had I known before I left the relled them up and sent them to Boston, and bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. sold them for plunder, and made money to Your honor was pleased to give me some put into my own pocket; and the owners of small account, before I left the bank, of some them, being poor people, begged for the hides things that were ill represented to you, conand tallow with tears in their eyes, and that cerning the eastward expedition, which being I was so cruel as to deny them, which makes rolled home like a snow-ball through botin me judge myself incapable to serve you in colonies, was got to such a bigness that it that matter. Yet I do assure you, that the overshadowed me from the influence of all people are very charitable at the island, and comfort, or good acceptance among my forward in such good actions, and therefore friends in my journey homeward. But through advise you to desire some good substantial God's goodness am come home, finding all person to take the management of it, and well, and myself in good health, hoping that write to the government there, which I know these reports will do me the favor to quit me of Bristol, myself. Which, when gathered will not be labor lost. As for what I am ac-you will have a particular account from each cused of, you all can witness to the contrary, the more peaceably and quietly wait upon person, with orders of advice how it may be and I should take it very kindly from you to God, and be a comfort to my own family, in disposed of for your best advantage, with a do me that just right, as to vindicate my this dark time of trouble; being as one hid,

> Subscribing myself, as I am, sir, Your most assured friend and servant, BENJAMIN CHURCII.

Major Church did receive, after this, answers to his letters, but has lost them, except it be a letter from several of the gentlemen in those parts, in June following, which

Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major Benjamin Church,

SIR :-

Your former readiness to expose yourself BENJAMIN CHURCH. in the service of the country, against the common enemy, and particularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in these there was to be a treaty speedily, but the time entreat you, after the perusal of these lines, leastern parts, leaves us under a deep and they knew not. I took my horse, and upon to communicate the same to Captain John grateful sense of your favor therein; and, the Moaday set out for Boston, expecting the Littlefield, Lieutenant Joseph Story, and to forasmuch, as you was pleased, when last treaty had been at your town, as rationally it should; but on Tuesday night coming to you see fit,—with the tenders of my respects ther service of this kind, if occasion should Boston, there met with Captain Elisha Anto you, and to Major Vaughan, and his good call for it, we therefore presume confidently were drawn out of your parts, except twelve men in your town, and twelve in Piscataqua, which news did so amuse me, to see that wisdom was taken from the wise, and such parts, as if particularly named. Furewell. men, to be forthwith dispatched into those

parts; and, as we understand, have written to your governor and council of Plymouth for further assistance, which we pray you to your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, I promote, hoping if you can obtain about two do by these presents constitute and appoint hundred men, English and Indians, to visit you to be Major of the several companies of them at some of their head quarters up militia, detached for their Majesties' service Kennebeck river, or elsewhere, which, for against their French and Indian enemies .want of necessaries, was omitted last year, it may be of great advantage to us. We offer their Majesties' names, to discharge the duty nothing of advice as to what methods are most proper to be taken in this affair, your acquaintance with our circumstances as well both inferior officers and soldiers, keeping as the enemies', will direct you therein. We leave the conduct thereof to your own discretion, but that the want of provision, &c. may be no remora to your motion, you may please to know Mr. Geafford, one of our principal inhabitants, now residing in Boston, both promised to take care to supply to and directions as you shall from time to time the value of two or three hundred pounds, if occasion require. We pray a few lines by and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust the bearer to give us a prospect of what we reposed in you for their Majesties' service .may expect for our further encouragement, Given under my hand and seal at Boston, and remain, sir,

Your obliged friends and servants, William Vaughan, Richard Martyn, Nathaniel Fryer, William Fernald, Francis Hooke, Charles Frost, John Wincol, Robert Elliott.

A true copy of the original letter-which letter was presented to me by Captain Hatch, who came express.

Major Church sent them his answer, the contents whereof was, that he had gone often enough for nothing, and especially to be illtreated with scandals and false reports, when last out, which he could not forget; and signified to them, that doubtless some among them thought they could do without him .-And to make short of it, they did go out, and meeting with the enemy at Maquait, were most shamefully beaten, as I have been informed.

THE THIRD EXPEDITION EAST.

This was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir William Phips's government, Major Walley being at Boston, was requested by his excellency to treat with Major Church about going east with him. Major Walley coming transports, his excellency going in person home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Major Church, told him that now was the time to have recompense for his former great expenses, saying also, that the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his excellency's request Major Church went down to Boston, und waited upon him, who said he was glad to see him, and after some discourse told the said Church that he was going east himself, and that he should be his second, and in his absence command all the forces. And being requested by his excellency to raise what volunteers he could of his old soldiers in the county of Bristol, both English and Indians, received his commission, which is as follows:

Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusett's Bay in New England,

To Benjamin Church, Gent. Greeting.

Reposing special trust and confidence in You are therefore authorized and required in of a major, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said several companies in arms, them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their major; and diligently to intend the said service, for the prosecuting, pursuing, killing, and destroying of the said common enemy; and yourself to observe and follow such orders receive from myself, according to the rules the 25th day of July, 1692, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ircland, defenders of the faith. WILLIAM PHIPS.

By his Excellency's command, ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient number of volunteers, both English and Indians, and officers suitable to command them, marched them down to Boston. But there was one thing I would just mention, which was, that Major Church, being short of money, was forced to borrow six pounds in money of Lieutenant Woodman, in Little-Compton, to distribute by a shilling and a bit at a time to the Indian soldiers, who, without such allurements, would not have marched to Boston. This money Major Church put into the hands of Mr. William Fobes, who was going out their commissary in that service, who was ordered to keep a just account of what each Indian had, so that it might be deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to Boston, his excellency having got things in a readiness, they embarked on board their with them, being bound to Pemequid, but in their way stopped at Casco, and buried the hours of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to Pemequid-coming there, his excellency asked Major Church to go ashore and give his judgment about erecting a fort there .-He answered, that his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only nests for destructions .-His excellency said, he had a special order from their Mujesties King William and Queen Mary, to erect a fort there. Then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. Then his excellency told Major Church that he might take all the forces with him except one company to stay with him and work about the fort. The Major answered, that if his excellency pleased he might keep two companies with him, and he would go with the rest to Pe-

excellency did, and gave Major Church his orders, which are as followeth:

By his excellency Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over their Majesties' province of the Massachusett's Bay, in New England.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church.

Whereas you are Major, and so chief officer of a body of men detached out of the militia appointed for an expedition against the French and Indian enemy, you are duly to observe the following instructions:

Imprimis. You are to take care that the worship of God be duly and constantly maintained and kept up among you, and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation of the holy name of God; and as much as in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongst your soldiers.

2dly. You are to proceed with the soldiers under your command, to Penobscot, and with what privacy and undiscoverable methods you can, there to land your men, and take the best measures to surprise the

3dly. You are, by killing, destroying, and all other means possible, to endeavor the destruction of the enemy; in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your courage and conduct, I leave the same to your dis-

Athly. You are to endeavor the taking what captives you can, either men, women, or children, and the same safely to keep and convey them unto me.

5thly. Since it is not possible to judge how affairs may be circumstanced with you there, I shall therefore not limit your return, but leave it to your prudence, only that you make no longer stay than you can improve for advantage against the enemy, or may reasonably hope for the same.

6thly. You are also to take care and be very industrious by all possible means to find out and destroy all the enemies' corn, and other provisions in all places where you can come at the same.

7thly. You are to return from Penobscot and those eastern parts, to make all dispatch hence for Kennebeck river, and the places adjacent, and there prosecute all advantages against the enemy as aforesaid.

Sthly. If any soldier, officer, or other shall be disobedient to you as their commander-in-chief, or other their superior officer, or make or cause any mutiny, commit other offence or disorders, you shall call a conneil of war amongst your officers, and having tried him or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the merit of the offence requires, death only excepted, which, if any shall deserve, you are to secure the person, and signify the crime unto me by the first opportunity.

Given under my hand this 11th day of August, 1692.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then the major and his forces embarked and made the best of their way to Penghscot; and coming to an island in these parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end nobscot, and places adjacent. Which his of the said island. Then the major took

the other end of the said island, where they ther order. found two Frenchmen and their families in their houses, and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had sending them an account of what he had destroyed as ordered. seen and met withal, strictly charging them service they could in those parts, he returned back to his excellency at Pemequid; where Major Walley, he was out of pocket about WILLIAM STOU being come, staid not long, they being short twelve pounds over and above what he had; of bread, his excellency intended home for all which had not been, had not his excellency Boston, for more provisions; but before go- been gone out of the country. ing with Major Church and his forces to Kenneheck river, and coming there, gave him further orders, which are as follows:

By his Excellency the Governor, To Major Benjamin Church.

You having already received former instructions, are now further to proceed with made acts of encouragement, he told them, the soldiers under your command for Ken- if they would provide whale-boats, and other are to embark the forces now furnished and nebeck river, and the places adjacent, and necessaries convenient, he would. Being equipped for his majesty's services on the use your utmost endeavors to kill, destroy, and also requested by the said general court, he present expedition, to the eastern parts of take captive the French and Indian enemy proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it wheresoever you shall find any of them; and his whole business, riding both east and at your return to Pemequid (which you are to west in our province and Connecticut, at the said service, to sail unto Piscataqua, to do as soon as you can conveniently, after great charge and expenses; and in about a join those lately dispatched thither for the your best endeavor done ngainst the enemy, and having destroyed their corn and other of those parts, and marched them down to provisions,) you are to stay with all your sol
Boston; where he had the promise that vessels, boats, and men under your comdiers and officers, and set them to work on every thing should be ready in three weeks mand, in search for, prosecution and pursuit the fort; and make what dispatch you can or a month's time, but was obliged to stay of, the said enemy, at such places where you

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then his excellency taking leave went for children by them. The major presently ex-Boston, and soon after Major Church and amining the Frenchmen where the Indians his force had a smart fight with the enemy were, they told him that there was a great in Kennebeck river, pursued them so hard company of them upon an island just by, that they left their canoes, and ran up into and showing him the island, presently dis- the woods, still pursued them up to their fort, covered several of them. Major Church and at Taconock, which the enemy perceiving place was, which they readily showed them, Church came to the said fort found about half

THE FOURTH EXPEDITION EAST.

In 1696, Major Church being at Boston, and belonging to the house of representatives, several gentlemen requested him to go east again, and the general court having

part of his forces and moved toward day to in that business, staying there until my fur- considerably longer. Being now at Boston, he received his commission and instructions; which are as follows:

> William Stoughton, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander-in-Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England,

To Major Benjamin Church, Greeting:

Whereas, there are several companies his forces still keeping undiscovered to them, set fire to their houses in the fort, and ran raised, consisting of Englishmen and Inasked the Frenchmen where their passing away by the light of them; and when Major dians, for his majesty's service, to go forth upon the encouragement given by the great so presently they placed an ambuseade to their houses standing and the rest burnt; and general court, or assembly of this, his take any that should come over, then sent also found great quantities of corn, put up majesty's province, convened at Boston, the orders for all the rest of the forces to come, into Indian cribs, which he and his forces the 27th day of May, 1696, to prosecute the French and Iudian enemy, &c. And you, Having done what service he could in having offered yourself to take the comto keep themselves undiscovered by the those parts, returned to Pemequid, and com- mand and conduct of the said several com-enemy. The ambuscade did not lie long ing there employed his forces according to panies; by virtue therefore of the power before an Indian man and woman came over his instructions. Being out of bread, his ex- and authority in and by his majesty's royal in a canoe, to the place for landing, where cellency not coming, Major Church was commission to me granted, reposing special the ambuscade was laid, who hauled up their obliged to borrow bread of the captain of trust and confidence in your loyalty, prucanoe, and came right into the hands of our the man-of-war that was then there, for all dence, courage, and good conduct, I do by ambuscade, who so suddenly surprised them the forces under his command, his excellency these presents constitute and appoint you to that they could not give any notice to the not coming as expected; but at length his be major of the said several companies, both others from whence they came; the major excellency came and brought very little bread Englishmen and Indians, raised for his ordering that none of his should offer to more than would pay what was borrowed of majesty's service upon the encouragement meddle with the canoe, lest they should be the man-of-war; so that in a short time aforesaid. You are therefore carefully and discovered, hoping to take the most of them, after Major Church, with his forces, returned diligently to perform the duty of your place, if his forces came as ordered, he expecting home to Boston, and had their wages for by leading, ordering, and exercising the said them to come as directed; but the first news their good service done. Only one thing by several companies in arms, both inferior ofhe had of them was, that they were all com- the way I will just mention, that is, about ficers and soldiers, keeping them in good oring, though not privately, as ordered; but the six pounds Major Church borrowed as der and discipline, commanding them to the vessels fair in sight of the enemy, which aforementioned, and put into the hands of obey you as their major; and yourself dissoon put them all to flight; and our forces Mr. Fobes, who distributed the said money, igently to intend his majesty's service for the not having boats suitable to pursue them, all but thirty shillings, to the Indian soldiers, prosecuting, taking, killing, or destroying the they got all away in their canoes, which as directed, which was deducted out of their said enemy by sea or land; and to observe caused Major Church to say, he would wages, and the country had credit for the all such orders and instructions as you shall never go out again without a sufficient num-ber of whale-boats, which for want of, was shillings to himself, which was deducted out commander-in-chief for the time being, acthe ruin of that action. Then Major Church, of his wages; whereupon Major Walley and cording to the rules and discipline of war, according to his instruction, ranged all those said Fobes had some words. In short, Major pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given parts, to find all their corn, and carried a- Church was obliged to expend about six under my hand and seal at arms, at Boston, board their vessels what he thought conve-pounds of his own money in marching down the third day of August, 1696, in the eighth nient, and destroyed the rest. Also, finding the forces both English and Indians, to Bos-considerable quantities of plunder, viz. bea-ton, having no drink allowed them upon the liam the Third, by the grace of God, of ver, moose-skins, &c. Having done what road; so that instead of Major Church's England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON. By command of the Lieut. Gov. &c. ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay. By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander of the forces raised for his Majesty's service, against the French and Indian enemy and rebels:

