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A

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

EMBRACING THE WHOLE PERIOD FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA,

DOWN TO

THE YEAR 1820.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY FREDERICK BUTLER, A. M.

Author of "*A Catechetical Compend of General History,*" "*Sketches of Universal History,*" and "*Farmer's Manual.*"

"QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET."

VOL. I.

HARTFORD :

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.....
1821.

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

L. S. **B**E IT REMEMBERED; That on the eighteenth day of January, in the forty-fifth year of the independence of the United States of America, Frederick Butler of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit, "A Complete History of the United States of America, embracing the whole period from the discovery of North America, down to the year 1820: In three volumes. By Frederick Butler, A. M. Author of "A Catechetical Compend of General History,"—"Sketches of Universal History," and "Farmer's Manual." "*Qui transtulit sustinet.*" In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

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3 vols.

PREFACE.

TO shew that one supreme eternal God created the universe, and by His almighty fiat, spake all worlds into existence, with all beings that inhabit them; that His superintending providence preserves and governs all things, that His wisdom regulates and controuls all events, that the smallest as well as the largest, are equally the objects of His care; "not a sparrow falleth to the ground without His notice, and even the hairs of our heads are all numbered," was the great object of my Sketches of Universal History.

To illustrate this great truth, I have there traced the history of the family of man, from the creation to the flood, and from the flood down to the present time, and shewn the special government of God, as displayed to the world, in the rise and fall of states and empires: all which events have fulfilled a succession of general as well as a particular prophecies, predicted by the prophets, hundreds and thousands of years before they were accomplished.

To shew the same superintending power, wisdom, and government of God, in planting his church in this wilderness of the west, and thus laying the foundation of a great nation, which has grown up and taken its rank amongst the free and enlightened nations of the earth, is also the great design of this work.

To illustrate this design, I have traced the rise and progress of navigation, by the way of Introductory Remarks, through a period of about 3500 years, down to the time of the discovery of America by Columbus; the settlement of Hispaniola, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru by Cortes and Pizarro.

I have also traced the causes that led to, and promoted the settlement of America, in the discovery of the mariner's compass, the invention of gun-powder, and the rise of the reformation in Europe under John Wickliffe, and the art of printing, and shewn how God caused this coincidence of events, to promote his great designs in the settlement of the United States of America.

In executing this plan, I have commenced the work with the discovery of North America, and the settlement of New-England, and carried forward the five New-England States, both individually and collectively, in the first volume, down to the peace of 1763, because this confederacy became more immediately involved in the wars with the French and Indians, in Canada and Nova-Scotia.

I have commenced the second volume, with the discovery and settlement of the States south of the Hudson River, and carried them forward, both individually and collectively, down to the peace of 1763, because they became more immediately involved in the wars of the west and south.

I have commenced the third volume with the causes that led to the revolutionary war, and the declaration of independence, from which eventful epoch, the United States are carried forward collectively, in their national character, down to the present time. The western States are considered in their place, as they became incorporated with the nation, with a general sketch of their rise and progress.

With a steady eye to the special designs of God in laying the foundation of a great nation, in the wilds of America, and in bringing forward the United States to that elevated rank they now possess amongst the free and enlightened nations of the earth, so far as I have been able to trace these designs; as well as to promote the best good of my country, I have entered upon the arduous labours before

me; and have prosecuted my purpose with an unbiassed enquiry after truth, and a faithful narrative of facts, without regarding the sentiments of any man or set of men, either civil or ecclesiastical; but with the profoundest deference to the opinions of the wise and good of whatever name or station.

Those principles of civil and religious liberty, which formed the basis of the wise and virtuous institutions of our fathers, and laid the foundation of the United States of America, originated in the Puritan Church, and were unknown to any former age of the world, and have never been enjoyed by any other people, either before or since, and probably never will be until the great millennial day.

Driven into exile by the persecutions of their own country, our fathers planted the pure principles of the Gospel in the wilds of America, in their civil and religious, and literary institutions, and these combined, became the palladium of the church in the wilderness, and have now become the palladium of the nation.

The almost perpetual wars that harrassed and distressed the early settlements in America, led the colonies to feel their mutual dependence, and cultivate that mutual intercourse with each other, that became necessary for mutual support and defence; this led to a general diffusion of these principles of civil and religious liberty, until they became incorporated with all the other colonial governments, and thus laid the foundation of that national government which the United States now enjoy; which is the perfection of ages, and the admiration of the world.

In treating of the causes that led to, as well as the causes that promoted the settlement of, the United States, in their incipient stages, I have shewn in minute detail, who were the enemies of these civil and religious principles that form the basis of the American character and government, and how by their cruel and unrelenting per-

secutions they strove to destroy them in their infancy, and blot them out from the world ; also how God caused this wrath of man to praise him, and overruled the whole for the best good of his church, and the best interest of this nation.

Infidelity, also, during the French revolution, raised the standard of persecution, and with her thousand wives sought to overthrow the wise and virtuous institutions of our fathers, and thus destroy the church in the wilderness, and even the government itself, that glory of the nation ; but even this refuge of lies, God has swept away, and caused it to become the instrument of strength and support to that very government she had plotted to destroy.

In tracing those successive events, that have rolled on the United States of America, to their national union, independence, and glory, I have noticed that succession of heroes, statesmen, and divines, whose joint co-operations, under God, have rendered them the instruments of carrying forward the work. Those illustrious characters have acted well their parts in this glorious drama, and most of them have passed off the stage : but their illustrious deeds are recorded in the temple of immortal fame, and their names can never die.

Religion, patriotism, and valour, supported by industry and economy, joined to resolution, perseverance, and enterprise, marked the characters of our fathers. These virtues combined, made this wilderness blossom like the rose, and this savage desert become vocal with the praises of our God : led them to resolve, that as the Bible was the standard of their faith and practice, they would take the Bible for the standard of their civil government, until they could find a better.

Under this standard, they planted a system of civil, religious, and literary institutions, the most free, pure, and perfect ever before known ; protected by a system of military discipline, the most independent in that all important

military principle, *true merit*, ever before witnessed : the whole supported by that balance of power in the three departments of government, *unknown to all former republics* : a balance of power which originated in the Saxton Hepharchy, in the fifth century ; was greatly improved by Alfred the Great, in the ninth century, and has been completed in America. Upon this inestimable basis stands the illustrious republic of United America. The success of these systems stands unrivalled in the annals of time, and so long as they are preserved in their purity, will continue to stand unrivalled until they shall be eclipsed by the glories of the great millennial day.

All the literature of the ancients, together with the extensive improvements of the moderns, in the arts and sciences, have flourished in America, and equalled, if not surpassed the learning of Europe.

The manufactures of America are yet in their infancy ; although her improvements have been flattering, she can never excel, so long as an unbounded forest invites to distant enterprise, and promises a rich reward to the hardy sons of labour.

The agriculture of America, has kept pace with her general improvements ; her inventive genius shines conspicuous ; and her enterprise on the ocean, has rendered her the second commercial nation in the world.

Her naval glory stands unrivalled, and the late war with England, has evinced to the world, that America has stripped the laurel from the brow of the mistress of the seas.

The most distinguished features in the American character, are displayed in that unshaken virtue, which formed her national republican compact : a compact which has so balanced the independent sovereignties of the several states, as to give the most flattering assurances that states may be multiplied to any extent, even to overspread the whole northern continent, and yet our free elective gov-

ernment be supported, and the free and independent republics be preserved.

Let every American cherish the religion and virtues of our forefathers ; cultivate and preserve their habits, manners, and customs, together with their wise and virtuous institutions ; remembering that these are the basis of all our boasted acquirements and enjoyments ; that when we abandon these, we abandon the God of our fathers, the vine which he has planted, and desert the standard of the church in the wilderness. We may then take up our lamentation, with an eternal adieu to all our greatness, to all our peace, to all our boasted enjoyments. We shall then add one more example to the many already gone before us, that republican liberty, without virtue, is death. We shall then have a master, and that master must be a despot.

N. B. I shall insert at the end of the third volume a list of the numerous authorities I have consulted, in compiling this work.

Wethersfield, (Conn.) Oct. 24, 1820.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

CHAPTER I.

As the return of the family of Abraham to the land of their fathers, from the bondage of Egypt, forms one of the most interesting and important events of antiquity ; so, in the same point of view, the emigrations of the first settlers of the United States, from the land of their fathers, to plant the Church in the wilds of America, forms one of the most interesting and important events amongst the moderns. The first, to open the way for the knowledge of the true God, as displayed in the formation, and government of the Jewish Church ; and to prepare the way for the first advent of Jesus Christ. The second to open the way for the true knowledge of Jesus Christ, as displayed in his Gospel, by planting a pure Church, which might prepare the way for his second advent.

Had Moses attempted to detail the occurrences, and events of the Jewish Church, minutely, in their journeyings in the wilderness, or in their possessing the promised land, it would have destroyed the beauty of one of the most interesting, and important narratives that has ever appeared. Should I attempt to detail, minutely, the occurrences and events, that awaited the Pilgrims of America, in possessing this modern Canaan, it would mar the beauty of one of the most interesting and important subjects in modern story. The wisdom of the Divine plan in selecting his church from the persecutions of modern Egypt, together with the most prominent characters, and events,

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that became the immediate instruments of his purpose, shall be my only guide in this Narrative. To open this vast field to the minds, and hearts of my readers, it will become necessary to trace the historic page, and unfold the causes that led to the discovery, and promoted the settlement of America; but particularly New-England, and the United States.

ORIGIN OF NAVIGATION.

A spirit of commerce, and naval enterprise, commenced with the Phœnicians, and Egyptians, as early as two thousand years before Christ; this opened the way for the Egyptian Colony which Cadmus led into Greece; where, in about 300 years after, it led to the expedition of the Argonauts to Chelchos, in quest of the golden fleece; which opened the way for the commerce of Greece, and laid the foundation of her future naval glory. The ships of Greece bore her heroes to the Trojan War, in the year of the world 2900. About the time of the expedition of the Argonauts, it extended from Phœnicia, into Africa; and the ships of Tyre planted the Colony of Carthage. In about 500 years after this, it extended from Troy, in Asia, into Europe, and planted the Roman State; and in about 500 years after this, it opened the contest for the Island of Sicily, between the rival States of Carthage, and Rome; and laid the foundation of the naval glory of Rome, and all her future conquests.

During this long period of naval enterprise, and adventure, for about 1800; years open boats, or galleys, that could be managed with rowers, as well as sails, were the only ships, known, or in use, and all their expeditions were conducted along the shores of such seas as they explored, without daring to loose sight of land; and this continued

down to the first of the 14th century, when Goya discovered the secrets of magnetism, and taught the use of the mariner's compass. Although the shores of the Mediterranean had been fully explored, the continent of Africa had been circumnavigated, and the shores of Europe were extensively known, under this coasting adventure; yet it is worthy of notice, that the commencement of the reformation under John Wickliffe, and the art of printing, were simultaneous with the discovery of the mariner's compass, and that these combined, opened the way for the spread of the gospel into the New World, and planted the Puritan church in the wilderness of the west.

DISCOVERY OF COLUMBUS.

IN 1492, (about one whole century after Goya had unfolded the secrets of magnetism, and taught the use of the mariner's compass,) Christopher Columbus, traversed the vast ocean of the Atlantic, and opened a new world to the family of man. *The coincident circumstances attending this wonderful adventure, are worthy of notice; may serve to illustrate the great plan of Infinite Wisdom in opening a highway into the west, and into the east, about the same time. The first to prepare an assylum for his afflicted, persecuted church, and the other to furnish means to support, and protect her in her remote retreat.*—This Genoese pilot was well skilled in the science of navigation, and well versed in the sciences of astronomy and geography, for that age; and fully persuaded in his own mind, that a large body of land must be situated in the regions of the west, in order to give the earth that balance, which was absolutely necessary, to preserve that equable motion, which marked her diurnal rotation. - To ascertain this fact, he formed the plan of ex-

ploring the Atlantic ocean, in quest of this unknown Continent. To effect this, it became necessary to obtain ships; and men, and money; and to obtain them, he offered his services, first to the republic of Genoa, (his own country,) where his scheme was treated as visionary, and disregarded; he next offered his services to Portugal; but without success; next to Spain; but without success; next he sent his brother Bartholomew to tender his services to the king of England; but his brother was shipwrecked on his passage, which delayed the application for several years; and when application was made to the king, (then Henry VII.) he gave no countenance to the adventure.

This was a dark and ignorant age, when the earth was considered as flat as a trencher, and the famous Italian astronomer, Galileo, was denounced as a heretic, by the Romish Inquisition, for asserting, "that the earth was round," and constrained to abjure his error, to save his life. This superstition and ignorance, reigned in the hearts of the Princes of the age; but this glorious adventure has opened the way for me to entwine *one more laurel round the brows of woman.*

Ferdinand king of Spain, was deaf to the views of Columbus; but *Isabella his queen*, listened to his narrative; her capacious mind saw the force of his reasoning, caught the spirit of the enterprise, and gave Columbus a gracious reception; she *pawned her jewels to raise money* for the occasion, and thus with the assistance of her husband, fitted out three small vessels; gave Columbus the command; and he set sail into the unknown regions of the west. To recount the perils of the voyage, the dangers of the seas, the mutiny of his sailors, their conflicting passions that threatened his life, and pressed him to return; the fatigues of anxious cares, sleepless nights, and constant watchings, that distressed his mind, and wasted his health, upon this long, this interesting voyage; would exceed the

limits of this work. All these he endured, with a steady eye to the great object before him; and on the 11th of October, 1492, he discovered land, that proved to be one of the Bahama Islands, which he called St. Salvador, (in allusion to his wonderful preservation,) and after visiting the Islands of Cuba, and Hispaniola, he shipped on board several of the natives; planted a little colony in the island, and returned to Spain.

To relate the perils, and distresses he endured, when overtaken by a violent storm on his return to Spain; to express the anxiety he felt lest, the knowledge of the New World should be buried with him, forever, in the tempestuous deep; or recount the joy that greeted his return to Spain, the honors bestowed upon him by his benefactress, and her illustrious prince; will exceed the limits of this work; suffice it to say, that the modesty with which Columbus disclosed his adventures, the riches of the west, and the character of the natives; drew upon himself universal admiration, and applause.

To recount the interesting scene, that drew the people in vast crowds, to view with wonder, and admiration those tawney children of the New-World; to paint the solemnity of that scene, that saw them initiated into the Christian Church, and witnessed the solemnity of the ordinance of baptism; or paint the joy of the Church, in the prospect that the Son of God was about "to have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession," will also exceed the limits of this work; suffice it to say, that Pope Alexander VI. as Vicar of Jesus Christ, and thus possessing a spiritual sovereignty over the whole earth, guaranteed to Ferdinand and Isabella, all the discoveries Columbus had made, or should hereafter make; and upon the strength of this, his illustrious patron furnished him with another fleet, consisting of seventeen ships; carrying a Colony of fifteen hundred persons, com-

posed of many families of noble birth, as well as of all classes; and several monks, and friars, under the Father Boyle, (a monk of Catalonia,) whose object was, to gather the heathen of the New-World into the bosom of the Church.

Thus provided, Columbus set sail from the Bay of Cadiz, on the 25th of Sept. and on the 26th of Nov. he made one of the Caribbe islands; from thence he touched at the several Islands that lay in his way to his little Colony at Hispaniola.—But what must have been his grief, and surprise, when he found nothing remaining of the Colony; but their tattered clothes, broken arms, and demolished fort; and those natives who had been so cordial on his former voyage, now fled, and shunned his approach, with guilt and fear. The Chief, Guacanahari, who had been formerly so cordial in his friendship; now did not appear; and all was mystery, and gloom; but in the midst of this gloom, a brother of Guacanahari appeared, and disclosed the facts that lay concealed in mystery.

These facts laid open scenes too black to be recorded, scenes on which the avarice, and debaucheries of the Spaniards had been so gross, and oppressive that the Natives were constrained to rise in defence of rights they held most dear, and revenge themselves on their enemies, and exterminate the Colony.—Columbus credited the reports, very readily, from the knowledge he had of their characters; passed over the affair in silence, and proceeded to lay out, and found a city, which he called Isabella, in honor of his illustrious patroness. To recount the labours of this undertaking, or the several adventures of this perilous voyage, will not come within the limits of this work; suffice it to say, that after having subdued the Island of Hispaniola, by force of arms, and collected vast treasures from the Natives, he appointed his brother Bartholomew, Lieut. Gen. and Francis Roldan, Chief Justice, and amidst a jealous

persecuting faction, once more set sail for Spain, in the year 1496.—Columbus arrived safe (after experiencing the privations, and distresses of a three month's voyage;) and presented himself at Court, where he was received by his sovereigns, with all that honor, and respect due to his character, and his services; to the inexpressible joy of his friends, and the inexpressible mortification of his enemies.

Delighted with the treasures of gold, and other valuables, which Columbus displayed at Court, and flushed with the idea of opening the bowels of a new world, and filling Spain with its riches, and bringing the natives into subjection by their power; they hastened to prepare another expedition for Columbus, that might forward the accomplishment of all their wishes;—but this expedition was slow, his enemies were malicious, and their arts wrought secretly, and plotted mischief, and ruin.—Thus two years were wasted in preparing the third expedition, and at last he set sail with six small vessels, and steering a more southern course than before, he discovered the Island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, in South America; near the mouth of the river Oronoco.—When Columbus discovered this majestic stream, he knew at once, that an island could not support such a river, and justly concluded that he had found the long sought for *Continent*. He landed, and found the natives, resembled the natives of Hispaniola, in their appearance, and manners, as well as in their ornaments of gold; and this led him to explore the country in quest of the precious metals. The more he explored the country, the more he was delighted with its riches, and beauties, and the more anxious he was to continue in it; but the impatience of his crew hurried him away to Hispaniola, where he found his Colony in a state of wretchedness, and confusion. Their indolence had almost brought them to ruin, and a mutiny against their Governor, had thrown them into great distress, and their oppres-

sion of the natives, had converted their friendship into hatred; and in the midst of all this distress, Columbus found work of importance, to restore order, and save his Colony from total ruin. This he effected by his good management, and dispatched a ship to Spain with an account of his new discoveries, as well as the perilous situation of the Colony, and accused some of the leaders in the conspiracy. This commenced open war, they in their turn accused each other, and accused him; all which led to serious consequences.

The Bishop of Badajos, who had hitherto been at the head of his enemies, now appeared openly, and accused him to the Queen, and obtained a commission for Francis Bovadilla, a Knight of Calatrava, to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to enquire into the administration of Columbus; and if he should find him guilty, to supercede him, and take possession. Here was a bounty on knavery; although all was quiet in the government, on the arrival of Bovadilla; yet he seized on the Governor's house, in his absence; and next ordered Columbus to be seized, loaded with irons, and sent to Spain. To pursue this scene of the blackest ingratitude, and disclose the sufferings of the body, and tortures of the mind, through which Columbus passed, on his way to Spain, or in his treatment after his return, exceed the limits of my pen. He repaired to court, by the invitation, and assistance of his sovereigns; and by his pathetic, and dignified defence, supported his innocence, and his integrity, and procured the removal, and disgrace of Bovadilla; yet he saw another (Nicholas Avando, a Knight of the military order of Alcantara) appointed to succeed him in his government. Stung with the keenest sensibilities, he determined to recover his misfortunes, if possible; accordingly he availed himself of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama to the East Indies,* and perswad-

* This took place at this time, 1498.

ed Ferdinand and Isabella, that an ocean lay between his new continent, and the East Indies; and that a passage might be found across, where the Isthmus of Darien now is; and that if they would furnish him with ships, he (old as he was) would undertake the voyage. They listened to his proposal, furnished four small vessels of 60 or 70 tons, and he set sail, with his brother, Bartholomew, and his son: and on his passage, touched at his old government, at Hispaniola, to repair, or exchange his leaky vessel; but here he was refused entrance, by the new Governor; and the fleet which brought out the new Governor, was now ready to sail for Spain, with Bovadilla, and others of his enemies, and accusers; and notwithstanding he admonished them of an approaching hurricane, yet they disregarded; set sail, and were all lost.

Columbus prosecuted his voyage, and made several important discoveries, particularly Cape Graciosa Dios, and all the coast, to the beautiful port, or harbour upon the Isthmus of Darien, which he called Porto Bello. He attempted to leave his brother, with a Colony, here, and return to Spain; but the mutiny of his own people, and the hostility of the natives, prevented; and he set sail on his return; he was overtaken by a storm, lost all his vessels, and was cast on shore upon an island,* remote from his former settlement, where he gave up all as lost; ever fruitful in expedients, he procured of the natives two canoes, and Mendiz and Fieschi, two of his trusty friends, set sail for Hispaniola, (an adventure that perhaps no other men would have dared to attempt,) and in two days they traversed the ocean, more than thirty leagues, and arrived safe at Hispaniola; here the sufferings of Columbus were again renewed: instead of that kind, hospitable treatment, due to him as an unfortunate stranger, (not to

* Jamaica

say friend, and countryman, in the service of the same king; but much more, the discoverer of the New World, and first planter of the Colony of that island) Ovando, the Governor, denied him the rights of hospitality, forbade him to set his foot upon the island. Deaf to the intreaties of the friends of Columbus, for more than eight months Ovando kept him and his people in a remote and solitary island, amongst the savages, where danger, and distress, were their only companions. Stung with remorse, and impatient, at such barbarity, his sailors charged him with being the author of all their sufferings; rose in mutiny; seized his canoes, which he had bought of the natives, and abandoning him to his fate, removed to a remote part of the island. Thus left to the mercy of the savages, with the few friends that remained, he soon found the friendly aid of these savages begin to abate, and discovered their impatience for his departure, by the sparing supplies of food they brought in, and the increased coldness in their deportment. Alarmed for his safety, Columbus resorted to a new expedient, to recover the affections, and aid of the natives; he foretold an eclipse of the moon, upon a certain day; and when the event took place, he took advantage of their surprise, and astonishment, and told them, that the Great Spirit thus shewed his anger, at their unkind treatment of his children, in withholding their necessary support; this had the desired effect, and restored him to all their former expressions of kindness. This evil being removed, a new scene of troubles sprang up, which summoned all his address, and fortitude. The mutineers, pressed with hunger, and want, marched in a body to satiate their vengeance, in the blood of their commander; and as they approached his habitation, they descried a sail, standing over towards the island. The rage of the mutineers, and despair of Columbus, and his friends, were turned into joy. The sail approached the shore, the captain landed, and brought a letter from

Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola, informing him, that his friends, Mendez and Fieschi, had arrived safe in their canoes, after a severe and distressing passage, and expressing his condolence for his misfortunes, &c. The captain returned to his vessel, set sail, and abandoned him to his fate. To express the astonishment, and mortification of Columbus, at this unprecedented act of barbarity; would exceed the powers of my pen; but how shall I express the tortures of his mind, when both his friends and his enemies, rose in the violence of their passions, and threatened him with instant death, as the author of all their troubles, and calamities. Ever fruitful in expedients, Columbus turned this flagrant insult of Ovando to his own advantage. He stated, that the reason why the vessel departed so suddenly, was, because she could not carry off all the company, and he would not depart, until every man was provided for, and removed; but that the captain would soon return, with more help, and take them all down to Hispaniola. This changed the scene, and their rage was turned into peace, gratitude, and friendship.

At this eventful moment, the mutineers began the attack upon Columbus, and his friends; but were repulsed, and driven off, after a short, but sharp conflict, in which their leader was wounded, and taken prisoner. Alarmed for their own safety, and for the fate of their leader, they were stung with remorse, laid down their arms, submitted to their old commander, and bound themselves, by the solemnity of their oaths, to be quiet, submissive, and obedient to his commands.