Pursuant to the commission given you, you

where you may probably expect to find, or from the said French ship, so that he might several of their new soldiers grumble, but meet with them, and take all advantages have an opportunity to fight them while he telling them they hoped to come up quickly against them which providence shall favor was engaged with the French ship. Soon with the enemy, put new life into them, and

You are not to list or accept any soldiers posted at any town or garrison within this fence of those places; who gave them a but at the same space of time as before menprovince, without special order from my-good commend for their ready and willing tioned; and no canoes passed up the river

most you can.

due allowance of provisions and other necessaries, and that the sick or wounded be accommodated in the best manner your circumstances will admit. And that good order and command may be kept up and mainsions, or neglect of duty, be duly punished could not discover any of them, nor their according to the laws martial. And you are to require the captain or chief officer of each company, with the clerk of the same, to keep an exact journal of all their proceedings from from Captain Gorham, that they had not distime to time.

rebels offer to submit themselves, you are to those parts towards Penobscot, the major orreceive them only at discretion; but if you dered all the vessels to sail and make the best think fit to improve any of them, or any of their way to Monbegin, which being not he might have intelligence where the enemy others which you may happen to take pri- far from Penobscot, where the main body of soners, you may encourage them to be faith- our enemies was living; being in great hopes ful by the promise of their lives, which shall to come up with the army of French and Iube granted upon approbation of their fi-dians, before they had scattered and were delity.

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the prison, so that from each other after such actions; and havthey may not have opportunity to escape, ing a fair wind, made the best of their way, but otherwise improve them to what advan- and early next morning they got into Montage you can, and return them back again to begin, and there lay all day fitting their boats this place.

You are to advise, as you can have occasion, with Captain John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death, sels all to come to sail, and carry the forces A copy of these instructions you are to leave over the bay, near Penobscot, but having litwith him, and to give me an account from the wind he ordered all the soldiers to embark time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON. Boston, August 12th, 1696.

the news came of Pemequid fort being taken; it came by a shallop that brought some pri- ashore at a point near Penobscot, just as the soners to Boston, who gave an account also, day broke and hid their boats, and keeping river, were fired at by some of our forces, ran that there was a French ship at Mount- a good look out by sea, and sent scouts out ashore, and left two of their guns in the ca-Desart, who had taken a ship of ours; so by land; but could not discover either ca- noe, which were taken, and also a letter from the discourse was that they would send the noes or Indians; what tracks and fire places man-of-war, with other forces to take the said they saw were judged to be seven or eight French ship, and retake ours. But in the days before they came. As soon as night lake to Mount-Royal, and of their little sermean-time Major Church and his forces be-came, that they might be undiscovered, got vice done upon the Maquas Indians westing ready, embarked, and on the 15th day into their boats, and went by Mussel-neck, ward, only demolishing one fort, and cutof August set sail for Piscataqua, where and so amongst Penobscot Islands, looking ting down some corn. He desiring to hear more men were to join them, but before they very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, of the proceedings of Deborabuel, and the left Boston, Major Church discoursed with and for canoes, but found neither; getting up French man-of-war; and informed him that the captain of the man-of-war, who promised to Mathebestuckshills, day coming on, landed, there were several canoes coming with workhim, if he went to Mount-Desart, in pursuit and hid their boats, looking out for the en- men from Quebec, to St. John's, where since, of the French ship, that he would call for him emy, as the day before, but to little purpose. we concluded, it was to build a fort at the

may be informed of their abode or resort, or the French and Indians might not be far very hard, turned the night into day; made tracks. So having done his business there, went, with what forces he had there, to Wincovered any of the enemy, nor any new In case any of the Indian enemy and tracks; so, concluding they were gone from at Mussel-neck with their boats; lying there all day to keep undiscovered from the enemy; at night the major ordered the veson board the boats with eight days' provision, and sent the vessels back to Monhegin, that they might not be discovered by the enemy; giving them orders when and where they In the time Major Church lay at Boston, should come to him. The forces being all farther, concluded that he stopped his blood, ready in their boats, rowing very hard, got and his forces at Piscataqua, expecting that Night coming on, to their oars again, working river's mouth, where the great guns were

after the forces arrived at Piscataqua, the by day-light they got into the mouth of the major sent his Indian soldiers to Colonel river, where landing, found many rendezvous that are already in his majesty's pay, and Gidney, at York, to be assisting for the de- and fire places where the Indians had been, services done, in scouting, and the like .- that day. Their pilot, Joseph York, in-You are to require and give strict orders Lying at Piscataqua with the rest of our formed the major that 50 or 60 miles up that that the doties of religion be attended on forces near a week, waiting for more forces river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great board the several vessels, and in the several who were to join them, to make up their rendezvous, and planted a great quantity of companies under your command, by daily complement, in all which time heard never corn, when he was a prisoner with them, prayers unto God, and reading his holy word, a word of the man-of-war. On the 22d of four years ago, and that he was very well acand observance of the Lord's day, to the ut- August they all embarked for Piscataqua, quainted there; this gave great encourageand when they came against York, the ment to have some considerable advan-You are to see that your soldiers have their major went ashore, sending Captain Gorham tage of the enemy at that place; so using with some forces, in two brigantines and a their utmost endeavours to get up there unsloop to Winter-Harbour, ordering him to discovered, and coming there found no ensend out scouts, to see if they could make emy, nor corn planted, they having deserted any discovery of the enemy, and to wait the place. And ranging about the falls on there till he came to them. Major Church both sides of the river, leaving men on the tained in the several companies, and all dis- coming to York, Colonel Gidney told him east side of the said river, and the boats just orders, drunkenness, profane cursing, swear- his opinion was, that the enemy was drawn below the falls, with a good guard to secure ing, disobedience to officers, mutinies, omis-off from those parts, for that the scouts them, and to take the enemy if they came down the river in their canoes. The west side being the place where the enemy lived, and best to travel on, they resolved to range ter-Harbour, where he had the same account as privately as they could; a mile or two above the falls discovered a birch canoe coming down with two Indians in it, the major sent word immediately back to those at the falls, to lie very close, and let them pass down the falls, and to take them alive, that was, which would have been a great advantage to them, but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, which prevented them going into the gone past Penobscot, or Mount-Desart, ambuscade that was laid for them; wherewhich is the chief place of their departure upon several more of our men being near, shot at them; so that one of them could not stand when he got ashore, but crept away into the brush, the other stepped out of the canoe with his paddle in his hand, and ran and other necessaries to embark in the night about a rod, and then threw down his paddle, and turned back and took up his gun, so escaped. One of our Indians swam over the river, and fetched the canoe, wherein was a considerable quantity of blood on the seats. that the Indians sat on; the canoe having several holes shot in her. They stopped the holes, and then Captain Bracket, with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who tracked them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no and so got away. In the mean-time another canoe with three men were coming down the a priest to Casteen, that gave him an account of the French and Indians returning over the

called together to advise, and their pilot, York, means or other had received some intel-informed them of a fort up that river, and ligence of their being come out against them, it was built on a little island in that river, and that they were in no necessity to come and there was no getting to it but in canoes, down to the senside as yet, moose and beaver or on the ice in the winter time. This, with now being fat. They then agreed to go far east the certain knowledge that we were dis- and employ themselves, that the enemy becovered by the enemy that escaped out of longing to those parts might think that the upper canoe, concluded it not proper, at they were gone home. Having some disthat time, to proceed any further up, and that course about going over to St. John's; but there was no getting any further with our the masters of the vessels said, he had as hoats; and the enemy being alarmed would good earry them to old France, which put off certainly fly from them, and do as they did that design, they concluding that the French four years ago at their fort at Taconock; ships were there. Then the major moved having sought them in Kennebeck river, and for going over the bay, towards Labane, and pursued them about thirty miles to Taco- towards the gut of Cancer, where was anothnock; for they then set their fort on fire, and run away by the light of it, our forces not being able to come up with them at that barbarous Indians; snying that by the time place. Major Church then encouraging his they should return again, the enemy belongsoldiers, told them, he hoped they should ing to these parts would come down again, meet with part of the enemy in Penobscot expecting that we are gone home. But in Bay, or at Mount-Desart, where the French short, could not prevail with the masters of ships were. So, notwithstanding they had the open sloops to venture across the bay; been rowing several nights before, with much who said it was very dangerous so late in the toil, besides were short of provisions, they year, and as much as their lives were worth, cheerfully embarked on board their hoats, Then they concluded and resolved to go to and went down the river, both with and Senactaca, wherein there was a ready comagainst the tide; and next morning came to plinnee, but the want of their pilot, Robert their vessels, where the major had ordered Cawley, was a great damage to them, who them to meet him, who could give him no in-knew all those parts: however, Mr. John telligence of any enemy. Where being come, Alden, master of the brigantine Endeavor, they refreshed themselves; meeting then piloted them up the bay to Senactaca; and with another disappointment, for their pilot, York, not being acquainted any further, be- from Senectaen; then came to with all the gan to lament the loss of one Robert Caw- vessels, and early next morning came to sail, ley, who they chiefly depended on for all the and about sun-rise got into town; but it beservice to be done now eastward; he having ing so late before we landed, that the enemy, been taken away from them the night before they set sail from Boston (and was on board happened landed where the French and In-Mr. Thorp's sloop) and put on board the manof-war, unknown to Major Church; notwith- John Paine, and several of Captain Smithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the major was obliged to one Bord, procured by Mr. William Alden, who being acquainted in those the woods, carrying all or most part of their parts, to leave his vessel, and go with him in goods with them. One Jarman Bridgway the bonts, which he readily complied with, came running towards our forces, with a gun and so went to Nasket-point; where being informed was a likely place to meet with the enemy; coming there found several houses and small fields of corn, the fires having been out several days, and no new tracks .-But upon Penobscot island they found several Indian houses, corn and turnips, though the enemy still being all gone, as before mentioned. Then they divided and sent their down; some of our forces being near to the boats some one way, and some another, said Bridgway, said it was the General that thinking that if any straggling Indians, or called to him. He hearing that, stopped and Casteen himself, should be thereabout, they turned about, laying down his gun, stood, till might find them, but it proved all in vain .-Himself and several boats went to Mount-Desart, to see if the French ships were gone, and whether any of the enemy might be there, but to no purpose, the ships being gone, and the enemy also. They being now got several leagues to the westward of their vessels, and seeing that the way was clear for where they lived; he shook his head, and their vessels to pass, and all their extreme rowing, and travelling by land and water, would take an opportunity and kill him and night and day, to be all in vain, the enemy his; so all that could be got out of him was, having left those parts, as they judged, about that they were run into the woods with the cight or ten days before. And then returning rest. Then orders were given to pursue the chopped and backed so, and left half dead, to their vessels, the commander calling his enemy, and to kill what Indians they could with all their scalps taken off, and that they officers together, to consult and resolve what find, and take the French alive, and give and their Indians served ours so; and our