At this eventful moment the ships arrived from Ovando, and conveyed them all to Hispaniola, where they were hospitably treated, and promised a speedy return to Spain. On the 12th of November, 1504, Columbus and his people, with two ships, set sail for Spain; again they were overtaken with a violent storm; one vessel was driven

back to St. Domingo, and the other, in which he himself sailed, was dismasted, driven more than seven hundred leagues, under jury masts, and at length made the port of St. Lucar; where he learnt, to his inexpressible grief, that queen Isabella, his friend, and patroness, had died on the 9th of November; and thus he saw himself again, abandoned to the mercy of his enemies. As soon as he had recovered from the fatigues of the voyage, Columbus with despair on his countenance, and despair in his heart, repaired to court; but here the powers of language are lost in the magnitude of the subject: deaf to the principles of gratitude, of benevolence, and even humanity; Ferdinand received him coolly, amused him with promises, that neither administered to his necessities, nor cheered his drooping spirits; but fixed on his distressed soul, that despair, which had wasted his spirits, and now began to waste his health; and under the pressure of all these combined, he sank a victim of persecution, into the arms of death, in the city of Valadolid, on the 12th of May, 1506, aged fifty-nine.

Dark and mysterious are the ways of God to men; but wisdom, and might, and strength are his; and justice, mercy, and truth are the habitations of his throne. Whom he will he setteth up, and whom he will he putteth down; none can stay his hand, neither may any say unto him, *What doest thou?*

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

THE fame of Columbus, and the riches of the New World, together with the treasures of the east, which Vasco de Gama had disclosed; all conspired to kindle a spirit of adventure, unknown to any former age of the world. Ameri-

go Vespucci, commonly known by the name of Americus Vesputius, or Vesputius Americanus, a native of Florence in Italy, under the patronage of Ojida, a gallant and active officer, (who had accompanied Columbus in his former voyage,) and under the patronage of the merchants of the city of Seville, (in Spain,) caught the spirit of the age, and set sail for the new world, in quest of foreign adventure. They pursued the track of Columbus, touched upon the continent, and traded with the natives; along the coast, as far as Cape de Vela, or further; they steered for Hispaniola, and thus returned to Spain. Amerigo published a splendid account of his voyage and discoveries, with interesting remarks upon the countries, which caught the public attention, gratified his countrymen, and gave him that popularity, that fixed his name to the continent, and thus filled up the measure of injustice, Columbus was destined to suffer; and posterity have ratified the fraud; to this day, and will probably, continue to ratify it down to the latest generation.

DON DIEGO COLON, OR COLUMBUS.

JUSTICE, though she halt, and is often tardy in her pace, yet she is sure in her course, and seldom fails in the distribution of her rewards. Although envy and malice, had stripped Christopher Colon, or Columbus, of his highly merited honors, and rewards; robbed him of his life, and transferred the name of his New World, to the name of an indifferent rival; and posterity have sealed the fraud; yet his son Don Diego, who had been the companion of his sufferings, in his last voyage, petitioned the king for the honors of that government, which belonged of right to him, by the original capitulation of his father, and which had been

so unjustly, wrested from him. Ferdinand, was deaf to the application of Diego, and caused him to waste two years in his solicitations; who was finally rejected. Stung with resentment, at this renewed act of ingratitude, and injustice, Don Diego commenced a suit at law against his sovereign, before the Council, that managed Indian affairs, who (to their eternal honor,) decided in his favour. Deaf to the decision of the court, Ferdinand still withheld the claims of justice; but Diego, true to himself, and firm to his cause, contracted an alliance, with one of the first families in Spain, by concluding a marriage with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand de Toledo, great commendator of Leon, and brother to the duke of Alva. The influence of this family, secured to Diego his claims. Ferdinand yielded to the decision of the council, recalled Ovando, and conferred the government of Hispaniola upon Diego. All Spain rejoiced at the event; Don Diego, now governor of the new world, with his wife, in character of vice queen, and a numerous retinue of friends, and associates, from the first families, repaired to Hispaniola, and entered upon his new government, where he enjoyed in splendour, the kingdom which his father had planted, and which it became the object of his future life, to improve, and cultivate, and render happy.—Diego settled the small island of Cabagua, (discovered by his father in his third voyage,) which soon became famous for its extensive pearl fishery, as well as fatal to the natives, who were employed in it.

The last discoveries of Columbus, had now been neglected, about ten years. Ferdinand now encouraged Alonzo de Ojida, and Diego de Nicuessa, two bold adventurers, to explore the country, and commence settlements. To the former, he granted the country of Cape Vela, to the gulf of Darien, and to the other, from the gulf of Darien, to Cape Graicos a Dios. These adventurers, sailed from Hispaniola,

about the same time, to enter upon the new governments ; and the powers by which they were to claim, and hold the countries, were by authority of the Pope, as viceroy of the earth, and having supreme jurisdiction over all the kingdoms in the world, and as the spiritual head of the church. They were to unfold to them the doctrines of the Christian religion, and if they embraced them, and submitted to their authority, then to govern them in peace, and justice ; but if not, then to lay waste their country, by fire and sword, and reduce them, their wives, and their children, to a state of subjection, and compel them to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope, and the authority of the monarch of Spain.

Thus armed, with spiritual, and temporal power, the adventurers attempted to enter upon their new governments ; but to their astonishment, and mortification, they found a race of men, differing in war, and in manners, from the gentle race of Hispaniola. These fierce sons of the continent, were unmoved by the address, and intrigues of these Spanish adventurers ; attacked them with poisoned arrows, which rendered every wound fatal ; they hunted them from their borders, and in less than one year, the whole of the two expeditions were ruined, and destroyed, excepting a remnant that made a settlement at Santo Maria el Antigua, on the Gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nagez de Bilboa, a bold and desperate adventurer, together with Francisco Pizarro, whose misfortunes in this adventure, taught him how to manage more adroitly in his subsequent adventures, and rise to the enjoyment of future conquests. Herman Cortes was also engaged in this adventure, but was detained by sickness at Hispaniola, as the hero of future scenes of adventure, enterprise, and conquest.

The restless avaricious spirit of the Spaniards, added to the enterprising spirit of the age, prompted them to new

adventures, and new conquests, not only to obtain wealth and dominion, but to obtain more slaves; to work their mines, and plantations in Hispaniola, where their allies had nearly extirpated the vast population, that covered the island in 1492.* The evils arising from this slavery of the natives, occasioned a general uneasiness, and opened a way for relief through a new channel. Bartholomew Las Casas, a Catholic priest, and adventurer with Columbus, in his second voyage, proposed to liberate the natives, and import the blacks from the Portuguese possessions in Africa; to effect this, he made a voyage to Spain, and opened the subject to Ferdinand, then in declining health, who listened to the plan; but died soon after, and left it in the hands of his successor, Charles V.

Cardinal Ximenes, as regent, undertook to decide the question, before the king arrived, and entered upon his government. He accordingly sent out those agents, with Las Casas at their head, as superintendents, to decide the question in Hispaniola. They repaired to their government, set all the natives free, and threw the colony into the utmost confusion, which raged with violence for a time, but was finally quelled, after Charles came to the throne, by carrying forward the plan of liberating the natives, and introducing the blacks, which spread throughout the islands, and into Europe, and America, where it continues to this day.—In 1503, the first negroes had been imported into the new world, they being more hardy and patient under labour than the natives, induced Ferdinand to consent in 1511, to an importation of additional numbers; but Las Casas induced Charles V. to grant permission to a Flem-

* Don Diego Columbus, as Governor, had the disposal of the natives, and distributed them as slaves, amongst the planters; and their diminution of numbers, caused them to complain to Ferdinand, who sent Roderigo Albuquerque, a relative of his most confidential minister, with full powers to regulate the services of the natives of Hispaniola. Albuquerque found, upon numbering the natives, that they had been reduced from sixty-thousand, to fourteen thousand.

ish merchant, to import 4000 blacks at one time. The merchant sold his patent to some Genoese merchants, who, in this way, became the instruments of liberating those natives of the New World, whom their countrymen had enslaved, and thus shifting the yoke onto another innocent race of men, where it still remains.*

In the year 1511, Diego Velasquez conquered the island of Cuba, and held the government of it.—In the year 1517, several veterans from Darien, united with Hernandez Cordova, a rich planter in Cuba, and of a bold and daring spirit, to enter upon an enterprise of discovery. With the consent of Velasquez, they fitted out three small vessels, embarked 110 men, and sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, in February, 1517, upon a western adventure. In twenty days they discovered the peninsula of Yucatan, and as they approached the shore, they discovered the natives, clad in cotton garments, coming off in their canoes. Struck with astonishment, at this unexpected adventure, they conciliated their favour, by presents, landed upon the coast, and advanced into the country, where they, with equal surprise, soon discovered houses, regularly built with stone, and the reception of the natives appeared cordial; but they were soon undeceived, the Cazique, or Prince, had drawn them into an ambush, and upon a sudden, he commenced an attack; with such violence, as drove off the Spaniards, and they fled to their ships, and departed from the coast, carrying off two prisoners, and some booty from one of their temples.—In a few days, as they steered towards the west, they discovered Campeachy, where they descried a river, and landed, to obtain water; but here again they were attacked by the natives, and driven off, with the loss of 47 men killed, and one only escaped.

* When I come to treat of Virginia, I shall notice particularly, the remarks of Mr. Jefferson upon African slavery, in his Notes upon Virginia, page 221 and 222.

Cordova, their leader, conducted the retreat with coolness, under twelve different wounds, and when the remnant had embarked, they set sail for Cuba, where Cordova died of his wounds, and the others had suffered the severest trials on their passage. This discovery inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, more than any adventure they had ever yet achieved, and opened the way, through a succession of adventures, to the discovery and conquest of Mexico, by Cortes, which I shall give a sketch of, without noticing the other adventures of minor importance.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO, BY FERNANDO CORTES, 1519.

THE spirit of adventure, had now grown up with the Spaniards, at Hispaniola, to a high pitch of enthusiasm; and Velasquez the governor had caught the fire, and prepared a formidable force, for a foreign adventure, and looked with anxious solicitude for a commander, who was adequate to the undertaking. By the advice of his chief officers of state, he fixed his choice upon Fernando Cortes, a native of Estramadura, in Spain, of noble descent; but of a moderate fortune.—Full of youthful fire, and the zeal of the age, he embarked to the new world, to seek such adventures as might fall in his way, under the patronage of his kinsman Ovando, then governor of Hispaniola, 1504. Under the patronage of Ovando, he accompanied Velasquez, in the conquest of Cuba, and his distinguished intrepidity and zeal, in this enterprise, procured him the favour of Velasquez, and obtained for him this present important command. Cortes received his new commission 1518, and erected his military standard, beat up for volunteers, and entered with spirit and resolution, into the measures of Velasquez, to promote and hasten the enter-

prise. All things were soon ready, and upon the 18th of November, he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba, and launched into the regions of the west, in quest of some object of enterprise, worthy of himself, and his brave companions in arms. Cortes touched at Trinidad where the jealousy of the Governor Velasquez, overtook him, by the means of Verdugo, an officer he had dispatched to supercede him; but the address of Cortes defeated the attempt, he dismissed Verdugo, and proceeded on his course. From Trinidad Cortes touched at Havannah, to augment his force. Here Velasquez gave orders to have him arrested, and sent prisoner to St. Jago; but Cortes eluded this order, recruited his army, and augmented his fleet to the number of eleven vessels, of from 60 to 100 tons burthen, and carrying about 600 soldiers and seamen. Thirteen only of this army had muskets, and the rest were armed with swords, spears and cross-bows.—Cortes had sixteen horse, and ten small field pieces, and four falconets.

With this force he set sail from Havannah, February 10, 1518, to conquer the great monarch of the west. On his passage, he touched at the island of Cosumel, where he took on board a Spanish prisoner, who had been taken in a former adventure, and detained a prisoner eight years, who had learnt the language of the natives of Yucatan, and was useful as an interpreter; he next touched at the river Tobasco, where the natives were hostile; but he subdued them by force, and obtained supplies of provisions and clothes, together with twenty female slaves. Cortes proceeded on his course, and next touched at St. Jean de Ulua; here he was met in the harbour by an embassy in a large canoe, that bid him welcome, in a language not understood by his Yucatan interpreter; but expressed by intelligent signs. Cortes felt the loss of his interpreter, with this change of language; but one of his female slaves, who understood the language, translated into Yu-

catan, and his interpreter conveyed it in Spanish. Thus he learnt that the embassy was composed of the deputies from the governor of the province, which was a part of a great empire, under the government of Montezuma, their emperor, or king; and that the object of their visit was, to offer him such assistance as he might need, to prosecute his voyage.—Cortes thanked them for their kindness, and assured them that his visit was truly friendly, and that he came to promote matters of high importance to their king, and his people, and that he would make known his business more fully to the governor in the morning. The next morning, he landed his troops, his horse, cannon, &c. and the natives assisted in all his operations, with friendly zeal, and alacrity. The next morning Dilpatoe, the governor, and Tutile his general, attended with a great retinue, entered the camp of Cortes, where they were received, and treated with all that deference and respect, due to the officers of a great monarch. Cortes informed them, that he was charged with an embassy from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the east, and that he must deliver his message in person, to Montezuma, their emperor, and required that they should conduct him in person, into the presence of their master. These officers waved the demand, and attempted to conciliate the favour of Cortes, by such valuable presents as they had brought, and laid them at his feet. These consisted of cotton stuffs, plumes, gold and silver, &c. These were acceptable, because they displayed that wealth, which the Spaniards desired, and shewed the kingdom as an object, worthy their conquest. In the midst of the interview, Cortes noticed some painters in the governor's train, who were employed in sketching on cotton stuffs, the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, &c. belonging to Cortes. When Cortes understood that these were to be sent to Montezuma, he determined to fill up the piece; accordingly he

made a display of his men, and horse, artillery and musquetry, in various military evolutions, and firings, which astonished the affrighted Mexicans. When the picture was finished, it was sent off by despatches, placed at regular stages upon the roads, after the Mexican manner, who relieved each other, to give facility to the messages.*

These presents were conveyed to Montezuma, at the distance of one hundred and eighty miles, and an answer returned in a very few days, accompanied with a collection of most valuable presents, consisting of the most delicate cotton stuffs, resembling silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers, composed of different colours, wrought and mingled with such skill and elegance, as to rival the pencil in truth and beauty. But what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, was a large golden sun, and a large silver moon; accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, &c. all of gold, together with boxes of pearls, precious stones, and gold dust. All this treasure was borne upon the shoulders of one hundred Mexicans, and spread upon mats, where they might be displayed to the best advantage.—Struck with surprise at such a display of riches, Cortes was about to urge his demand, to be instantly conducted into the presence of Montezuma their king, when the orders of their monarch were communicated to Cortes, that he must not presume to enter his dominions, to approach his capital, or even tarry long in his country.

This message inflamed the impatience, as well as the ardor of Cortes, and he demanded to be immediately conducted to Mexico, to deliver the message from the king his master. Stung with chagrin and mortification at this demand, they requested him not to march his troops, until they could send messengers, and receive the orders of the

* The French improved upon this, by erecting Telegraphs, throughout the country, in the Revolution.

emperor. Cortes complied, the messengers bore the unwelcome tidings to Montezuma, and returned with a more positive order to depart the realm without delay; but softened with a present more rich and valuable than the first. Cortes firm to his purpose, received the present, with great affability, but renewed his demand that he might deliver his message. Tutile, the governor, stung with disgust, turned from him in silence, and withdrew; his attendants all withdrew, and left Cortes to reflect on the scenes that were likely to follow. The next morning arose, but no natives appeared, as before, in the camp of Cortes; this alarmed the enemies of Cortes, who had favoured the intrigues of Velasquez, and they attempted to raise a mutiny, and check Cortes before hostilities should commence, and they with their little force, be swallowed up by the millions of such a vast empire. The friends of Cortes, saw with anxiety the commotions in the army, and heard with astonishment the demand of Diego de Arday, in the name of the whole army, that they might return to Cuba, and obtain supplies of men and military stores, adequate to so great an enterprise. Cortes met the demand, and gave orders that the whole army embark tomorrow for Cuba. Stung with disappointment at the prospect of losing all those stores of wealth, which in imagination they already enjoyed—the army exclaimed, lead us not back far from the riches and treasures before us, we are ready to follow you to victory or to death. Cortes, like an able captain, cherished the fire he had kindled, assured them that he would ever be faithful to their best interest, and lead them to victory, conquest, and glory. The air resounded with their applause, and Cortes gave orders to begin a Colony, assembled his principal officers, and ordered them to elect a council, who should administer the government. The Council were chosen from among the friends of Cortes, and the instrument of government

drawn up in the name of the king, not regarding Velasquez; and Cortes called the name of his settlement, Villa Rica, de la Vera Cruz, (the rich town of the true Cross.)

The new council were assembled, and Cortes, by permission, approached them with the most profound respect, complimented them, as the representatives of their king and sovereign, tendered the resignation of his commission from Velasquez, and assured them that it now belonged of right to them, to appoint a commander, and that he should most cheerfully submit to their choice, either to command or obey. The council, in the majesty of themselves, accepted the resignation of their general, and again conferred upon him, the chief command, and pressed him to become their leader; the whole army confirmed the choice, and the whole air was rent with acclamations of joy. Ardaz, and other friends to the interest of Velasquez, renewed their mutiny, and Cortes siezed these mutineers, and confined them in irons on board the fleet, until repentance converted them into friends, and restored them to their rank in the service.

The army thus being united, Cortes had laid the foundation for the arduous enterprise, which lay before him. At this eventful moment, he received an embassy from the cazique of Zampoella, (an important town not far remote) requesting his aid to assist him, to throw off the yoke of Montezuma. "Divide and conquer," although so extensively and successfully practised by the moderns, is not of modern origin. Cortes seized the favourable moment, removed his camp, and proceeded to Zampoella, where the cazique gave him a most cordial reception; charged Montezuma with tyranny, and cruelty, and avarice; and above all, a bloody idolater, who often tore from his people their little ones, and *sacrificed* them to his *Gods*, and prostituted their daughters to his own lusts and the lusts, of his favourites.

This interview was a victory to Cortes; he saw at once that such a prince, and such a government, carried in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction; he took the cazique under his protection, removed his army to Quiabiscan, still further up the country, and there, by the assistance of these natives, began to fortify his camp, and thus gave strength, confidence, and support to his new friends. Montezuma, alarmed at this outrage upon his authority, sent and demanded tribute, and victims for sacrifice, that they might appease the wrath of the Gods for having received into favour an enemy, whom he had commanded to depart his kingdom. This demand threw them into the arms of Cortes, and they formally acknowledged themselves the vassals of Don Carlos, king of Castile, and the Jotonaques, a fierce and warlike people, who dwelt in the neighbouring mountains, soon followed their example, and put themselves under the crown of Castile.

Thus we have opened the way for the illustration of one of the most daring, as well as most important adventures, that has ever astonished the world. I shall not attempt the history of this adventure; but only give a general sketch of the more prominent events, that may give the general outlines to the conquest of Mexico. Cortes, with a steady eye to the object before him, determined to fix the attention of his army on that object alone, and set fire to his fleet, which cut off all hopes, as well as possibility, of escape, and placed before them victory, and conquest, or slavery, and death. Thus armed with desperation, he advanced to the labours before him. Cortes, fired with the zeal of the age, made war upon the idol temples at Zam-poela, and overthrew their altars, which fired the people with rage and resentment, a mob arose, resented the outrage, and threatened the destruction of Cortes and his army; but the chief, by his address, explained the affair to the satisfaction of the priests; the mob was hushed, and peace,

was restored. This taught Cortes a lesson which he used to advantage hereafter. Cortes planted a garrison at Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, a trusty officer, and when he had obtained supplies of provisions, of the cazique of Zempoella, together with four hundred soldiers, and two hundred *Tamemes*, or Indians, used to carry burthens, he advanced onto the confines of the province of Tlascalala. This people were fierce and warlike; but under a partial state of civilization, so far as agriculture, and the arts, without science, could contribute to their improvement; they had been in alliance with the caziques of Zempoella, and implacable enemies to the Mexicans: disdaining slavery, they preserved their own government, which consisted of a council, of the several tribes. To gain the friendship of these people, and court their alliances, Cortes sent an embassy, of four of the most distinguished characters of Zempoella, to request permission, for him to pass through their country, on his way to Mexico. The Tlascalans, resenting the outrage, offered to the gods at Zempoella, seized the ambassadors, and prepared to sacrifice them, to appease the wrath of their injured gods; assembled their troops, and prepared to dispute the passage of these strangers. The die was cast; Cortes advanced to the combat, and entered their country. Here he was attacked, by overwhelming numbers, fierce, and desperate in their assaults; but the discipline, and fire arms of the Spaniards, spread death and destruction through their confused masses, and put them to flight; but such victories were momentary; these savages rallied again to the combat; and again the Spanish muskets, and cannon, mowed down their ranks, and strewed the field of death. Struck with astonishment, that so many brave Tlascalans] were sacrificed in the desperate combats, and not one Spaniard had yet been slain, they were appalled at the scene, and shrunk from the unequal contest.

alarmed for the safety of the Colony, they besought their priests to explain the causes of such extraordinary events, and conduct them to peace.

The priests reported; after the gods were invoked, by the rites of solemn sacrifices, that these enemies, were children of the sun, who had come from the east, and that when the sun, who gave them strength, had gone to rest, they would be like other men, and might be subdued in the same manner: accordingly they commenced their attacks in the night; but these were equally destructive, and fatal; they next, sued for peace, but were at a loss, how to address their enemy; because Cortes, had generally, dismissed his prisoners, with presents, instead of putting them to death, after the manner of the Americans, except in one instance, where he found spies in his camp, he then cut off their hands, and sent them off as a terror to their countrymen, which gave them such horrid apprehensions, of their cruelty, that they thus addressed them.—“If you are gods, of a cruel, and savage nature, we present you five slaves, that you may drink their blood, and eat their flesh. If you are mild gods, accept an offering of incense, and perfumes. If you are men, here is meat, and drink, and bread, and fruit, to nourish you.” The peace, was soon concluded; and the Tlascalans, submitted to the conquerors, yielded to the crown of Castile, and promised assistance to Cortes hereafter. The fatigues of this enterprise, were inexpressibly great, and the peace was received, by both parties, with becoming joy. Cortes entered Tlascala, their capital, in triumph, where he was courteously received, and hospitably treated, and amidst the enjoyments of Tlascala, the soldiers soon forgot the fatigues of their combats, or the dangers of the war.