taken. It being just night, the officers were to do, concluding that the enemy, by some them quarter if they asked it. Our forces coming to Grindstone-point, being not far most of them, made their escape, and as it dians had some time before killed Lientenant son's men, that were with said Paine. They, seeing our forces coming, took the opportunity, fired several guns, and so ran all into in one hand, and his cartridge-box in the the other, calling to our forces to stop, that he might speak with them; but Major Church thinking it was that they might have some advantage, ordered them to run on; when the said Bridgway saw they would not stop, turned and ran, but the major called unto him, and bid him stop, or he would be shot the major came up to him; his desire was that the commander would make haste with him to his house, lest the savages should kill his father and mother, who were upward of fourseore years of age and could not go .-The major asked the said Bridgway whether there were any Indians among them, and said, he durst not tell, for if he did they

soon took three Frenchmen, who, upon examination, said, that the Indians were all run into the woods. The French fired several guns at our forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The major took the aforesaid Jarman Bridgway for a pilot, and with some of his forces went over a river, to several of their houses, but the people were gone and carried their goods with them; in ranging the woods found several Indian houses, their fires being just out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to and fro, found considerable of their goods, and but few people; at night the major writ a letter, and sent out two French prisoners, wherein was signified, that if they would come in, they should have good quarters .-The next day several came in, which did belong to that part of the town where our forces first landed, who had encouragements given them by our commander, that if they would assist him in taking those Indians which belonged to those parts, they should have their goods returned to them again, and their estates should not be damnified; which they refused. Then the major and his forces pursued their design, and went further, ranging their country, found several more bouses, but the people fled, and carried what they had away; but in a creek found a prize bark, that was brought in there by a French privateer. In ranging the woods took some prisoners, who upon examination gave our commander an account, that there were some Indians upon a neck of land, towards Menis; so a party of men was sent into those woods, and in their ranging about the said neck found some plunder, and a considerable quantity of whortleberries, both green and dry, which were gathered by the Indians, and had like to have taken two Indians, who, by the help of a birch canoe, got over the river, and made their escape. Also they found two barrels of powder, and near half a bushel of bullets; the French denying it to be theirs, said they were the savages', but sure it was a supply for our enemies; also they took from Jarman Bridgway several barrels of powder, with bullets, shot, spears, and knives, and other supplies to relieve our enemics; he owning that he had been trading with those Indians along Cape-Sable shore, with Peter Assnow, in sloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the French ships, and went along with them to St. John's, and helped them to unload the said ships, and carried up the river provisions, ammunition, and other goods to Vilboon's fort.

The major having ranged all places that were thought proper, returned back to the place where they first landed, and finding several prisoners come in, who were troubled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs, and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopped and hacked with hatchets; which was done without order from the major, however he told them it was nothing to what our poor English, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women, and ehildren were

savages would be glad to serve them so too, covery of; so the commander, with the rest, [ed by storms, or thick fogs, and if so it if he would permit them! which caused ran directly towards the new fort they were them to be mighty submissive, and begged building, not knowing but they had some the major that he would not let the savages ordnunce mounted. The enemy running serve them so. Our Indians being somewhat directly to their canoes, were met by our sensible of the discourse, desired to have forces, who fired at them, and killed one, and some of them to roast, and so make a dance; wounded Corporal Canton, who was taken, and dancing in a hideous manner, to terrify the rest threw down what they had and ran them, said, that they could cat any sort of into the woods. The said prisoner, Canton, flesh, and that some of theirs would make being brought to the major, told him, if he their hearts strong; stepping up to some of would let his surgeon dress his wound and the prisoners, said, they must have their cure him, he would be serviceable to him as scalps, which much terrified the poor pri-soners, who begged for their lives. The major told them he did not design the sav-the twelve great guns which were hid in the ages should burt them; but it was to let them beach, below high water mark; the carsee a little what the poor English felt, saying, riages, shot, and wheelbarrows, some flour it was not their scalps be wanted, but the and pork, all hid in the woods. And the savages, for he should get nothing by them; next morning the officers being all ordered and told them, that their fathers, the frings to meet together to consult about going to and governors, encouraged their savages, and Vilboon's fort, and none amongst their being gave them money to scalp our English, not- acquainted but the Aldens, who said the wawithstanding they were with them; which ter in the river was very low, so that they several of our English, there present, did tes- could not get up to the fort, and the prisoner, tify to their faces, that their fathers and Canton, told the commander, that what the mothers were served so in their sight. But Aldens said was true; so not being willing the major bid them tell their fathers, the fri- to make a Canada expedition, concluded it are and governors, that if they still persisted, was not practicable to proceed. Then orand let their wretched savages kill and de-dered some of the forces to get the great stroy the poor English at that rate, he would guns on board the open sloops, and the rest come with some hundreds of savages, and to range the woods for the enemy, who took let them loose among them, who would kill, one prisoner, and brought in; who in their scalp, and carry away every French person ranging found there a shallop haled in a in all those parts, for they were the root from creek, and a day or two after there came in whence all the branches came that burt us; a young soldier to our forces, who, upon exfor the Indians could not do us any harm, amination, gave an account of two more if they did not relieve and supply them.— which he left in the woods at some distance; The French being sensible of the major's so immediately the major with some of his kindness to them, kissed his hand, and were forces went in pursuit of them, taking the very thankful to him for his favour to them said prisoner with them, who conveyed them in saving their lives; owned that their priests to the place where he left them, but they were at the taking of Pumcquid fort, and were gone. Then asked the prisoner, whethwere now gone to Laybone, with some of the er there were any Indians in those parts.-Indians, to meet the French ships, but for Said no, it was as bard for Vilboon, their what they would not tell. The commander governor, to get an Indian down to the wawith his forces, having done all they could in ter side, as it was for him to carry one of those parts, concluded to go to St. John's those great guns upon his back to his fort; river, to do further service for their king and for they having had intelligence by a prisoner country, embarked all on board their trans-out of Boston gool, that gave them an acports; and having a fair wind, soon got to count of Major Church and his forces com-Monogenest which lies a little distance from ing out against them. Now having with a the mouth of St. John's river. Next morning great deal of pains and trouble got all the early, the major, with his forces landed to guns, shot, and other stores aboard, intended see what discovery they could make, tra- on our design which we came out first for, but velled across the woods to the old fort or falls, the wind not serving, the commander sent out at the mouth of St. John's river, keeping his acouts into the woods, to seek for the themselves undiscovered from the enemy; enemy, and four of our Indians came upon finding that there were several men at work, three Frenchmen undiscovered, who conand having informed themselves as much as cluded that if the French should discover they could, the enemy being on the other side them, would fire at them, and might kill one of the river, could not come at them, return- or more of them, which to prevent, fired at ed back, but night coming on, and dark wet the French, killed one, and took the other weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to two prisoners; and it happened that he who stop in the woods until towards day next was killed was Shanelere, the chief man morning, and then went on board; soon af- there. The same day they mended their ter the major ordered all the vessels to come whale-boats, and the shallop which they took, to sail, and go into the mouth of the river; fitting her to row with eight oars, that she being done, it was not long before the major might be helpful to their prosecuting their inand his forces landed on the cast side of the tended design against the enemy in their reriver, the French firing briskly at them, but turning homeward. Then the commander did them no barm; and running hercely up- ordering all the officers to come together, in-The major ordered a brisk party to run across that no vessels should depart from the fleet, a neck to cut them off from their canoes, but to attend the motions of their com-

on the enemy, they soon fled into the woods, formed them of his intentions, and ordered

should happen that any did part, when they came to Passamequady, should stop there a while, for there they intended to stop, and do business with the help of their boats against the enemy, and if they missed that, to stop at Machias; which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the prisoners taken, that Mr. Lateril was there trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them said, he did not doubt but to Inve a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past Naskege-point, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about Pcnobscot. Then the major discoursed with Captain Brackit, Captain Hunewell, and Captain Larking, with their lieutenants, commanders of the forces belonging to the custward parts, who were to discourse their soldiers about their proceeding, when they came to Penobscot; and the major himself was to discourse his Indian soldiers, and their captains: who with all the rest readily complied. The projection being such, that when they came to Penobscot, the commander designed to take what provisions could be spared out of all the sloops, and put on board the two brigantines, and to send all the sloops home with some of the officers and men that wanted to be at home; and then with those forces aforementioned to wit, the eastward men and all the Indians; and to take what provisions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himself up into the Penobacot country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take that fort in Penobscot river. Captain Brackit, informing the major, that when the water was low they could wade over, which was (at that time) the lowest that had been known in a long time. And being there, to range through that country down to Pernequid; where he intended the two brigantines should meet them; and from thence taking more provisions, viz. bread, salt, and ammunition suitable (to send those two vessels home also) to travel through the country to Nerigiwack, and from thence to Ameras-cogen fort, and so down where the enemy used to plant, not doubting but that in all this travel to meet with many of the enemy before they should get to Piscotaqua. All which intentions were very acceptable to the forces that were to undertake it, who rejoicing, said, they had rather go home by land than by water, provided their commander would go with them; who, to try their fidelity, said, he was grown ancient and might fail them; they all said they would not leave him, and when he could not travel any further, they would carry him, Having done what service they could at and about the mouth of St. John's river, resolved on their intended design; and the next morning having but little wind, came all to sail, the wind coming against them, they put into Mushquash-Cove, and the next day, the wind still being against them, the major with part of his forces landed, and employed themselves in ranging the country for the enemy, but to no purpose; and in the night, the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 o'clock which the day before they had made a dist modore, as formerly, except they were part-, they came to sail, and had not been long before they spyed three sail of vessels; expect-back to St. John's. Then discoursing with though it proved to the contrary; so shall which is as follows: -

Boston, September 9th, 1696.

your ready compliance and assistance therein, which, I hope, will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to these his Majesty's territories, if it please God to succeed the same. Besides, it is very probable to be the fairest opportunity that be drawn to the defence of that fort. I have also ordered his Majesty's ship Arundel, and the Province-Galley, to attend this service.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his commission and instructions received from myself for this expedition, which I expect and order that yourself, officers, and soldiers, now under you, yourself and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a blessing from Heaven upon the said enterprise, and that all engaged in the same may be under the special protection of the Almighty,

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

The Major having rend his last orders, vented in their intended projection, if carried sion, doubtless thought they did for the best, the inhabitants of Deerfield, made such an