Cortes next advanced to Cholula, distant about five leagues, where he was received with apparent cordiality; but an army of Mexicans lay in the vicinity, with whom

the Cholulans secretly plotted his ruin, and as a prelude to their meditated attack, they offered their children in sacrifice to their gods, barricadoed many of their streets, dug pitfalls in others, to destroy their horses, &c. all which was communicated to Cortes, and a confession of their treachery, was extorted from their priests, which so exasperated Cortes, that he seized on the principal men in the city, drew up his troops, and commenced an indiscriminate butchery upon the multitude, and set fire to the city, which in two days laid it in ashes, which with the sword, destroyed more than six thousand people, without the loss of one Spaniard. This exemplary vengeance awed the remainder into a tame submission, and opened his way directly to Mexico. Cortes next advanced to the capital of the empire, to attack the monarch in his palace.—The terror of his arms, added to the disaffection of the people, caused him to be hailed, as the deliverer of the nation, as he approached the capital, and inspired the conqueror with high expectations of success. As he descended the mountains of Chaleo, the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view, with the splendid city of Mexico in its centre, seated upon the borders of the beautiful lake Tibzucó. This scene of enchantment inspired every heart with new zeal and animation, and hastened their march; as they approached the city, a vast retinue of more than one thousand citizens, of the first distinction, clad in the richest mantles of cotton, and adorned with plumes, came forth to meet the conqueror. Cortes gave them a gracious reception, and they accosted him with most submissive expressions of friendship, and assured him that Montezuma their prince, was on his way to salute him. The emperor approached, preceded by another retinue, richly clad in uniform, adorned with waving plumes, marching two and two, barefooted, in solemn silence, and with down cast eyes, followed by another ret-

inue of more exalted rank, in their most splendid robes. In the midst of these attendants, appeared the Emperor Montezuma, ornamented with gold, and plumes of the richest cast, and seated upon a lofty car, borne by four of his principal favourites, and covered with a canopy of curious texture. Three officers, bearing rods of gold, marched before him, these did him reverence, by lifting up their rods at stated intervals, as a signal to the attendants, who all bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as expressions of the most submissive homage. Thus seated on his car of state, in the midst of this splendid procession, the emperor approached; Cortes alighted from his horse, and the monarch from his car, and leaning on the arms of two of his friends, he advanced on rich carpets of cotton, spread for the occasion, to salute the conqueror. They saluted each other in terms the most respectful, and expressive of the warmest friendship, each after the custom of their country; Cortes bowed most respectfully, and Montezuma touched the tip of his ear, and then kissed it most submissively, as an expression of the highest veneration paid to elevated rank.

This scene inspired the Spaniards, with more exalted ideas of their chief, and even of themselves, when they heard the expressions of *Tules, Tules*, (that is, gods, gods,) from all parts of the multitude. This ceremony being closed, Montezuma conducted Cortes, and his army into the city, and lodged him in one of his own houses, prepared for his reception, took an affectionate leave, and repaired to his palace. This house, was in fact a palace, surrounded with a stone wall, and lofty towers, with spacious courts, sufficient to accommodate the troops of Cortes, and his Indian allies. This palace Cortes fortified with his cannon, which rendered it the citadel of Mexico. Here Cortes posted his guards regularly, and felt himself secure in the midst of arms. The next morning, Montezuma paid a visit to Cortes, in the same stile as before, and loaded him,

his officers, and soldiers, with the richest presents, and disclosed to Cortes, the exalted sentiments he entertained for his elevated rank, and sketched to him the following traditional trait of Mexican history—"That their forefathers came from a remote region, and conquered the provinces of this kingdom, and then the great captain returned to his own country, with a promise, that in after days, his descendants should come and resume the government." Impressed with the truth of this tradition, from what he had seen and heard, he believed the promise was now fulfilled in him, and he had accordingly, received him as a relation, as well as a friend, and tendered to him the command of the kingdom. Cortes, in his turn, strove to impress Montezuma with an elevated opinion, of the distinguished rank, character, wealth and power, of his great sovereign Don Carlos, of Spain, as well as the purity of his views, in sending him into these remote regions of the west. Montezuma took an affectionate leave, by inviting Cortes to his palace. The next morning, Cortes with some of his principal officers, repaired to court, and were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. Three days were next spent in viewing the superb city of Mexico.

Before we enter upon the future important events, it may not be uninteresting, to give a sketch of the capital of the New World, 1519.

MEXICO.

"MEXICO, or *Tenuchtitlan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain, environed with mountains of such height, that, though within the torrid zone, the temperature of the climate, is mild and healthful. All the moisture which descends from the high grounds, is collected in several lakes, the two largest of which communicate with each other, and are about 90 miles in circuit; the

waters of the one are fresh, and the other brackish. On the banks of the latter, and on some small islands adjoining, stands the capital of the Mexican Empire. The access to this city, was by artificial cauesways of streets, formed of stones, and earth, about thirty feet broad. These causeways, were extensive ; that leading to Tawba, being about a mile and a half ; that of Tezuco, about three miles ; that of Cuoyacan, about six miles ; but on the east there was no causeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways, were openings, at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed ; and over these, beams of timber were laid, which being covered with earth, gave the appearance of one continued street. As the approaches to the city were singular, so its construction was remarkable. Not only the temples of their gods ; but the houses belonging to the monarch, and to persons of distinction, were of such dimensions, that in comparison with any other buildings, that had been discovered in America, they might be termed magnificent. The habitations of the common people, were mean, resembling the huts of other Indians ; but they were all placed in a regular manner, upon the banks of the canals, that passed through the city, in some of its districts, or on the sides of some of its streets, which intersect it in other quarters. In several places were large openings, or squares ; one of which, allotted for the great market, is said to have been so spacious, that forty or fifty thousand people, carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the noblest monument of the industry and the art of man, while unacquainted with the use of iron, and destitute of aid from any domestic animal, the Spaniards, who are most moderate in their computation, reckon that there were sixty thousand inhabitants." Robertson's America, Vol. ii.

Shut up in the heart of this great city, and in the midst of such a vast population, Cortes began to feel the critical

situation in which he was involved, and the perils that awaited him. He recollected the cautious advice of the Tlascalans, "not to place too much confidence in Montezuma," and he began to feel the difficulty of escaping from the snare, in which he found himself caught. The tidings that reached him, at Cholula, of the disasters that had befallen his General, Escalante, whom he had left to garrison his fort at Villa Rica, were now urged home to his mind, when he heard, that the head of the Spaniard that was killed in that action, with the Mexican General, Quelpopoca, was now sent up to Mexico, and had taught the people, that the Spaniards were no longer gods; but that they were men, and vulnerable as other men. All these things, opened his eyes to his true situation, and led him to reflect on what was to be done; to retreat was difficult, if not immediate ruin; to go forward, was hazardous; and to determine on a choice, perplexing; but Cortes soon fixed his resolution. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and carry him to the Spanish camp, as a hostage for their future safety. This he communicated to his principal officers, who shrunk from so rash an undertaking; but Cortes was fixed, and the next day, at his usual hour, he paid his visit to Montezuma, accompanied by five of his principal officers, and a number of soldiers, who strolled about the palace, ready at his nod, and the Tlascalans, as well as the Spanish troops, were under arms, upon the occasion.

Things thus arranged, Cortes addressed the monarch, in a haughty tone, accused him, as the author of the violence done to the Spaniards, in the late action, at Villa Rica, and demanded satisfaction. Struck with astonishment, Montezuma asserted his innocence, and to confirm it, gave immediate orders to have his general Luppopoca, and his accomplices, brought immediately to Mexico. Cortes replied, this is sufficient proof of your own inno-

cence ; but one thing more is necessary, you must accompany me to my quarters, to satisfy the Spaniards, that you do not harbour hostile views against them. Struck with astonishment, at such an outrage, Montezuma was speechless ;—at length he replied, “ That persons of his rank, were not accustomed to give themselves up as prisoners ; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront, to be offered to their sovereign.” The die was now cast, all remonstrance was in vain ; Cortes assured him that he should be served, and attended in state, and conduct the affairs of his kingdom, as usual ; but that he must go to his camp. One of Cortes’ officers, exclaimed, “ Let us seize him, instantly, or stab him to the heart.” Alarmed for his safety, Montezuma yielded to his destiny, and repaired, with Cortes to the Spanish camp. The rage, and indignation of the Mexicans, was hushed by the declaration of their king,—“ That it was the act of his choice,” and they became quiet, 1520.

Montezuma was received, attended, and served in the Spanish camp, as Cortes had promised ; but a new scene, was soon opened to his view. Quelpopoca, his son, and five principal officers, were brought prisoners to Mexico, and delivered up to Cortes, to atone for the outrage towards the Spaniards ; these were tried by order of Cortes, condemned to be burnt alive, and instantly led out to execution, in presence of the vast population of Mexico. Stung with horror, they lamented in silence, this outrage upon their sovereign, and the rights of the empire ; but this outrage, black as it was, did not stop here. In the midst of this horrid scene, Cortes approached his royal captive, with a soldier bearing a pair of fetters, and ordered him to put them upon the legs of Montezuma, and in the midst of the surprise, and astonishment of this scene, he declared to Montezuma, that Quelpopoca had

charged him as the cause of the outrage, and that he must, in his turn, atone for the wrongs. And abruptly left the room.

Here let my pen pause—for language cannot paint the distress of the scene—the monarch in tears of distress; his attendants in silent agony, prostrate at his feet, pouring out their tears in silent sobs; and all was gloom, and despair.

Cortes, who was now witnessing the agonies of his victims expiring in the flames, regardless of the feelings of the monarch in chains, soon returned, and opened a scene of joy as extreme, as had been the scene of woe, by ordering the monarch's chains, to be removed, and his liberty restored.

Thus armed with power, with the monarch at his feet, Cortes began to exercise the sovereignty of the kingdom, and sent out his spies, under the protection of Montezuma, to explore the country; and at the same time, he displaced some of the principal officers of state. Cortes next persuaded Montezuma, to suffer him to make a display on the lake, of such ships as were used in Spain, and had brought him to these remote regions. This was also granted, and his subjects were dispatched in bringing forward the naval stores, deposited at Vera Cruz; whilst others collected timber, and assisted in the work, and thus two small brigantines were soon seen floating on the lake. Cortes had now prepared a way of retreat, should it ever become necessary.

One step more became necessary, to complete the scene. Cortes persuaded Montezuma, to acknowledge fealty to the king of Spain. This he also submitted to, and with a solemnity not to have been expected. Montezuma called together his principal officers of state, recounted to them the tradition as before related, declared his belief that the time of its accomplishment was at hand, and in a formal

manner; laid his crown at the feet of Cortes, and acknowledged himself as his tributary subject. Dumb with distress and astonishment were the Mexicans, who witnessed this solemn scene; and even Cortes and the Spaniards themselves, were shocked at the sight of a great monarch, tamely submitting to the resignation of his crown, in the midst of sighs, and sobs, and tears, without one manly struggle, for the honor and defence of that throne, which had descended to him from his ancestors, and which had flourished in eternal sunshine, and had never seen a cloud. Even my own pen, would revolt at the scene, and shrink from the task, as a fiction of romance, did she not know, from as high authority, as the best historical facts are supported by, that, all was truth, and reality, that had been recorded by historians, whose authority has never been questioned.

Cortes now saw himself at the head of all the wealth of the kingdom of Mexico, and collected the treasures of gold that had fallen into his hands, either by presents or otherwise, and made a distribution to his army, according to their several ranks and stations; reserving one fifth for the crown of Spain, and one fifth for himself as commander in chief.

Cortes now entered upon the last, and most difficult part of the scene. He attempted to persuade Montezuma to renounce his idols, and become a christian. Fixed in his religion, and deaf to the remonstrances of Cortes, the king was inexorable. Cortes, fixed in his purpose, and resolved to be obeyed; ordered out his soldiers, to break down the idols, in the great temple of Mexico. This rash attempt, armed the priests and populace in the defence of their altars; Cortes desisted, after he had removed one idol, and fixed in its place the image of the Virgin Mary.