selves, so coming near, hailed them; who what they had done at St. John's, viz. that as found them to be a man-of-war, the Province-to demolishing the new fort they had done it, Galley, and old Mr. Alden in a sloop, with and got all their great guns and stores aboard government took away all the great guns, more forces, Colonel Huthorne commander, their vessels; and that if it had not been that and warlike stores, and gave them not a Major Church went aboard the commodore, the waters were so low would have taken the penny for them, except it was some powder. where Colonel Hathorne was, who gave him fort up the river also before he came away; and that they gave what they pleased for; and an account of his commission and orders, told him also that one of the prisoners which besides the assembly passed a vote that they and read them to him. Then his honor told he had taken at St. John's, upon examina- should have but half pay; but his honor the Major Church, that there was a particular tion, concerning the Indians in those parts, lieutenant governor being much disturbed at order on board Captain Southback for him, told him it was as hard for Vilboon, their their so doing, went into the town-house, His Majesty's ship Orford having lately to those parts by a prisoner out of Boston till the next spring. Whereupon it was resurprised a French shallop, with twenty-three gaol; also told his honor, that if they went assumed; so that they had just their bare of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon back it would wholly disappoint them of their wages. But as yet never had any allowance John's river, in Nova-Scotia, together with doing any further service, which was that for the great guns and stores; neither has Villean, their eaptain, Providence seems to they came for to Penobscot, and places ad- | Major Church had any allowance for all his encourage the forming of an expedition to jacent; but all was to no purpose, his honor travel and great expenses in raising the said attack that fort, and to disrest and remove telling the major that he must attend his or- forces volunteers. the enemy from that post, which is the chief ders then received. And to encourage the source from whence the most of our disas-officers and soldiers told them, they should ters do issue, and also to favour with an op- be wholly at the major's ordering and comportunity for gaining out of their hands the mand in the whole action; and to be short ordnance, artillery, and other warlike stores, did go back, and the event may be seen in and provisions, lately supplied to them from Colonel Hathorne's Journal of the said ac- account of the miserable devastations made France, for erecting a new fort near the tion. Only I must observe one thing by the on Deerfield, a town in the westward parts of river's mouth, whereby they will be greatly way which was, that when they drew off to this province, and the horrible barbarities and strengthened, and the reducing of them ren- come down the river again, Colonel Hath- cruelties exercised on those poor innocent dered more difficult. I have therefore or orne came off and left the major behind to people, by the French and Indians, especially dered a detachment of two new companies, see that all the forces were drawn off; and of their cruelties towards that worthy gentleconsisting of about an hundred men to join coming down the river, in or near the rear, woman Mrs. Williams, and several others, the forces now with you for that expedition, in the night heard a person hallow, not know-whom they marched in that extreme season; and have commissioned Lieutenant Colonel ing at first but it might be a snare to draw forcing them to carry great loads, and when John Hathorne, one of the members of his them into; but upon consideration, sent any of them by their hard usage could not Majesty's council, who is acquainted with to see who or what he was, found him to be bear with it, were knocked on the head, and that river, and in whose courage and con- a negro man belonging to Marblehead, that so killed in cool blood. All which, with some duct I repose special trust, to take the chief had been taken, and kept a prisoner among other horrible instances done by those barcommand of the whole during that service, them for some time. The major asked him barous savages, which Major Church himbeing well assured that your good affections whether he could give any account of the self was an eye-witness to in his former traand zeal for his Majesty's service will induce Indians in those parts. He said, yes, they vel in the eastward parts, did much astonish coast, up into the woods, near an hundred savages had taken and killed, exposed in a miles, having had an account by a prisoner most brutish manner (as can be expressed) out of Boston gnol, that Major Church and with a young child seized fast with strings to four brigantines, and four sloops, with wound, which doubtless was left alive to suck can be offered unto yourself and men, of twenty-four pettiaugers, meaning whale- its dead mother's breast, and so miserably to doing execution upon the Indian enemy and boats, which put them into a fright, that not- perish and die. Also to see other poor chilrebels, who may reasonably be expected to withstanding they were so far up in the dren hanging upon fences dead, of either yield obedience unto. He is to advise with formed since, that soon after this expedition, hung with belts of their own, the inwards at and considering his commission, found that couldy, that they should send Colonel Ha-less might have been done if rightly mahe was obliged to attend all orders, was thorne to take them from the service and naged, and that in a short time. So that much concerned that he and his were pre- business they went to do; who, with submis- these, with the late inhumanities done upon

ing them to be French, fitted to defend them. Colonel Hathorne, gave him an account of wind up with a just hint of what happened governor, to get one of their Indians down where the representatives were sitting, and to the water side, as to carry one of those told them, except they did re-assume that great guns upon his back; and that they vote, which was to cut Major Church and his had an account of him and his forces coming forces off their half-pay, they should sit there

THE FIFTH AND LAST EXPEDITION EAST.

In the year 1703-4, Major Church had an were or had been all drawn off from the sea him. To see a woman that those barbarous his forces were coming out against them in her brenst; which infant had no apparent woods, were afraid to make fires by day, lest sex, in their own poor rngs, not worth their he and his forces should discover the smokes, stripping them off, in scorn and derision, and in the night lest they should see the light. Another instance was, of a straggling sol-One thing more I would just give a hint of, dier who was found at Casco, exposed in a that is, how the French in the eastward parts shameful and barbarous manner; his body were much surprised at the motion of the being staked up, his head cut off, and a whale-boats; said, there was no abiding for hog's head set in the room, his body ripped them in that country; and I have been in- up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and they drew off from St. John's fort and river, the side of his body, in seorn and derision of But to return: then going all down the river, the English soldiers. These and such like embarked and went homeward; only by the barbarities caused Major Church to express way, candid reader, I would let you know of himself to this purpose, that if he were comtwo things that proved very prejudicial to mander-in-chief of these provinces, he would Major Church and his forces. The first soon put an end to those barbarities done by was, that the government should miss it so the barbarous enemy, by muking it his whole much as to send any prisoner away from business to fight and destroy those savages, Boston before the expedition was over. Se- as they did our poor neighbors; which doubtimpression on his heart as cannot well be ex-|man that waats may have one, to put up | for that they were first built for: but sure it pressed; so that his blood boiled within him, his bullets in, of such a size as will fit his is, they are very serviceable to them, for they making such impulses on his mind, that he gun, and not be served as at Casco. That get many a good advantage of us to destroy forgot all former treatments, which were every man's bag be so marked that he may our men, and laugh at us for our folly, that enough to hinder any man, especially the not change it: for if so, it will make a great said Major Church, from doing any further confusion in action; that every man's store service. Notwithstanding all which, having of ball be weighed to him, that so he may be a mind to take some satisfaction on the accountable, and may not squander it away; enemy, his heart being full, took his horse and also his store of powder, that so he may and went from his own habitation, near try his powder and gun before action. And seventy miles, to wait upon his excellency, that every particular company may have a and offered his service to the queen, his excelleacy, and the country; which his ex-marked that it may by no means be changed; cellency readily accepted of, and desired that men may know beforehand, and may Major Church to draw a scheme for the ensu- not be cheated out of their lives, by having ing action, or actions; so taking leave went home, and drew it; which is as follows:

Tiverton, February 5, 1703-4. May it please your Excellency,

According to your request, when I was last with yourself, and in obedience thercunto, I present you with these following lines, that concern the preparation for next spring's opportunity to run for it; for the first of our action will be our opportunity to destroy them, and to prevent their running away, in waydiligent use of means, we may hope for a they may fall before us and perish. For my to destroy those Indian enemies. advice is,

soldiers well equipped, be in a readiness fit may take a survey of them and their arms; for action, by the first of April at farthest, for and see if their arms be good, and that they then will be the time to be upon action.

whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with son and sense, to know how to manage themfive good oars, and twelve or fifteen good selves in so difficult a piece of service, as paddles to every boat; and upon the wale of this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but each boat five pieces of strong leather be a clog and hindrance to an army, being a fastened on each side, to slip five small ash trouble and vexation to good commanders, bars through, that so, whenever they land, and so many mouths to devour the country's the men may step overboard, and slip in said provision, and a hindrance to all good acbars across, and take up said boat, that she tion. may not be hurt against the rocks; and that two suitable brass kettles be provided to be up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit to proceed. Then returned home and made long to each boat, to dress the men's victuals for that service; so that the country be not it his whole business to provide oars and padin, to make their lives comfortable.

3dly. That four or five hundred pair of good Indian shoes be made ready, fit for the service, for the English and Indians, that must improve the whale-boats, and birch calvessels to be improved in this action, be good noes, for they will be very proper and safe decked vessels, not too big, because of going Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and for that service; and let there be a good store up several rivers; having four or six small of cow-hides, well tauned, for a supply of such shoes; and hemp to make thread, and will defend them. And there are enough wax, to mend and make more such shoes when wanted, and a good store of awls.

hatchets, or light axes, made pretty broad, and us a happy people, as to the destroying and steeled with the best steel that can be of our enemies, and easing of our taxes, &c. got, and made by good workmen, that may be pleased to draw forth all those forces now cut well and hold, that the hemlock knots in pay in all the eastward parts, both at Saco special trust and confidence in your loyalty, may not break or turn them, to widen the and Casco-Bay; for those two trading houses conrage, and good conduct, constitute and landing place up the falls, for it may happen never did any good, nor ever will, and are appoint you to be colonel of all the forces that we may get up with some of our whaleboats to their falls or head-quarters.

barrel of powder to themselves, and so bad powder, or not knowing how to use it: and this will prove a great advantage to the

the management of the whale-boats, he having been formerly concerned in the eastern parts, and experienced in that affair. And whale-men then will be very serviceable in expedition to attack the enemy. According this expedition, which having a promise made to my former direction, for it is good to have to them, that they shall be released in good as drawn into their country, they will prea full stroke at them first, before they have season, to go home a whaling in the fall, your excellency will have men enough.

7thly. That there may be raised for this service three hundred Indians at least, and laying every passage; and make them know more if they may be had; for I know cerwe are in good earnest, and so we being in a tainly of my own knowledge, that they exceed most of our English in hunting and blessing from the Almighty, and that He will skulking in the woods, being always used to be pleased to put a dread in their hearts, that it; and it must be practised if ever we intend

8thly. That the soldiers already out east-1st. That ten ar twelve hundred good able ward in the service, men of known judgment, offer estates and concerns to serve the public. know how to use them, in shooting right at 2dly. That five and forty, or fifty good a mark; and that they be men of good rea-

good satisfaction for them.

10thly. That the tenders or transports, gaus a piece for defence, and the fewer men such vessels to be had.

11thly. To conclude all, if your excel-4thly. That there be an hundred large lency will be pleased to make yourself great,

we should be at so much cost and trouble to do a thing that does us so much harm, and no manner of good. But to the centrary, when they see all our forces drawn forth, and in the pursuit of them, they will think that we begin to be roused up, and to be awake, and will not be satisfied with what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to retake from them, that they took formerly from us, and drive them out of their country also. The which being done, then to build a fort at a suitable time, and in a convenient place; and it will be very honorable to your excellency, and of great service to her majesty, 6thly. That Colonel John Gorham, if he and to the enlargement of her majesty's may be prevailed with, may be concerned in government; (the place meant being at Port-

> 12thly. That the objection made against drawing off the forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former experience teacheth us, that so soon seatly forsake ours to take care of their own. And that there be no failure in making preparation of these things aforementioned, for many times the want of small things prevents the completing of great actions; and that every thing be in readiness before the forces he raised, to prevent charges, and the enemy having intelligence. And that the general court be moved to make suitable acts. for the encouraging both English and Indians; that so men of business may freely

> Thus hoping what I have taken the pains to write in the sincerity of my heart and good affection, will be well accepted, I make hold to subscribe, as I am, your excellency's most devoted humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Then returning to his excellency presented the said scheme, which his excellency approved of, and returned it again to Major Church, and desired him to see that every thing was provided, telling him that he should 9thly. That special care be had in taking have an order from the commissary general cheated, as formerly, in having rotten boats; dles, and a vessel to carry them round; and and as much care that the owners may have then returned again to his excellency, who gave him a communission. Which is as follows:

> Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, in New-England, in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

To Benjamin Church, Esq., Greeting:

By virtue of the power and authority, in and by her majesty's royal commission, to me granted, I do by these presents, reposing not worthy the name of Queen's forts; and raised, and to be raised for her majesty's serthe first building of them had no other effect, vice, against the French and Indian enemy 5thly. That there be a suitable quantity but to lay us under tribute to that wretched and rebels, that shall be improved in the serof small bags, or wallets provided, that every pagan crew; and I hope never will be wanted vice to the eastward of Casco-Bay; and to execute all acts of hostility against the said enemy and rebels. And you are to observe perior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at Dom. 1703-4.

J. DUDLEY.

By his Excellency's command, ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Colonel Church no sooner received his commission, but proceeded to the raising of volunteers, by going into every town within the three counties, which were formerly Plymouth government; advising with turning from thence, after they had seen the chief officer of each company, to call them tried by the said engineer, and perhis company together, that so he might have the better opportunity to discourse and encourage them to serve their queen and coun- the horse-shoe, his excellency was invited by try; treating them with drink convenient, Captain Clark to walk over and take a glass told them he did not doubt but with God's of wine; which he was pleased to accept of, blessing to bring them all home again. All and took Colonel Church with hlm; and in Church enlisted out of some companies near to his excellency, "Sir, I hope that now we twenty men, and others fifteen. He having shall go to Port-Royal in order to take it; country would have reimbursed it ngain, other- lows :wise they would hardly have accepted it of him. Colonel Church's soldiers both English and Indians in those parts being raised, marched them all down to Nantasket, according to his excellency's directions; where being come, the following gentlemen were commissioned to be commanders of each particular company, viz. Lieutenant Colonel Gorham, Captains John Brown, Constant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Caleb Williamson, and Edward Church, of to take the chief command of the land and the forces raised by Colonel Church, each sea forces by me raised, equipped, and set Lamb, and Captain Mirick's company, who instructions: were raised by his excellency's direction, were ordered to join those aforesaid, under of religion be attended on board the several the command of Colonel Church. Matters vessels, and in the several companies under being brought thus far on, Colonel Church your command, by daily prayers unto God, waited upon his excelleney at Boston to and reading his holy word; and that the know his pleasure, what further measures Lord's day be observed and duly sanctified were to be taken; and did humbly move to the utmost of your power, as far as the that they might have liberty in their instructions to make an attack upon Port-Royal; can admit, that so you may have the presence courage, care, caution, and industry; but

forces. You are therefore carefully and dili- with the blessing of God, with what forces gently to perform the duty of a colonel and they had or should have; and whale-boats captain, by leading, ordering, and exercising so well fitted with oars and paddles, as they the said company and regiment in arms, both had with them might be sufficient to have inferior officers and soldiers; and to keep taken it. His excellency, looking upon them in good order and discipline. Hereby Colonel Church, replied, he could not admit commanding them to obey you as their col- of that, by reason he had by the advice of onel and captain; and with them to do and her majesty's council, writ to her majesty about the taking of Port-Royal fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken. Howand follow such orders and directions as you ever Colonel Church proceeding to get every shall receive from myself, or other your su-thing ready for the forces down at Nantasket, which was the place of parade. He happening one day to be at Captain Belcher's, where his excellency happened to come; arms, at Boston, the 18th day of March, in who was pleased to order Colonel Church to the third year of her majesty's reign. Anno put on his sword, and walk with him up the common, which he readily complied with. Where being come he saw two mortar pieces with shells, and an engineer trying with them to throw a shell from them to any spot of ground where he said it should fall. Which, when Colonel Church had seen done, gave him great encourngement and hopes that it would promote their going to Port-Royal, which he had solicited for; and reforming what was proposed, coming near to Captain William Clark's house, over against which, with many other arguments, animated the time they were taking a glass of wine, their hearts to do service, so that Colonel Colonel Church once more presumed to say raised a sufficient number of English soldiers, those mortars being very suitable for such an proceeded to the enlisting of Indians in all enterprise." His excellency was pleased to those parts where they dwelt, which was a reply: "Colonel Church you must say no great fatigue and expense; being a people more of that matter, for the letter I told you that need much treating, especially with of I writ by the advice of her majesty's drink. Having enlisted the most of his sol- council, now lies at home on the board bediers in those parts, who daily lay upon him, fore the lords commissioners of her majesty's was not less than 5l. per day expenses, some foreign plantations." After some days every days, in victuals and drink; who doubtless thing being ready to embark, Colonel Church thought, especially the English, that the received his instructions, which are as fol-

> his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, &c., in New England, and Vice-Admiral of the same,

Instructions for Colonel Benjamin Church, in the present Expedition.

In pursuance of the commission given you company being filled up with English and forth on her majesty's service, against her Indians as they agreed among themselves, open declared enemies the French and Inand by the colonel's directions; Captain dian rebels, you are to observe the following

First, you are to take care, that the duties

be captain of the first company of the said being very well satisfied in his opinion, that of God with, and obtain his blessing on your undertaking.

> You are to take care that your soldiers have their due allowance of provisions and other necessaries; that their arms be well fixed, and kept fit for service, and that they be furnished with a suitable quantity of powder and ball, and be always in readiness to

pass upon duty.

That good order and discipline be maintained; and all disorders, drunkenness, profane swearing, cursing, omission or neglect of duty, disobedience to officers, mutiny, desertion and sedition be duly punished according to the rules and articles of war; the which you are once a month, or oftener, to cause to be published and made known to your officers and soldiers for their observance and direction in their duty. Let notorious and capital offenders be sent away to the next garrisons, there to be imprisoned until they can be proceeded with.

Let the sick and wounded be carefully looked after, and accommodated after the best manner your circumstances will admit of, and he sent either to Casco-Fort, or to Mr. Peperel's at Kittery, which may be

easiest, so soon as you can.

You are forthwith to send away the forces and stores by the transports, with the whaleboats to Piscataqua, on Kittery side, there to attend your coming; whither you are to fol-

low them with all expedition.

You are to embark in the Province-Galley, Captain Southback, commander, and let Lietenant Colonel Gorham go on board Captain Gallop; who are both directed to attend your motion on the French side, after which they are to return. Let the commanders of all the store sloops and transports know that they sail, anchor, and serve at your direc-

When you sail from Piscatagua, keep at such distance off the shore, that you be not observed by the enemy to alarm them. Stop at Montinicus, and ther embark the forces in the whale-boats for the main, to range that part of the country, in search of the enemy, to Mount-Desart, sending the vessels to meet you there; and after having refreshed and recruited your soldiers, proceed to Machias, and from thence to Passamequado; and having effected what spoils you possibly may upon the enemy in those parts, embark on your vessels for Menis and Signecto, to Port-Royal Gut; and use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemy's houses, and breaking the dams of their corn grounds in the said several places, and make what other spoils you can upon them, and bring away the prisoners. In your return call at Penobscot, and do what you can there, and so proceed westward.

This will probably employ you a month or six weeks, when you will draw together again, and by the latter end of June consider whether you can march to Norrigwack, or other parts of their planting, to destroy their corn and settlements, and keep the expedition on foot until the middle of August

Notwithstanding the particularity of the aforegoing instructions, I lay you under no needful upon the spot.

myself.

her majesty's ships.

day of May, 1704.

and eggs, having a considerable quantity of father and brother, and that his brother had followeth: each, and ran to their canoes, getting into told him every tittle he knew, and that he them, stood directly for the Main; looking knew more than his brother Timothy did; old Lafaure and sons, seeing their companion's condition, soon begged for quarter, went directly over where the said goods and took a French woman and children; the wo- and had it granted. The two captains with stores were, and found them as informed, man upon her examination said, her hus-

refer you to your own resolves, by the ad-their success presently returned to their com-took them on board the boats, and returned

vice of your commission officers, not under mander, taking care that their captives should to their transports; and ordering provisions the degree of captains, and the sea cominot discourse together before they were exmission captains (whom you will, as often as amined; when brought to Colonel Church, or eight days; so in the dusk of the evening you can, advise with) according to the intel- he ordered them to be apart, and first pro- left their transports, with orders how they ligence you may receive, or as you may find ceeded to examine old Lafaure, whom he should act; and went directly for the main found to be very surly and cross, so that he land of Penobscot, and mouth of that river, You are by every opportunity, and once a could gain no manner of intelligence by with their pilots Tom and Timothy, who week certainly, by some means, either by him; upon which the commander was re-carried them directly to every place and ha-Casco, Piscataqua, or otherwise to acquaint solved to put in practice what he had for bitation, both of French and Indian thereame of your proceedings and all occurrences, merly done at Senecto; ordering the Indians bouts, with the assistance of one De Young, and what may be further necessary for the to make two large heaps of dry wood, at some whom they carried out of Boston gool for the service. And to observe such further and distance one from the other, and to set a large same purpose, who was very serviceable to other instructions as you shall receive from stake in the ground, close to each heap; then them. Being there we killed and took every ordered the two sons, Thomas and Timothy, one, both French and Indians, not knowing As often as you may, advise with Captain to be brought, and to be bound to the stakes; that any one did escape in all Penobscot; Smith and Captain Rogers, commanders of also ordering his Indians to paint themselves among those that were taken was St. Caswith colours, which they had brought for that teen's daughter, who said that her husband Let your minister, comissary, and sur-geons be treated with just respects. I pray ine first Timothy; and told him, he had exto God to preserve, prosper, and succeed amined his father already; and that if he commander was very kind to her and them. told him the truth he would save his life, and All the prisoners that were then taken, held Given under my hand at Boston, the fourth take him into his service; and that he should to one story in general, which they had from have good pay and live well. He answered, Lafaure's sons; that there were no more J. DUDLEY.
that he would tell him the truth; and gave him an account of every thing he knew;
Pursuant to his instructions he sent away which was all minuted down; he being asked turned to their transports with their prisoners his transports and forces to Piscataqua, but whether his brother Thomas did not know and plunder. The commander giving order was obliged himself to wait upon his excel- more than he? His answer was, yes, for his immediately for the soldiers in the whalelency by land to Piscataqua, in order to raise brother Thomas had a commission sent him boats to have a recruit of provisions for a more forces in the way thither; and did raise from the governor of Canada, to comand a further pursuit of the enemy, giving orders a company under the command of Captain company of Indians, who were gathered to the transports to stay a few days more Harridon; taking care also to provide a together at a place where some French gen- there, and then go to Mount-Desart (and pilot for them in the bay of Fundy; Colo-tlemen lately arrived from Canada, who were there to stay for her majesty's ships, who nel Church being directed to one Fellows, officers to command the rest that were to go were directed to come thicher) and there to whom he met with at Ipswich. And going westward to fight the English, and that there wait his further order. Then Colonel Church from thence to Piscataqua with his excellency, was there met by that worthy gentleman Major Winthrop Hilton, who was very nition and stores, for the supply of the said scour the coast, and to try if they could dishelpful to him in the whole expedition, whose army. He being asked, whether he could cover any of the enemy coming from Passaname and memory ought not to be forgot, pilot our forces to them? Said no; but his mequado; making their stops in the day-Being ready to embark from Piscataqua, brother Tom could, for he had hid it, and time at all the points and where they were Colonel Church requested the commanders that he was not then with him. The colonel certain the enemy would land, or come by of her majesty's ships, Captain Smith and asked him, what gentlemen those were that with their canoes, and at night to their pad-Captain Rogers to tarry at Piscataqua a fort- came from Canada? He answered Monsieur dles. Then coming near where the vessels night, that so they might not be discovered Gourdan, and Mr. Sharkee. Being asked were ordered to come, having made no disby the enemy before he had done some spoil where they were? Answered at Passame-covery of the enemy, went directly to Mount upon them. Then moving in their trans-quado, building a fort there. Being also Desart, where the transports were just come; ports, as directed, got safe into Montinicus, asked, what number of Indians and French and taking some provisions for his soldiers, undiscovered by the enemy. Next morning there were at Penobscot? He answered, gave direction for the ships and transports in early, fitted out two whale-boats with men, there were several families, but they lived six days to come directly to Passamequado, Captain John Cooke in one, and Captain scattering. Asked him further, if he would where they should find him and his forces. Constant Church in the other; and sent pilot our forces thither? answered, he would them to Green-Island, upon a discovery; if the commander would not let the savages boats, and made diligent search along shore, and coming there they parted, one went to roast him. Upon which the colonel ordered as formerly, inspecting all places where the one part, and the other to the other part, him to be loosed from the stake, and took that so they might not miss of what could be him by the hand, told him, he would be as discovered; where they met with old Lafaure with his two sons Thomas and Timothy, and seemed to be very thankful. And then the Passamequado, where they entered upon a Canada Indian. The enemy seeing that colonel proceeded to examine his brother action; an account whereof Colonel Church they were discovered, threw down their ducks Tom, and told him that he had examined his did communicate to his excellency, being as

May it please your Excellency,

behind them, perceived the whale-boats to and that if he would be ingenuous and con- I received yours of this instant, October gain so fast upon them, clapt side by side, fess all he knew, he should fare as well as 9th, with the two enclosed informations, that and all four got into one canoe, which proved his brother; but if not, the savages should concern my actions at Passamequado, which of little advantage to them, for the whale-boats roast him. Whereupon he solemnly progained so much upon them, and got so near mised that he would, and that he would pilot as possibly I can, viz. on the 7th of June last, that Captain Cook, firing at the steer's-man, him to every thing he knew, to the value of 1704. In the evening we entered in at the the Indian, and happened to graze his skull, a knife and sheath (which with doubt he westward harbour at said Passanoquado; and quite spoiled his paddling: upon which did.) Then the colonel immediately gave coming up said harbour to an island, where

there were any Indians thereabouts. She der I always gave at landing, telling them said yes, there were a great many, and sev- the inconveniency of firing, in that it might eral on that island. I asked her whether be, first, dangerous to themselves, they being she could pilot me to them. Said no, they many of them young soldiers, as I had hid in the woods. I asked her when she saw them. Answered, just now, or a little while being fired, many others would fire, at since. I asked her whether she knew where they knew not what, as happened presently them. We then hastened away along shore,