Enraged at this violence done to their religion; and the temples of their gods, the Mexicans entered into a con-

spitacy to destroy at a blow, these violators of their sacred rites. Montezuma caught the flame, called Cortes into his presence, and thus addressed him—"The purposes of your embassy are now accomplished, the gods have declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that you should depart, with your followers, instantly out of the empire, or unavoidable destruction will fall upon your heads." Struck with the boldness as well as the solemnity of this address, Cortes saw the delicacy of his situation, and promised to depart as soon as his vessels at Vera Cruz, could be rebuilt; but secretly hoped the messengers he had sent to Spain, nine months before, would speedily return, with the expected supplies of men and arms. At this eventful moment a fleet arrived, and landed a military force at St. Juan de Ulloa. Tidings were carried immediately to Cortes, who communicated the joyful news to his companions in arms; but in the height of their joy, Sandoval, (the commander Cortes had left at Vera Cruz,) had seized two of the priests of the new general, who came to summon the fortress, and sent them to Mexico. By these Cortes learnt that Velasquez, general of Cuba, had sent Narvez, his general, with a fleet and a strong force, to take possession of the country, and send him in chains to Cuba. Cortes saw himself between two fires, and felt the necessity of prompt and speedy action. He first attempted to gain the friendship of Narvez and his followers; but when he found this impossible, he left a small body of troops to guard the king, and protect his fortress, and marched out to meet Narvez as an enemy. Narvez advanced towards Mexico, and the two armies met on the banks of a noble river, in the province of Zempoella; they surveyed each other's numbers and strength; but the day was tempestuous, and the armies were deluged with torrents of rain that fell through the day, and incapable of action. As night approached, Narvez drew off his army, despising the

handful of men that Cortes had brought to oppose him; and took up his repose for the night in security. Not so, with Cortes; he judged of the true situation of his enemy, and in the dead of night, crossed the river, and surprised Narvez in his camp; routed his troops, and took their general prisoner, wounded and in despair. Cortes by his money and address, soon converted this hostile army into friends, received them into his service, and led them on to the conquest of Mexico.

Thus reinforced with a fresh army, he next hastened back to Mexico, to secure his position, and support his little garrison; he carried with him two thousand Tlascalans, as adventurers in the war. Elated with his success, and the vast acquisition to his army, he treated Montezuma with neglect, and the Mexicans with contempt, both which drew upon him the vengeance of that people; they rose in arms, attacked his camp, and pressed him so hard with numbers and violence, that he was constrained to expose Montezuma on his ramparts, to appease their rage; Stung with disdain at the weakness of their prince, they overwhelmed him with stones and darts, and he fell down wounded, and soon expired. Cortes saw now but one alternative before him, and that was to secure his retreat as soon as possible. This had become extremely difficult; he availed himself of the darkness of the night, hoping the Mexicans would not attempt to molest him; but they were alive to the wrongs of their king, their religion, and their country; and prepared to meet Cortes with his numerous allies, as they passed the causeway, and so desperate was the conflict, that Cortes lost all his allies, artillery, baggage, and spoil, with about one half of his Spanish army. Struck with astonishment at this disaster, he made a circuitous march round the lake, and retired towards Tlascala. On his march he was met in a spacious valley, by an armed force of Mexicans, that covered all the plain, as far as the

eye could reach. Struck with astonishment, Cortes saw nothing before him but victory or death; he advanced to the charge; and the combat began. Long and doubtful was the bloody conflict, when Cortes espied the Mexican standard: with a chosen band, he rushed into the thickest ranks, overthrew all in his course, seized the standard, and bore it away. Struck with dismay at the loss of their standard, the whole army dispersed; and fled to the mountains, and Cortes pursued his march to Tlascala.

Cortes now began to feel the evils that always await a flying enemy; the provinces grew cold, or rose in arms against him, and it required all his address to keep the Tlascalans steady, in his friendship. Cortes now waited with anxious impatience, the arrival of the expected succour from Spain. At this eventful moment, two small vessels from Cuba, arrived in the harbour of Vera Crux, with military stores and supplies for Narvez; there the officer on command, seized, and sent the stores to Cortes, and persuaded the soldiers to join his standard. Soon after, three ships from Jamaica, with an armament fitted out by the governor, for discoveries and foreign adventure, arrived at Vera Crux, and joined the standard of Cortes. Thus reinforced, Cortes dismissed all the disaffected soldiers belonging to Narvez, and with five hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ten thousand Tlascalans, Cortes commenced his march, for the conquest of Mexico. To effect this, he saw the necessity of commanding the lake, by an armed force, and to effect this he commenced the laborious task of preparing the keels of thirteen brigantines, in the mountains of Tlascala, and conveying them sixty miles over land, on the shoulders of men. This he also accomplished, by the assistance of the Tlascalans, who furnished him with eight thousand *Tamenes*, or labourers, accustomed to carry burthens, and fifteen thousand warriors to escort them; and thus by this grand co-operation of 23,000 men, joined

to his Spanish force of two hundred foot, fifteen horsemen, and two field pieces, under the command of his trusty general, Sandoval, they were conveyed to Tezuco, set up on the banks of a small river, prepared for use, launched, rigged, and by the aid of the labourers of Tlascala, who cleared and deepened the river in its numerous shoals, they were floated to the lake, and soon rode triumphant before the capital of the New World.

In the midst of this vast preparation, a mutiny sprang up in the army of Cortes, headed by some of his principal officers, under a conspiracy to take his life, abandon the enterprise, and return to Cuba: this he discovered and quelled, by executing the most noted leader, and prosecuted the expedition. At the eventful moment when his fleet rode triumphant on the lake, four ships, from Hispaniola, arrived at Vera Crux, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, and two battering cannon; these were soon forwarded on to join the army.

On the 28th of April, 1521, Cortes assembled his whole force upon the banks of the lake, and made his dispositions to attack the city of Mexico. He ordered his trusty Sandoval to commence the attack from Tezuco, on the east; Pedro de Alverado, by the way of Tecuba on the west, and Christoval de Olid, by the way of Cuyocan, on the south; each with an equal force of Spanish and auxiliary troops; but Cortes took the command of the squadron on the lake, as the point most to be depended upon. Guatamosin, the emperor, (who had succeeded to the throne upon the death of Quetlavaca,)* had assembled the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, in defence of the capital, and was prepared to meet the conqueror. The work of death was begun, each division moved on to the attack according to appointment, and the Mexicans met them with valour and desperation. Dreading the approach of the fleet, they assembled such a

* He died of the small pox soon after he ascended the throne.

multitude of canoes, under the favourable auspices of a calm, as covered all the lake, and moved to the attack of the fleet. At the eventful moment, a breeze sprang up; Cortes spread all his sails to the wind, and bore down upon this host of canoes; broke through their ranks; poured in his musquetry, and grape; shattered, routed, and destroyed their fleet; and strewed the lake with their fragments and with death. In the mean time, Sandoval, Alvarado, and Ohristoval, charged home upon the enemy; and penetrated, amidst the havoc of blood and slaughter, into the heart of the city; but such was the desperate valour of the Mexicans, they were compelled to retire, at evening, to their former station. Nearly thirty days, the armies repeated these desperate attacks, covered by the fleet, (which was now formed into three divisions to protect the causeways.) Cortes resolved to preserve this splendid city, as a monument of his conquests and glory, gave up the command of his fleet, and took the command in person, on the causeway of Cuyocan, and ordered a general charge upon all sides, determined to make a lodgement in the heart of the city. His order was obeyed; and the Mexicans, true to themselves, met the conflict with valour and desperation; the irresistible valour and discipline of the Spaniards surmounted every obstacle, broke down all the barriers, overthrew the vast host that opposed, and penetrated, in the midst of death and carnage, to the heart of the city; and felt that victory at last, had given them a triumph. But Guatamosin, ordered the great drum in the temple of the god of war, to be struck; this was the alarm of death and the voice of the god for action. The whole city rushed to the combat; Cortes saw himself surrounded, and ordered a retreat; this became desperate; pressed on every side, the Spaniards retired, and fought as they retired, with desperate valour; and at length, with the closing of the day, they recovered their camps, with the loss of twenty Spaniards killed, and forty taken prison-

ers—even Cortes himself had fallen into the hands of the enemy for a time ; but was rescued by the intrepid valour of his officers ; two of whom fell ; and he himself was wounded. Night drew her sable curtains over this awful scene of havoc and of death ; not to give repose to Cortes and his brave comrades in arms ; but to exhibit a scene, if possible, more awful, and distressing.

Amidst the horrors of that gloom, with which night covered the tragedy of the day ; Cortes, and his army were called to witness, their forty companions, led out on a rising ground within the limits of the city, naked and bound, and devoted to the flames, as victims to appease the wrath of the god of war. The horrors of this scene, amidst the horrors of the gloom, which had now spread her curtains over the carnage of the day, filled every heart with distress, and even Cortes, in obedience to nature, drop'd a tear.

Dismal as was this night to Cortes, death at the approach of morn, opened a new scene. The Mexicans elated with their victory, marched out, bearing in their front, the heads of their forty victims ; and commenced an attack upon Cortes, in his camp ; inspired by their priests, with a prediction, that in eight days, their enemies should be utterly destroyed, and peace and order restored. When the proclamation of the oracle was announced, Cortes found himself deserted by all his Indian allies, and himself with his little Spanish band, left alone. Struck with surprise, Cortes took up his station under cover of his fleet, which guarded him from the attacks of the enemy ; suspended all further operations for eight days, and awaited the issue. When the prediction had expired, and the Spaniards were yet safe, Cortes found himself again surrounded by his allies, and numerous others from the vicinity, who now considered the Mexicans as abandoned by the gods, (because the prediction had failed,) and they were all ready for war.

Cortes, regardless of that city he had so long laboured

to preserve; commenced his operations, with orders to kill, burn, and destroy, wherever they went. Under a strict observance of these orders, they advanced to the charge; and what they gained each day by their desperate valour, they secured. Guatamosin, disputed his limits, inch by inch; but Cortes advanced; and as he continued to advance, day by day, he cut off all supplies by means of his fleet, which reduced the enemy to despair, and doomed them a prey to a mortal disease: three fourths of the city was now in ruins; Cortes, and his brave companions were now in the great square, in the centre of the city, and Guatamosin, (who had attempted to make his escape across the lake) was announced as a captive, and conducted to Cortes. Cortes received the monarch with a dignified complacency, and the captive monarch, with firmness, thus addressed him—"I have done what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger, (pointing to the one Cortes wore) and plant it in my heart; thus end a life that can no longer be of use." With the fall of their sovereign, fell the city of Mexico; and a victory which cost the conqueror a siege of seventy-five days, secured to him the conquest of all the capital of the New World.

Here let me close this awful scene, which opened the way for an easy subjection of the whole Mexican Empire; and draw a veil over the excesses of the Spaniards, and the cruelty of Cortes, in giving up the Emperor Guatamosin, to the torture, to appease the avarice of his soldiers; and extort from him a disclosure of his *supposed* treasures, which were *supposed* to be concealed. Shocking to humanity was the scene.—Cortes issued the order, and Guatamosin died. 1521.

REMARKS.

LET the soldier behold in Cortes, a hero, clothed with that wisdom, firmness, penetration, and valour, which fitted him to become the chief, who dared to attempt, and whose inexhaustible mental resources, so fruitful in expedients, enabled him to surmount all his embarrassments; march to conquest, and glory, and become the conqueror of the capital of the New World; and say, by the spirit of a soldier, and the valour of his sword, has he done all this; and that the fall of an empire is the just reward for the merits of the conqueror.

Let the philosopher behold the fortuitous coincidents of events that conspired to relieve the conqueror from all his embarrassments; and say, not to his wisdom, his prudence, or his valour, or skill, hath he done this; *but by the propitious smiles of fortune*, his rashness was turned to his success, and by the madness of his zeal, he became the conqueror of the New World.

Let the christian behold the same hand of Almighty God, that had overthrown the *altars of human sacrifice*, in ancient Phœnicia, and Carthage, (the land of the fathers of these very Mexican Idolaters)* more than two thousand years before; now stretched forth, to destroy the same altars in these remote regions of the west. The first to open the way, through a long succession of events, for the advancement of the scriptures of truth, and the prosperity of the Church of the Son of God; the latter, to open a way for the admission of the same church, into these habitations of cruelty in the west; and for the advancement of the knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ as the true Messiah. Although Popery prevailed in both instances; yet Popery has seen her day, and is soon about to recede in her turn, to give place for the universal spread of the gospel of peace.

This will be illustrated in the third volume of this work.

PERU.

Francisco Pizarro, who from obscurity had risen into notice, and become an adventurer, followed the examples which had gone before him, and after opening important discoveries in the New World, repaired to court, and obtained a commission, in form, to enter upon his discoveries, and subdue them to the crown of Castile. True to his commission, in the year 1528, he sailed to the Isthmus of Darien, where he began his conquests, proceeded across into South America, and in 1531, he entered upon the conquest of the kingdom of Peru, and in 1540; he added this vast region of wealth to the crown of Castile. The conquest of the kingdom of Peru; added to the conquest of the kingdom of Mexico, opened to Spain the vast treasures, of the gold and silver mines of these countries; these added to her discovery, and conquest, of the southern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, embracing the extensive regions of Terra Firma, laid the foundation of her vast possessions in the New World.

During this period, Popery was in its full strength in Europe; particularly in Spain and Portugal; and Pope Alexander VI. and Julius II. were liberal, in rewarding their Catholic adventurers, with all their foreign discoveries; and Leo X. was employed in waging war with Martin Luther, and burning his heretical books. The absolute governments of Spain and Portugal, were transplanted into the kingdoms of the west, under their despotic Viceroys; and the corruptions of Popery, formed the basis on which their dominion was supported. The wealth of Mexico; with the splendour, and magnificence of her capital: the treasures of Peru, with her ancient Inca government: the free and untutored Savages of Terra Firma, and Brazil; all fell a prey to the avarice of a set of military adventurers, armed with the sword of conquest, and the

exterminating vengeance of the Papal religion. The kingdoms thus founded, have groaned under the same oppression to this day, and will continue to groan, until God, in his providence, shall raise up a deliverer, who shall give them the blessings of liberty, under the benign influence of the gospel of peace.

The revolution, which now rages in South America, gives to the christian world a flattering hope, that the day is not far distant, when she shall shake off the ignorance, superstition, and despotism under which she has so long groaned, and rise in the majesty of herself, to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

The revolutions which now distract the kingdom of Spain, give the highest assurances, that the day of deliverance for her American Colonies, is at hand; when Spanish America shall take her rank amongst the free, and enlightened nations of the earth: when the wise, and virtuous institutions of North America, shall be transported, in their purity, into these beaughted regions of the South, and one bond of civil, and religious union, embrace the whole family of man, throughout the vast regions of the New World.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION CONTINUED.

A CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE
DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

BEFORE we enter upon a narrative of the rising colonies of North America, let us take a survey of the successive adventures, that led to the discovery of this extensive coast, and planted the first colonies in the New World. In the introduction to this work, it has been noticed, that Columbus discovered this New World in the regions of the west, in 1492.

This Chronological Table, will disclose the other adventures in their order.

John Cabot discovered North America, 1496

In the following year he discovered Newfoundland, 1497

Juan Leon, an adventurer from Porto Rico, discovered Florida, gave it its name, and attempted a settlement, 1518

John Verazano, a Florentine, explored the coast from the 30th to the 50th degree of north latitude, under the patronage of Francis Ist, king of France, to make discoveries, 1524

The next adventurer was Stephen Gomez, a Spaniard, who explored the coast from Florida, to Cape Race, latitude 46d north, in search of a north-west passage to India, 1525

James Quartier, under the patronage of Francis Ist, sailed from France, with a fleet, on a voyage of foreign discovery, touched upon the Continent of N. America, in latitude 48d 30m north, explored and gave name to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and left the Continent in latitude 51, and returned to France, 1534

Quartier returned the next year to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and sailed up the river about 300 leagues, to the falls of Cataracqui; built a fort on the island of Orleans, where he wintered; and called the country New France. In the spring he returned, and carried home with him several natives, 1535-6

Ferdinand de Soto, who had served under Cortes in the conquest of Mexico, sailed from the Island of Cuba with a military force of 900 men, and landed in Florida, in quest of the wealth of another city of Mexico, 1539

He traversed the interior, through the Chickasaw country, crossed the Mississippi, and proceeded up Red River, a very considerable distance, where he died, at the end of three years. His troops returned to the Mississippi, constructed such shipping as would convey them down the river, and thus returned to Cuba under Alverdo their leader, 1542

James Quartier made a third attempt to settle Canada, sailed up the St. Lawrence, and built a fort, which he called Charleburg near Port de St. Croix; but soon abandoned it and returned to France, 1542

About this time, several French adventurers, visited the coast in quest of a passage to India, and returned to France. Commodore Ribault, was dispatched from France by the Admiral Coligni, with two ships, to plant a colony in North America. He touched at Port Royal, (South-Carolina,) landed his men, built a fort, and called it Charles, where he left a colony of twenty or thirty men, under Capt. Albert, and returned to France, 1564

Commodore Laudonniere was sent out from France, with three ships, to plant a colony at Florida, and in June he built a fort on the river May, (or St. Mary) where he planted a colony of one hundred men, and called it Carolina, in honor of Charles IX. 1566

In August of this year, Ribault arrived with a colony of French Huguenots, to strengthen the colony at Port Royal; but they had mutinied, and butchered their Captain Albert, and were gone. This second colony consisted of many whole families, and a body of troops to protect them: they strengthened the colony of Laudonier, on the St. Mary. Ribault was their governor. In September of the same year, Pedro Melanges, a Spaniard, with six ships, by order of Philip II. his master, pursued Ribault, and his little colony up the river, landed a strong force, of two hundred soldiers and twenty-six hundred planters, took his fort and colony, and put them all to the sword, or hung them upon the trees. When they departed, they left this inscription as a monument for the dead—

“They were hung as Lutherans, not as Frenchmen.” To revenge this act of savage barbarity, one Guerges, of Gascony in France, fitted out three ships, as a private adventure, and sailed for Florida, with one hundred and fifty soldiers and eighty seamen, where he found the Spaniards had erected two new forts, and had garrisoned all three, with from sixty to one hundred men each, and were strongly fortified. Guerges landed his forces, April 15; made known the object of his adventure, and sought their aid: this he readily obtained, for the crime was too black to be tolerated, even by the savages. Guerges attacked the two small forts in succession, carried them by storm and put the garrison to the sword. Struck with alarm, the governor marched out of the main fort with fifty men, to meet Guerges in the field; they were ambushed and destroyed, and the garrison fled to the woods; but the savages hunted them until they returned and surrendered at discretion; these were all put to the sword, or hung in gibbets; and Guerges erected this near their graves—

“They were hung as traitors, robbers, and murderers, not as Spaniards and mariners.”

Thus justice overtook the offenders, and sealed their doom ; and Guerges returned safe into France, in June, 1568

The next adventurer that visited the coast, was Capt. Frobisher, who sailed from England in quest of a N. W. passage to India ; but being obstructed by the ice, he abandoned the enterprise, and returned to England, 1576

This year Sir Francis Drake doubled Cape Horn, and discovered New Albion, upon the western coast, north of California.

This year Sir Humphry Gilbert, in the service of Queen Elizabeth ; touched at Newfoundland, lost one of his ships at Cape Sables, and was lost himself in the other, on his passage home, 1579

This year Adrian Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralieghe, under Patents from Queen Elizabeth, sent out two ships for America, with one hundred and seven passengers, and attempted a settlement near the Roanoke, June, 1585

They were kindly treated by Granganimo, the great Sachem of this part of the country, but they did not succeed in their settlement, and returned to England with Sir Francis Drake, in June, 1586

This company called the country Virginia, in honour of Queen Elizabeth ; which became general throughout the coast.

The same year, Sir Walter Raleigh sent Sir Richard Grenville to America, with seven ships, who arrived at Wococon harbour, in June, and planted a colony of about one hundred people at Roanoke, under the direction of Captain Ralph Lane, 1586

Sir Richard explored the coast, up to the Chesapeake Bay, and then returned to England.

Sir Francis Drake the next year carried this Colony back to England, to save them from perishing with
 hanger, 1587

At the same time Sir Walter sent out Governor White with a colony; to strengthen the former colony at Roanoke, with a Charter and a regular government; but they were gone, and Governor White left a third colony, of 115 persons at Roanoke, and returned, 1587
 With this colony, came out Manteo, and Towaye, two natives who had been carried to England, by former adventurers. The former was baptised in August, which is not only the first convert amongst the natives; but the first notice of any religious rite in all these numerous adventures. At the same time, a daughter was born in the colony, of a Mrs. Dare, whom she called Virginia. This was the first christian birth in North America.

This year Governor White brought out supplies and recruits for his colony at Roanoke; but to his surprise they were all lost, and not a vestige of them was to be found, 1590

A Spanish expedition under Juan de Fuca, was sent out from Mexico, to explore a N. W. passage, who discovered the strait that bears his name, latitude 48 north, and returned, 1592

In the reign of Henry IV. of France, an expedition sailed under De la Loche, consisting of convicts, to conquer and settle Canada. De la Loche landed forty on the Isle of Sable, where they languished seven years, and then twelve of the number returned to France, where they were pardoned, and received fifty crowns each from the king, to recompense their sufferings, 1598

This year Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Island, and Dover Cliff, were discovered by Bartholomew Geanold, and thirty-two adventurers,

who made an attempt to settle on Elizabeth Isl-)
and; but failed and returned to England, 1602

At this time not one solitary English, French, or Dutch, settlement had been made, on the whole coast of North America, through the long period of adventures, for 110 years.

This year, Sir Walter Raleigh sent out Martin Pring and William Brown, with two small vessels, to make discoveries. They touched at Cape Cod, and landed in a commodious harbour, where they remained seven days, and returned, 1603

At the same time Bartholomew Gilbert sailed from England, in quest of the colony left by Governor White, in 1587, at Roanoke, and touched at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, where he and four of his men were killed by the savages, and the rest returned to England,

This year De Mons received a patent from Henry IV. King of France, of all the country lying between the 40th and 46th degrees of N. latitude, in North America, called *Le Acadia*, and the next year he sailed from France, and explored the coast from the gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Cod, and began settlements at Port Royal, St Johns, and St. Croix, in the bay of Funda, 1604

This year Captain George Weymouth discovered George's Island, and Pentacost Harbour, and entered a large river, in latitude 43 deg. 20 min. supposed to be Kennebec or Penobscot. He carried home five of the natives on his return, and delivered them to Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, 1605

This year King James I. divided Virginia into two colonies, or districts, (for there was not a settlement in either.) The southern was bounded on the 34th deg. and the 41st deg. of N. latitude, stiled the first colony, and granted to the London

Company, and the northern, or second colony, was included between the 38th deg. and 45th deg. of N. latitude, which was granted to the Plymouth Company, and stiled the second colony, 1606

Each of these companies consisted of a President, and twelve assistants, to govern the affairs of the colony, with express prohibitions to settle within one hundred miles, of each other. The absurdity of the patent in covering twice the lands between the 38th and 41st degrees, was not regarded; but both companies went on to form settlements. The London Company sent out Mr. Piercy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, to make a settlement: who discovered Powhatan, (now James River,) but made no settlement.

At the same time the Plymouth Company, sent out Captain Henry Challone, to plant a colony in North Virginia; but he was taken by the Spaniards, and carried to Spain, 1606

This year De Mons sent Champlain up the St. Lawrence to make a settlement, who fortified the narrows, on the St. Lawrence, called Quebec, 1607

At the same time the London Company sent out Captain Christopher Newport, with three vessels, to South Virginia, who entered the Chesapeak, in April, landed and gave to the southern cape, the name of Cape Henry, which it still bears. In May, he appointed Mr. Edward Wingfield president of the company for one year; landed his men, and commenced the settlement of James Town, upon James River, and in June Captain Newport sailed for England, leaving a colony of one hundred and four persons, 1607

In the winter following James Town was burnt.

At the same time the Plymouth company, sent out Admiral Rawley Gilbert, with one hundred plan-

ters, and Captain George Popham for their president. Admiral Gilbert touched at Sagadahoc river, and landed forty-five men with their president, and the rest were discouraged, by the severity of the winter and returned to England. At this time the Reverend John Robbinson, removed with his parish, to Amsterdam. The same year a company of merchants at Deippe, and St. Maloes in France, sent an adventurer, and founded the Town of Quebec,

1607.