Lotriel and his family. This intelligence caused me to leave Colonel Gorham, and a considerable part of my men and boats with him, at that island, partly to guard and secure those prisoners, being sensible it would be a great trouble to have them the woods, to see what wigwams or huts to secure and guard at our next landing, they could discover; myself made a little where I did really expect, and hoped to have stop, ordering the pilot to tell them in the an opportunity to fight our Indian enemies; for all our French prisoners that we had and that if they would come forth and surtaken at Penobscot, and along shore, had in- render themselves, they should have good formed us, that when we came to the place quarter, but if not, they should all be knocked where these Canada gentlemen lived, we on the head and die. One of them showed should certainly meet with the savages to himself; I asked who he was. He said, fight us, those being the only men that set the Indians against us, or upon us, and were him he should have good quarter; adding newly come from Canada, to manage the further, that if there were any more in the war against us, (pleading in this account and house, they should come out. Then eame information their own innocency) and partly out two men; Gourdan said they were his in hopes that he, the said Colonel Gorham, sons, and asked quarter for them, which was would have a good opportunity in the morn- also granted. Then came out a woman and ing to destroy some of those our enemies, a little boy; she fell upon her knees, begged (we were informed by the said French woman quarter for herself and children, and that I as above,) with the use of his boats, as I had would not suffer the Indians to kill them. I given direction. Ordering also Major Hilton told them they should have good quarter, to pass over to the next island, that lay east and not be hurt. After which I ordered a of us, with a small party of men and boats, to surprise and destroy any of the enemy sently up with the rest of my company, after that in their canoes might go here and there, them that were gone before; but looking on from any place, to make their flight from us, my right hand, over a little run, I saw someand, as he had opportunity, to take any thing look black just by me, stopped, and French prisoners. We then immediately moved up the river, in the dark night, through great difficulties, by reason of the eddies and whirlpools, made with the fierceness of the former directions. Asked them what they current. And here it may be hinted, that were doing. They replied, there were some we had information that Lotriel had lost part of his family passing over to the next island, falling into one of those eddies were drowned, a bark house. I hastily bid them pull it which the two pilots told to discourage me. down, and knock them on the head, never But I said nothing of that nature shall do it; for I was resolved to venture up, and therefore, forthwith paddling our boats as privately as we could, and with as much expedition as we could make with our paddles, and the help of a strong tide, we came up command and direction, exposing themto Monsieur Gourdan's a little before day; where taking notice of the shore, and finding their so disorderly crowding thick together; it somewhat open and clear, I ordered Captain Mirick and Captain Cole, having Eng-terim, and fired a volley amongst them, they lish companies, to tarry with several of the could not have missed a shot;) and wholly boats to be ready, that if any of the enemy should come down out of the brush into the orders, in searching diligently for our lurkbay, (it being very broad in that place) with ing enemies in their wigwams, or by their their canoes, they might take and destroy fires where I had great hopes, and real exthem; ordering the remainder of the army being landed, with myself and the other officers, to march up into the woods, with a wide front, and to keep at a considerable poor miserable enemies; for I took no nodistance, for that if they should run in heaps tice of half a dozen of the enemy, when at the enemy would have the greater advan- the same time, I expected to be engaged with and bloody enemics were made sensible of tage; and further directing them that, if some hundreds of them, of whom we had a possible, they should destroy the enemy with continued account, who were expected from and loving friends and countrymen; and that

band was abroad fishing. I asked her whether their hatchets, and not fire a gnu. This orsome time observed that one or two guns they had laid the eanoes. She answered, no, after, and it would alarm the enemy, and they carried their canoes in the woods with give them opportunity to make their escape; and it might alarm the whole country, seizing what prisoners we could, taking old and also prevent all further action from taking effect. Orders being thus passed, we moved directly towards the woods, Le Faver's son directing us to a little hut or wigwain, which we immediately surrounded with a few men, the rest marching directly up into hut that they were surrounded with an army, Gourdan, and begged for quarter. I told small guard over them, and so moved preheard a talking, stepped over, and saw a little but or wigwam, with a crowd of people round about it, which was contrary to my of the enemy in a house, and would not come out. I asked, what house. They said asking whether they were French or Indians, they being all enemies alike to me. And passing then to them, and seeing them ia great disorder, so many of the army in a crowd together, neting so contrary to my selves and the whole army to utter ruin, by (had an enemy come upon them in that inneglecting their duty, in not attending my pectations to meet with them.

I most certainly know that I was in an exeeeding grent passion, but not with those

Port-Royal side. In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke, I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is impossible. I stopped but little here, but went directly up into the woods, hoping to be better employed, with the rest of the army. I listened to hear, and looked earnestly to see what might be the next action; but meeting with many of the soldiers, they told me they had discovered nothing, we fetching a small compass round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took notice, I saw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the end of the house where the door was, and immediately the guns went off, and they fired every man, as I thought, and most towards that place where I left the guard with Monsieur Gourdan. I had much ado to stop their firing, and told them I thought they were mad, and I believed they had not killed and wounded less than forty or fifty of our own men. And I asked them what they shot at. They answered, at a Frenchman that ran away. But to admiration no man was killed, but he, and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning about, a Frenchman spoke to me, and I gave him quarter. Daylight coming on, and no discovery made of the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Monsieur Gourdan, to examine him and his sons, who agreed in their examinations; told me two of their men were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told me, that Monsieur Sharkee lived several leagues up at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the Indians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and that Monsieur Sharkee had sent down to him to come up to him, to advise about the Indian army that was to go westward; but he had returned him answer, his business was urgent, and he could not come up; and that Sharkee and the Indians would certainly be down that day, or the next at the furthest, to come to conclude of that matter. This was a short night's action, and all sensible men do well know, that actions done in the dark (being in the night as aforesaid) under so many difficulties, as we then labored under, as before related, was a very hard task for one man, matters being circumstanced as in this action; which would not admit of calling a council, and at that time could not be confined thereunto; at which time I was transported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet being sensible of the danger in my urmies crowding so thick together, and of the great duty incumbent on me to preserve them from all the danger I possibly could, for further improvement in the destruction of our implacable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very quick and absolute in giving such commands and orders, as I then apprehended most proper and advantageous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had reecived from the French we took at Penobscot, as before hinted, and the false report the French woman first took gave me, I had not been in such haste. I question not but those Frenchmen that were slain, had the same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever looked on it a good providence of Almighty God, that some few of our cruel their bloody cruelties, perpetrated on my dear

the same measure, in part, meted to them, two aforesaid Indians, before our forces came, Aboard Her Majesty's Ship Adventure, near I hope will find acceptance with your excellency, the honourable council and representatives now assembled, as being done from their stock of fish was destroyed, and the and barbarities that you and the Indians have the zeal I had in the said service of her majesty, and her good subjects here.

I remain your most humble, And obedient servant, BENJAMIN CHURCH.

This night's service being over, immeguard with Gourdan and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, was two miles from where our forces landed. Captain Southback in the Province Galley his breast against the tree, the said Edee board Captain Jarvis; ordering the comturning him over, generally had cat-luck, missary of the stores, the minister, surgeons, and do demand a surrender immediately, by falling on his feet, by which means kept in and pilots all to embark on board the same the laying down your arms, upon which we the front; and coming near to Sharkee's vessel with him; ordering all the whale- promise very good quarter; if not, you must house, discovered some French and Indians boats to be put on board the transports, and expect the utmost severity. making a wear in the river, and presently discovered the two Indians aforementioned, away for Port-Royal Gut, and Colonel who called to them at work in the river; told Church with the transports for Menis. In them there was an army of English and In- their way the colonel inquired of their pilot lady and child, and ran into the woods. near the town to float that vessel they were Our men running briskly fired and killed one in at low water. So when coming near, Then going to Sharkee's house found a between them and the town, that they run woman and child, to whom they gave good up on the back side of the said island, with quarter; and finding that Madame Sharkee all their transports undiscovered to the enemy, had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind and came to anchor. Then the colonel and her, our forces were desirous to have pursued all his forces embarked in the whale-boats, and taken her; but Colonel Church forbade it being late in the day, moved directly for fer, that she might be made sensible what whom he expected was in one of the boats; less the enemy had some intelligence by the lows: vol. n.-45

as they had been guilty of in a barbarous so that they all got on the other side of the manner at Deerfield, and I hope justly. I river, and left some of their goods by the hope God Almighty will accept hereof, al- water-side to decoy our men, that so they though it may not be eligible to our French might fire upon them, which indeed they implacable enemies, and such others as are effected; but through the providence of God not our friends. The foregoing journal, and never a man of ours was killed, and but one this short annexment I thought it my duty to slightly wounded. After a short dispute, exhibit, for the satisfaction of my friends and Colonel Church ordered that every man willingly served in the late expedition; and which lay bundled up, and to burn the rest, of truce. which was a great quantity. The enemy seeing what our forces were about, and that season being over for getting any more, set been guilty of towards us, in laying waste up a hideous cry, and so ran all away into our country here in the east, at Casco, and the woods; who being all on the other side the places adjacent; particularly, the horrid of the river, ours could not follow them. action at Deerfield, this last winter, in killing, Having done, our forces marched down to massacreing, murdering, nud scalping, withtheir boats at Sharkee's, and took their pri- out giving any notice at all, or opportunity soners, beaver, and other plunder which they to ask quarter at your hands; and, after all, diately Colonel Church leaves a sufficient had got, and put it into their boats, and went carrying the remainder into captivity in the down to Gonrdan's house, where they had left height of winter, of which they killed many Lieutenant Colonel Gorham and Major Hil- in the journey, and exposed the rest to the and as they were going spied a small thing ton, with part of the forces to gnard the pri- hardships of cold and famine, worse than upon the water, at a great distance, which soners, and kept a good look-out for more death itself. Which cruelties we are yet proved to be a birch canoe with two Indians of the enemy, who, upon the Colonel's re-levery day exposed unto, and exercised with. in her. The colonel presently ordered the turn, gave him un account that they had lightest boat he had to make the best of her made no discovery of the enemy since he made some beginnings of killing and scalpway and cut them off from the shore; but left them. Just then her majesty's ships and ing some Canada men, (which we have not the Indians perceiving their design, run their transports arriving, the commanders of her been wont to do or allow) and are now come canoe ashore and fled. Colonel Church fear-majesty's ships told Colonel Church that with a great number of English and Indians, ing they would run directly to Sharkee, made they had orders to go directly for Port-Royal all volunteers, with resolutions to subdue you, all the expedition imaginable; but it being Gut, and wait the coming of some store- and make you sensible of your cruelties to ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, ships, which were expected at Port-Royal us, by treating you after the same manner. and make the best of their way through the from France; and Colonel Church advising woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and with them, proposed that it was very ex-land transport ships to be at Port-Royal. get to Sharkee's house before them; which pedient and serviceable to the Crown, that We having but lately parted with them. The colonel being ancient and unwieldy, deshould necompany them, which they did that inasmuch as some of you have shewn sired serjeant Edee to run with him, and readily nequiesce with him in. Upon which kindness to our captives, and expressed a coming to several trees fallen, which he could the colonel immediately embarked his forces not creep under or readily get over, would lay on board the transports, and himself on English government, we do therefore, notkee's house, who, hearing the noise, took his answered him that there was water enough hour.

the Gut of Menis, June 20, 1704.

An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding Her Majesty's forces for the present expedition against the French enemies, and Indian rebels:

That a declaration or summons be sent on countrymen, whom I very faithfully and might take what they pleased of the fish shore at Menis and Port-Royal, under a flag

Particularly,

We do declare to you the many cruelties

We do also declare, that we have already

At this time we expect our men-of-war

In the last place, we do declare to you, love to, and a desire of being under the withstanding all this, give you timely notice,

> BENJAMIN CHURCH, Colonel. JOHN GORHAM, Lieutenant Colonel. WINTHROP HILTON, Major.

To the Chief Commander of the town of dians just by; who immediately left their Fellows, what depth of water there was in Menis, and the inhabitants thereof, and we work and ran, endeavoring to get to Shar- the creek, near the town of Menis. He expect your answer positively, within un

Then moving to the creek, expecting to of the Indians, and took the rest prisoners. Colonel Church observed a woody island have had water enough for the boats, as the pilot had informed them, but found not water enough for a canoe; so were obliged to land, intending to have been up at the town before the hour was out, that the summons expressed, (for their return was, that if our forces would not hurt their estates, then they would them, saying he would have her run and suf- the town, and in the way asked for the pilot, surrender, if otherwise intended, they should fight for them,) but meeting with several creeks hardships our poor people had suffered by but he had given him the slip, and tarried near twenty or thirty feet deep, which were them. Then proceeded to examine the pri- behind. The colonel not knowing the very muddy and dirty, so that the army could soners newly taken, who gave him the same difficulties that might attend their going up not get over them, was obliged to return to account he had before of the Indians being to the town, immediately sent Lieutenant their boats again, and wait till within night up at the falls. It being just night prevented our attacking of them that night; but next flag of truce up to the town, with a sum-town, and then intended to go up, and not to morning early they moved up to the falls, mons, which was wrote before they landed, fall to till morning, being in hopes that the which was about a mile higher. But doubt- expecting their surrender; which is as fol-banks of the creeks would shelter them from the enemy; but the tides rising so high, ex-

trees and woods to befriend them. And so to burn the fortification which they had built protection of the crown of England; makcame down in the night and fired smartly the day before, and when the tide served to ing great promises of their fidelily to the at our forces; but Colonel Church being in put all their plunder which they had got into same, begging with great agony of spirit to a pinnace that had a small cannon placed the boats. Then ordering his soldiers to in the head, ordered it to be charged several march at a good distance one from another; times, with bullets in small bags, and fired at which caused the enemy to think that there the enemy, which made such a rattling were no less than a thousand men, as they amongst the trees, that caused the enemy to said afterwards, and that their burning of his savages to treat the French in the same draw off; and by the great providence of the fortification, and doing as they did, caused hurt that night; but, as I have been informed, off, and not to return again. But it proved as to his taking them under the protection of they had one Indian killed, and some others to the contrary, for Colonel Church and his the crown of England, he utterly refused it, wounded, which was some discouragement forces only went abourd their transports, and to the enemy. Next morning, by break of there staid till the tide served; in the night day, Colonel Church ordered all his forces, embarked on board their whale-boats, landed and placed Major Hilton on the right wing, some of his men, expecting they might meet the Bay of Fundy, if they were not taken to run all up, driving the enemy before them, who leaving their town to our forces, but had carried away the best of their goods, which were soon found by our soldiers. The bulk of the enemy happening to liengainst our right wing, caused the hottest dispute there, who lay behind logs and trees, till our forces, and Major Hilton who led them, came on upon them, and forced them to run; and notwithstanding the sharp firing of the enemy, by the repeated providence of God, there was never a man of ours killed or wounded.

Our soldiers not having been long in town before they found considerable quantities of strong drink, both brandy and claret, and being very greedy after it, especially the Indians, were very disorderly, firing at every pig, turkey, or fowl they saw, of which there were very plenty in the town, which endangered our own men. Colonel Church perceiving the disorder, and firing of his own men, ran to put a stop to it, had several shot come very near him; and finding what had occasioned this disorder, commanded his officers to knock out the heads of every cask of strong liquor they could find in the town, to prevent any further disturbance amongst his army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the Indians, if it was saved. Then some of the army, who were desirous to pursue the enemy, having heard them driving away their cattle, requested the colonel to let them go; who did and gave them their orders .- Captain Cooke and Captain. Church to lead the two wings, and Lieutenant Barker, who led the colonel's company, in the centre; and the said Captain Cooke and Captain Church desired licutement Barker not to move too fast, so that he might have the benefit of their assishave been, or at least was too eager, was shot down, and another man; which were all the and others to get logs and make a fortification for his whole army to lodge in that night,

Almighty God, not one of our forces was the enemy to think that they were gone clear with some of the enemy mending their dams; which they did, and with their boats went benefit of whale-boats, as the English call up another branch of the river, to another town or village; upon such a surprise took as many prisoners as they could desire. And it happened that Colonel Church was at the alleging to them that when they were so French captain's house when two gentlemen before, when Port-Royal was taken by the came post from the governor of Port-Royal English, that it proved of very ill conseto him, who was the chief commander at Menis, with an express to send away two companies of men to defend the king's fort our English traders supplying them, enabled there, and to give him an account, that there them (which opportunity they improved) to were three English men-of-war come into Port-Royal Gut or harbor; and that the men sent for must be posted away with all speed. Colonel Church, as was said before, Menis, Signecto, and Canada, would keep at being there, treated the two gentlemen very home with their bloody savages, and not handsomely, and told them, he would send them back again post to their master on his business; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for sending him such good news, that part of his fleet was in so good a harbor. Then reading the summons to them that he had sent to Menis, further added, that their master, the governor of Port-Royal, must immediately send away a post to the governor of Canada, at Quebec, to prevent his further sending any of his cruel and bloody French and savages, as he had done lately upon Deerfield, where they had committed poor people that never did them any harm, as is intolerable to think of; and that for the future, if any such hostilities were made upon come out with a thousand savages and if he wanted them, all volunteers, with our whale-boats convenient, and turn his back roast the French; or at least treat them as their savages had treated ours. Also gave tion in them, which they discovered by their tance, if he had occasion; but the said them an account of part of that action at lieutenant not being so careful as he should Passamequado, and that his soldiers had killed and scalped some Canada men there, and would be glad to serve them so too, if men that were killed in the whole expedition. he would permit them, which terrified them the lives of their poor families, with such Towards night Colonel Church ordered some very much. The two French gentlemen melting terms, as wrought relentings in the of his forces to pull down some of the houses, that came post, made solemn promises that columel's breast towards them; but however, they would punctually do the colonel's message to their governor. So with the desire that so they might be together: and just of the French people there that the governor before night ordered some of his men to go might have this intelligence, Colonel Church than he had occasion for, nor desired any and see if there were any men in any of the dismissed them, and sent them away; telling more, and therefore he would leave them. houses in the town; if not, to set them all on the same story to several of the prisoners, fire, which was done, and the whole town and what they must expect if some speedy seemed to be on fire all at once. The next course was not taken to prevent further outmorning the colonel gave orders to his men rages upon the English. The number of ham and Major Hilton, with all the English to dig down the dams, and let the tide in to prisoners then present, which were consider- companies, both officers and soldiers, except destroy all their corn, and every thing that able, did unanimously entreat of Colonel some few, which he thought he might have

posed them all to the enemy, who had the was good, according to his instructions, and Church that he would take them under the save their lives, and to protect them from his savages, whom they extremely dreaded. As to the matter of the savages, he told them, it would be just retaliation for him to permit manner as the French with their sayages treated our friends in our frontier towns; but urging to them their former perfidiousness; they also urging to him that it would be impossible for any French to live any where in under the English government; for with the them, they could take and destroy all their people in the town of Menis, in one night. But he replied to them, it should never be; quence to the crown of England, and the subjects thereof in our frontiers; for that supply the Indians, our bloody enemies; and therefore he could make no other terms of peace with them than that, if the French at commit any hostilities upon any of our frontiers, we would return home and leave them; for that we lived at a great distance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now, had not the blood of our poor friends and brethren in all the frontiers of our province cried for vengeance; especially that late unheard-of barbarity committed upon the town of Deerfield; which wrought so generally on the hearts of our people, that our forces came out with that unanimity of spirit, both among the English and our savages, that we had not, nor needed a pressed man among such horrible and bloody outrages upon those them. The colonel also telling them, that if ever herenfter any of our frontiers, east or west were molested by them, as formerly, that he would, if God spared his life, return our frontier towns, or any of them, he would upon them with a thousand of his savages, whale-boats, and would pursue them to the upon them, and let his savages scalp and last extremity. The colonel's warm discourse with them wrought such a consternafears, their hearts sensibly beating, and rising up as it were ready to choke them; confessed they were all his prisoners, and begged of him, for Jesus' sake, to save their lives, and he told them, that his intent was to carry as many prisoners home as he could, but that he had taken so many they were more The colonel resolving the next day to complete all his action at Menis and to draw off, accordingly, sent his orders to Colonel Gor-

whale-boats up the eastward river, where a tioned. third part of the inhabitants lived; that so he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the service undone. And therefore in the evening ordered next done; which was, that the ships should all the whale-boats to be laid ready for the stay some days longer at Port-Royal Gut, night's service; and necordingly, when the and then go over to Mount-Desart harbour, tide served, he went with his Indians up the and there stay till Colonel Church with his river, where they did some spoil upon the transports came to them. Being all ready, enemy going up. In the morning several of the colonel with his transports and forces their transports came to meet them, to their went up the bay to Signecto, where they great rejoicing, whom they went on board, needed not a pilot, being several of them well and soon came up with the whole fleet, with acquainted there; and had not met with so whom they joined, bending their course many difficulties at Menis, had it not been directly towards Port-Royal, where they were that their pilot deceived them; who knew ordered. Coming to Port-Royal Gut, where nothing of the matter, kept out of the way their ships were, and calling a council according to his instructions, drew up their result, which is as follows :-

Present all the Field Officers, and Captains ing his sword over his head, bid a challenge of the land forces.

in Port-Royal harbour.

having deliberately considered the cause in through God's goodness received no harm, hand, whether it be proper to land all our neither had he one man killed, nor but two forces, to offend and destroy as much as we slightly wounded, and then all ran into the ean at Port-Royal, all or any part of the in- woods, and left their town with nothing in habitants thereof, and their estates, we are it, having had timely notice of our forces, of opinion, that it is not for our interest and had earried all away out of the reach of our honor, and the country's whom we serve, to army; for Colonel Church while there with land or expose ourselves; but quit it wholly, part of his forces ranged the woods, but to no and go on about our other business we have purpose. Then returning to the town, did to do, for this reason, that we judge ourselves them what spoil he could, according to his inferior to the strength of the enemy; and instructions, and so drew off, and made the therefore the danger and risk we run, is best of their way for Passamequado, and greater than the advantage we can, or one going in, in a great fog, one of their translikely to obtain, seeing the enemy hath such ports ran upon a rock, but was soon got off timely notice, and long opportunity to pro- again. Then Colonel Church with some of vide themselves against us, by our ships lying his forces embarked in their whale-boats, and here in the road about twelve days, before went amongst the islands, with an intent to we could join them from Menis, where we go to Sharkee's, where they had destroyed were during that time, and being so very the fish; but observing a springy place in a meanly provided with necessaries convenient cove, went on shore to get some water to for such an undertaking with so small a num- drink; it being a sandy beach, they espied ber of men, not being above four hundred tracks, the colonel presently ordered his men capable and fit for service to land; and un- to seatter, and make search; soon found derstanding by all the intelligence we can get from both English and French prisoners, that the fort is exceedingly strong.

John Gorham, Lieut. Col.

Winthrop Hilton, Major. Jos. Brown, Constant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Joshua Lamb, Isaac Myrick, Caleb Williamson, John Harradon, Edward Church.

Having, pursuant to my instructions, taken the advice of the gentlemen above subscribed, and considering the weight of their not seen a Frenchman nor an Indian, except reasons, I do concur therewith.

BENJ. CHURCH.

opinions, as to the landing the forces at Port- for those friars coming down with the In-Royal, they being but four hundred effective dians to M. Gourdans, and finding the men to land, and by all the information both Frenchmen slain, and their hair spoiled, of French and English prisoners, the enemy being scalped, put them into a great conhaving a greater number of men, and much sternation; and the friars told them it was better provided to receive, than they are to impossible for them to live thereabouts, for attack them, We do believe it is for the ser- the English with their whale-boats would vice of the crown, and the preservation of serve them all so; upon which they all went

occasion for, to go with the Indians in the her majesty's subjects to net as above men- to Norrigwock: also told her that when the Thomas Smith,

George Rogers, Cyprian Southack.

After this, they concluded what should be and landed not with them. And coming to Signecto, the enemy were all in arms ready to receive them. Colonel Church landing his men, the commander of the enemy wavto them. The colonel ordering his two wings Aboard the Province Galley, 4th July, 1704, backs of the enemy, himself being in the to march up a pace, and come upon the centre, and the enemy knowing him, having We whose names are hereunto subscribed, been there before, shot chiefly at him; but De Boisse's wife, who had formerly been Colonel Church's prisoner, and carried to Boston; but returned, who seemed glad to see him. She had with her two sons that were near men grown. The colonel ordering them apart, examined the woman first, who gave him this account following, that she had lived thereabouts ever since the fleet went by, and that she had never seen but two Indians since, who came in a canoe from Norrigwock; who asked her, what made her to be there alone? She told them, she had those two since the English ships went by. Then the Indians told her there was not one Indian left except those two, who belong Whereas Colonel Church hath desired our to the Gut of Canso, on this side of Canada;

English came alone through Penobscot, they had swept it of the inhabitants, as if it had been swept with a broom, neither French nor Indians escaping them: further told her, that when their fathers, the friars, and the Indians met together at Norrigwock they ealled a council, and the friars told the Indians, that they must look out for some other country, for that it was impossible for them to live there; also told them there was a river ealled Mossippee, where they might live quietly, and no English come near them-it being as far beyond Canada, as it was to it, and if they would go and live there, they would live and die with them, but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away; which they did, and left their rough household stuff, and corn behind them, and went all, except those two for Canada. Also her sons giving the same intelligence, so we had no reason to think but that it was true.

Colonel Church having done what he could there, embarked on board the transports, and went to Mount-Desart, found no ships there, but a rundlet rid off by a line in the harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a letter, which gave him an account that the ships were gone home for Boston. Then he proceeded and went to Penobscot; where being come, made diligent search in those parts for the enemy, but could not find or make any discovery of them, or that any had been there since he left those parts, which caused him to believe what De Boisse's wife had told him was true.

I will only by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the effects of this expedition, and then proceed: First, that the English forces that went to Norrigwock, found that the enemy was gone, and had left their rough household stuff and corn behind them; also not long after this expedition, there were several gentlemen sent down from Canada, to concert with our governor about the settling of a cartile for the exchange of prisoners; and that the governor of Canada has never since sent down an army upon our frontiers, except sometimes a scout of Indians to take some prisoners, that he might be informed of our state, and what we were acting; and always took care that the prisoners so taken should be civilly treated, and safely returned, as I have been informed; that some of the prisoners that were taken gave an account; so that we have great cause to believe that the message Colonel Church sent by the two French gentlemen from Menis, to the governor of Port-Royal, took effect, and was a means to bring peace in our borders. Then Colonel Church with his forces embarked on board the transports, and went to Casco-Bay, where they met with Captain Gallop, in a vessel from Boston, who had brought Colonel Church further orders; which was to send some of his forces up to Norrrigwock, in pursuit of the enemy: but he being sensible that the enemy were out, and fatigued in the hard service they had already done, and wanted to get home, called a council, and agreed all to go, which accordingly they did.

To conclude this expedition, I will just

his excellency, fifteen pounds, as an earnest any thing as yet. Also after he came home, sentatives saw cause to clear him, and gave

penny towards raising volunteers; and after some ill-minded persons did their endeavour him thanks for his good service done.

give a hint of some treatment Colonel Church had before and after he came home. For all his great expenses, fatigues, and hardships, in and about this expedition, he received of pay, and man Jack, he has never received to the honorable council, and house of representations.

0 F

COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH,

BY HIS SON, THOMAS CHURCH.

AS ORIGINALLY PRINTED AND PUBLISHED IN NEWPORT, RHODE-ISLAND: 1772.

COLONEL BENJAMIN CHURCH was born in | militia; and of a military and enterprising | Philip or Metacomet (a son of good old Mas-1639, at Duxbury, near Plymouth, of reputable parents, who lived and died there. His father's name was Joseph, who, with two of his brethren, came early into New-England, living, is deacon Benjamin Church of Bosas refugees from the religious oppression of the parent state. Mr. Joseph Church, among other children, had three sons, Joseph, Caleb, and Benjamin. Caleb settled at Watertown; the other two at Second, or Little-Compton. Benjamin, the hero of this history, was of a good stature, his body well porportioned, and built for hardiness and activity. Although he was very corpulent and heavy in the latter part of his life; yet when he was a young. man, he was not so, being then active, sprightly and vigorous. He carried dignity in his countenance—thought and acted with n rational and manly judgment-which, joined with a naturally generous, obliging and hospitable disposition, procured him both authority and esteem. He married Mrs. Alice Southworth, by whom he had a daughter, Mrs. Rothbotham, and five sons, viz.

Thomas Church, the author, or publisher of this history, and father of the Honorable Thomas Church, Esq., now living in Little-Compton.

Constant Church, a captain under his fa-

Benjamin Church, who died a bachelor. Edward Church, whose only son, now ton, who furnishes these memoirs of the memoirs of the family.

issue.

Colonel Church was a man of integrity, expounded the scriptures to his household. He was exemplary in observing the sabbath, and in attending the worship and ordinances of God in the sanctuary. He lived regularly of his posterity. He was a friend to the civil and religious liberties of his country, and greatly rejoiced in the revolution. He from time to time, through a long life, he discharged with fidelity and usefulness.

ther in the eastern expedition, and in the Indian War that New-England ever saw, a long and extended frontier, open to im-

sasoit, and his 2nd successor) had wrought up the Indians of all the the tribes through New-England, into a dangerous combination to extirpate the English. It was one of the last works of the Commissioners of the United Colonies (a council which subsisted, Charles Church, who had a numerous the great security of New-England, from 1643 to 1678) to break up this confederacy. An army of 1000 English was on foot at justice, and uprightness, of picty and serious once, under the command of Governor Winsreligion. He was a member of the church low. Whoever desires further information of Bristol at its foundation, in the Rev. Mr. concerning this war, may consult Mr. Hub-Lee's day. He was constant and devout in bard's history of it. The part Colonel Church family worship, wherein he read and often acted in it is exhibited in this plain narrative, given by his son two years before his father's

Colonel Church perfectly understood the manner of the Indians in fighting, and was and left an example worthy of the imitation thoroughly acquainted with their haunts, swamps, and places of refuge on the territory between Narraganset and Cape Cod. There he was particularly successful-on that field was colonel of the militia in the county of he gathered his laurels. The surprisal and Bristol. The several offices of civil and seizure of Annawon was an act of true holdmilitary trust, with which he was invested ness and heroism. Had the eastern Indians been surrounded with English settlements. there is reason to think that he would have The war of 1675 was the most important been more successful among them. But on

some few notes and illustrations.

and lived first at Bristol, then at Fall-River, being exceeding fat and heavy, fell with such lastly at Seconet,—in each of which places force that a blood-vessel was broken, and

by troops of undoubted courage, than to served his generation faithfully, by the will torrent. His wife was soon brought to him; arouse and drive off the Indians into a wide, of God, he fell asleep, and was gathered to he tried but was unable to speak to her, and howling wilderness; where it was as much his fathers. He died and was buried at died in about twelve hours. He was carried in vain to seek them, as for Cæsar to seek Little-Compton. The morning before his to the grave with great funeral pomp, and the Gauls in the Hircinian forests.

The present edition of this history is given without any alterations in the body of it; it thize with her on the death of her only child. was buried under arms, and with military to visit his only sister, Mrs. Irish, to sympathonours. On his tomb-stone is this inscription: being thought best that it should go down to After a friendly and pious visit, in a moving posterity, like the Periplus of Hanno, with and affecting manner he took his leave of her, its own internal marks of originality. How- and said, "It was a last farewell; telling ever, in the margin the editor hath given the her he was persuaded he should never see English names of the places described by her more; but hoped to meet her in heaven." Indian names in the narrative; and also Returning homeward, he had not rode above half a mile before his horse stumbled, and After Philip's war, Colonel Church settled threw him over his head; and the colonel

mense deserts, little more has ever been done he acquired and left a large estate. Having the blood gushed out of his mouth like a

HERE LIETH INTERRED THE BODY OF THE HONOURABLE BENJAMIN CHURCH, ESQ.: WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY THE 7TH, 1717-18,

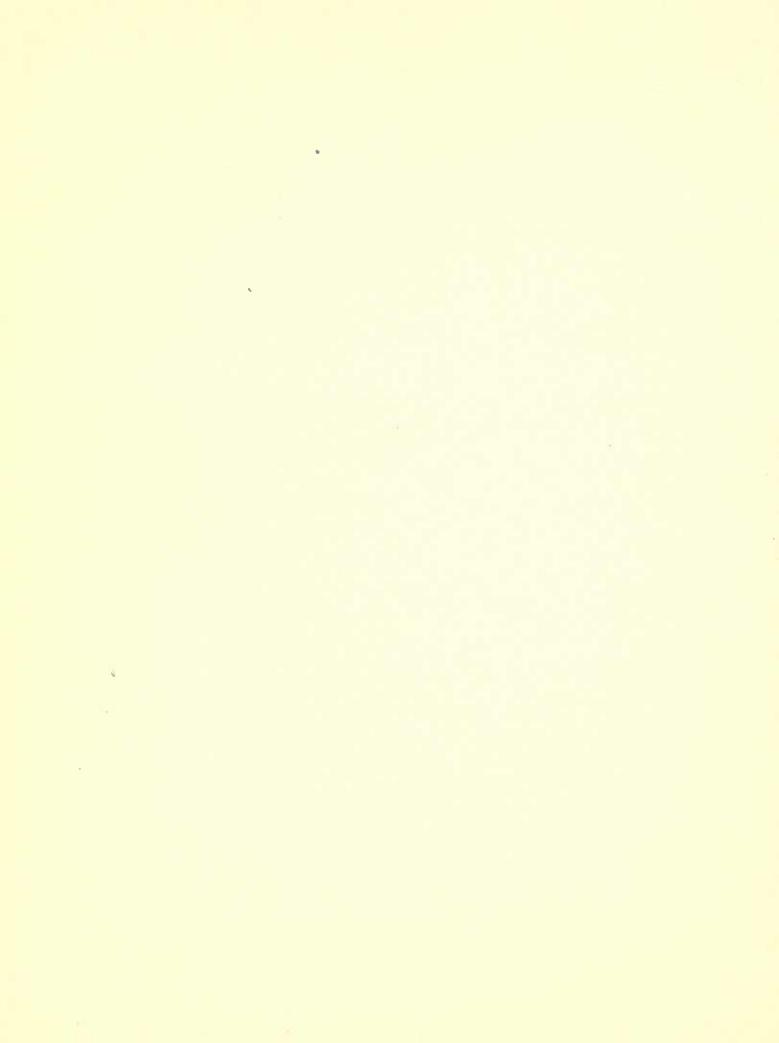
IN THE 78TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

Newport, April 8, 1772.

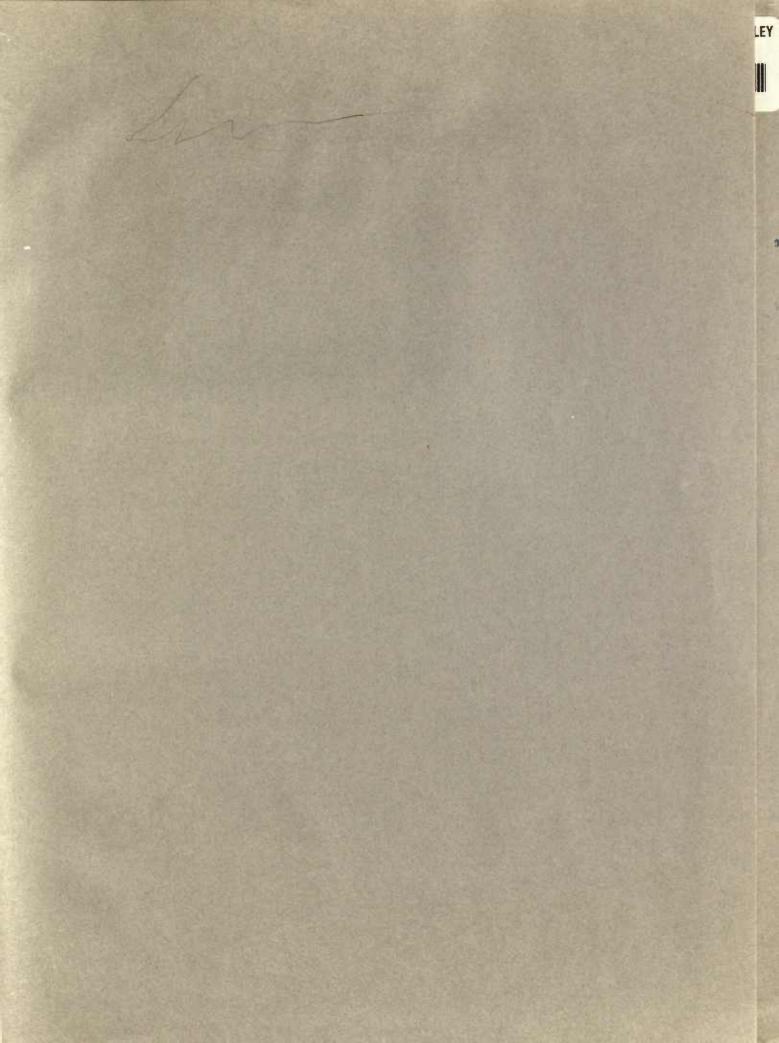
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