The sufferings of the Sagadehoc colony, under Captain Popham, were very severe through the winter. They lost their store house by fire, and their president by death, and the next year they all returned to England with their new president,

1608

This year the London Company, sent out Captain Nelson, with two ships and one hundred and twenty persons, to James Town; and Captain Smith, who became their president, embarked with seventy others; and after exploring the several rivers upon the coast of South Virginia, joined the settlement at James Town, which now amounted to two hundred souls,

1609

This year the Reverend Mr. Robbinson, removed with his people, from Amsterdam to Leyden.

The council for South Virginia resigned their commission, and a new charter was granted, under anew commission, bearing date May 23, 1609. The council appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord De la War, governor of the colony: Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal: Sir Ferdinand Wainman, general of the horse; and Captain Newport, vice admiral.

In June, Sir Thomas Gates, Admiral Newport, and

Sir George Somers, with seven ships, a sloop and a pinnace, with five hundred souls, men, women, and children, sailed from Falmouth for South Virginia; but they were separated in a violent storm, in crossing the Bahama Gulf, and Sir George Somers lost his ship upon the rocks of Bermuda; but saved his crew and people; where they remained until the next May; when they embarked in a vessel of their own building, and sailed for James Town.—The other vessels arrived safe in Virginia, and augmented the colony to the number of five hundred. Capt. Smith, their President, had returned to England, in consequence of a severe burn, from an explosion of gun-powder, and Francis West, his successor, soon followed, and left George Pierce to preside over the colony.

This year the London Company appointed Lord De La War, governor and captain general of South Virginia, and he embarked for Virginia, with Capt. Argal, and one hundred and fifty men. He arrived in James River, in the month of June, where he met the whole colony, which now consisted of only sixty, who had embarked with Admiral Somers' people, which consisted of one hundred and fifty, and were falling down the river on their way to England.—The governor persuaded them to return with him, and resume the settlement, and thus commenced the first permanent settlement in Virginia,

1610

This year, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, sent out each three hundred people, with cattle, swine, &c. for the settlement,

1611

In the year, 1607 and 8, Capt. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, received a commission from King James, for foreign adventure; and in the service of the East India Company, sailed in search of a N. W. passage to India. In 1609, he left this service in disgust, and prosecuted

His adventure in the service of the Dutch, and on his voyage, he entered North River, which he called by his own name.

This adventure gave rise to the Dutch settlement, at New Netherlands, 1613

Conception Bay in the island of Newfoundland, was settled by John Gray, under a patent from King James, 1613

This year Capt. Smith with two ships, sailed to the coast of North Virginia, to make experiments upon a copper mine, and took out with him *Tantum*, an Indian, formerly carried to England in 1605, by Capt. Weymouth, and touched upon the Island Mohanigan, in lat. 43 deg. 30 min. where he commenced the whaling business; but failing in this, he made a successful fishing voyage. Capt. Smith landed *Tantum*, or *Squantum*, at Cape Cod, and explored the Massachusetts Bay, where he found two French ships engaged in a successful trading voyage; from thence he returned to England, in one vessel, and left Capt. Hunt in the other, who decoyed on board twenty Indians, and carried them to Spain, where he sold them for slaves, at 20*l.* each, 1614

This perfidious act proved highly prejudicial to the trade with the natives hereafter.

When Capt. Smith arrived in England, he drew a Chart of this coast, and called it New-England—which has ever continued.

This year, Robert Bylot and William Baffin, sailed from England, in search of a N. W. passage, and returned to England, 1615

This year on a second voyage, they discovered the bay which bears the name of Baffin, to this day. 1616

About this time a sweeping sickness, amongst the natives, desolated this coast, about Massachusetts Bay, and the tribe of Patuxet was wholly destroyed.—This opened the way for the settlement at New-Plymouth, which will be carried forward in the history of New-England.

I have given this Chronological summary, to shew the order of time in which the settlements of Canada, Nova-scotia, New-England, New-York, and Virginia commenced ; as their history forms the most prominent features in the history of the United States, and of North America.

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND— ORIGIN OF THE PURITANS.

ABOUT the middle of the fourteenth century, appeared in England, John Wickliffe, the morning star of the gospel, and forerunner of Martin Luther, the angel of the gospel, and laid the foundation of the Puritan church in England.* At this time, that subversion of civil and religious liberty in England, which rose out of the Norman conquest, was in its full force; and the power of the popes, reigned uncontrouled over the lives, properties, and consciences of men, in England. In the midst of this darkness, corruption, and despotic power of the papal throne, Wickliffe stood forth the champion of the gospel, and gave to his nation, the first English translation of the New Testament; and taught, that the *gospel was the only sure guide of life and manners, and that it ought to be read by all the people.* He unfolded all those great truths, which became the basis of the Puritan church, in opposition to all the mystical ceremonies of the Romish church; and taught the absurdity of restraining men to prescribed forms of prayer.

* The character of Wickliffe, as a man, a scholar, and a divine, stood high; and his morals were irreproachable.

Wickliffe was indefatigable in his efforts to reform the corruptions of the Papal church; his whole life was spent in this great work; and at his death, he left in M. S. about two hundred volumes, in illustration, and vindication of the gospel of truth. These were all ordered to be burnt, together with his bones, by the council of Constance, in the year 1425.—Wickliffe opened the way for Luther; but he could not succeed, for two important reasons; 1st, because the measure of the iniquities of the Papal church, had not come to the full, until the times of the council of Constance; and 2d, because the art of printing, (which was discovered in his time,) had not commenced its operations. This became the great instrument in promoting the Reformation, under Martin Luther; one century after the days of Wickliffe.

The labours of Wickliffe, raised up a sect in England, known by the name of Lollards, which were supported by the best blood of the nation; and gave such an alarm to the Papacy, as called into action a former decree of the fourth Council of Latuan, in the year 1215, "That all heretics, should be delivered over to the civil magistrate, and be burnt." In the fifth year of Richard II. 1382, it was enacted, "That all who preach without license, against the Catholic faith, or against the laws of the land, should be arrested, and kept in prison, until they justified themselves, according to the law and reason of the holy church." By a statute of Henry IV. in the year 1400, it was enacted, "That if any persons were suspected of heresy, the ordinary might detain them in prison, until they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors; provided always, that the judicial proceedings against them, were publicly ended in three months. If they were convicted, the Diocesan, or his commissary, might imprison and fine them, at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their errors, or after abjuration, relapsed, were to be delivered over

to the secular power, and the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs were to be present, (if required,) when the bishop, or his commissary, passed sentence; and after sentence, they were to receive them, *and in some high place, burn them to death before the people.*" Here the trial by jury is abolished, and the ecclesiastical law rendered paramount to the civil law, and the subject wrested from the king.

The despotic tyranny and cruelty, that reigned in England, under these statutes, down to the time of Martin Luther, and Henry VIII. in the 16th Century, cannot well be conceived of, nor described. The Wickliffites, or Lollards, were persecuted, hunted, burnt, and destroyed, like wild beast of the forest, through all this period, until Henry VIII. severed the kingdom of England, from the Papal See, and placed himself at the head of the church, by a special act of Parliament, in the following stile:

"Albeit, the King's Majesty, justly and rightfully is, and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognised, by the clergy of these Realms, in their convocations; yet nevertheless, for confirmation, and corroboration thereof, and for the increase of virtue of Christ's religion, within this Realm of England, &c.—Be it enacted, by the authority of this present Parliament, that the King our sovereign Lord, his heirs, and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed, *the only supreme head on earth, of the Church of England*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united; to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all the honours, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of *Supreme Head of the Church*, belonging and appertaining; and that our sovereign Lord, his heirs, and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority, to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they may

be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority, or jurisdiction ought, or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, and increase of the virtue of Christ's religion; and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this Realm; any custom, usage, foreign law, or foreign authority &c. &c. to the contrary, notwithstanding."

This act of Parliament, laid the foundation of the Reformation in England, and opened the way for the revival of the principles and doctrines of Wickliffe, and gave permanence and support to the principles of Luther. This act of the Parliament, opened a field of controversy too extensive for the limits of this work; in which a Cranmer, a Latimer, and many other worthies, stood forth, the heroes and champions of the Reformation.

The next important step of this important reign, was the suppression and abolition of all the monasteries, and religious cloisters, those sinks of Popery and corruption, which brought an immense revenue to the crown, and rendered it independent.*

Notwithstanding this bold stroke of Henry VIII. had laid the foundation for the spread of the Reformation, in England; the prejudices, and corruptions of Popery, were not so easily to be rooted out, and destroyed, as the religious cloisters. The New Testament was translated into English, by Tindal, in Germany, in 1527, and now spread into England: but it met with a severe persecution, from the bishops and prelates, and was finally suppressed by the king in 1530, to the great grief of the good people of England. The whole Bible had been printed at Hamburgh, in 1532, and was now translated into English, by Tindal, John Ro-

*The clear rents of all the suppressed Houses, were cast up at 131,607*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per. annum. as they were then rated; but were at least of ten times that value. *Neale's History of the Parliamts.*

gers, and others, and went into a general circulation, notwithstanding all the bitterness of the Papal Hierarchy against it. After the persecution and death of Tindal, as a heretic, it was revised and corrected by Bishop Cranmer, and stiled Cranmer's Bible.

CHAPTER II.

REFORMATION CONTINUED.

WE have now laid the foundation of the Reformation in England, and a bloody foundation it is. As soon as Henry VIII. had secured to himself the ecclesiastical supremacy; he became impatient of that liberty of conscience, and freedom of thought, and freedom of speech, which the Lollards derived from their conversation with the scriptures; he determined to suppress them, by laying the axe to the root of the reformation, by the six articles which he forced through his Parliament, 1539; known by the name of the bloody bill. This bill was intitled "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions, in certain articles concerning religion."

SIX ARTICLES.

- ARTICLE I. That at the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine; but under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ, is present.
- ART. II. That communion in both kinds, is not necessary to salvation, to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ, are present, in each of the kinds.
- ART. III. That priests may not marry by the law of God.
- ART. IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed, by the law of God.
- ART. V. That private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to the law of God, so men receive great benefit from them.
- ART. VI. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church."

It was at the same time enacted, "that these articles should be enforced with the punishment of attainder, confiscation of property, and death as felons, without benefit of clergy; and that the six articles be read in all the churches, once a quarter."

Upon the back of this, the Parliament passed another act, empowering the king, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations, with pains and penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an act of Parliament. Acts of attainder were also passed against sixteen persons, for denying the supremacy, and for suspicion of crimes; and even without trial by judge or jury.

Thus we see, that amidst this fair field of the Reformation in England, has sprung up a despotic persecution, as bitter as can be found in the annals of Popery. A persecution that went with Henry to his grave, and opened the way for the fire and the faggot, in Queen Mary's reign.

In the reign of King Edward VI. son and heir to Henry VIII. the severities of this bloody persecution, were greatly relaxed, and the liturgy of the Church of England was introduced, as it now stands; and a most rigid uniformity of worship established. To enforce this, caused great divisions in the nation; the Catholics assembled a mob of more than 10,000 men, and demanded a restoration of the six articles, a suppression of the Bible, &c. which was suppressed by the arm of the military.

The severities of Henry VIII. were considerably softened down, in the short reign of Edward VI. who died in the sixteenth year of his age; but they were renewed, with aggravated severity, in the bloody reign of Queen Mary. She attempted to suppress the Reformation, and restore Popery, with all its rigours.—To enforce this, the acts of Richard II. and Henry IV. for burning heretics, were revived. Under these acts, fell a John Rogers, a Hooper, a Saunders, a Taylor, a Fennar, a Cranmer; with

a host of other worthies, whose praise is in the churches. Bishop Bonner, who became the champion of persecution, in this bloody reign, could witness 277 victims, of his cruel and unrelenting rage; besides other persecutions, too numerous to be detailed. Amidst these cruel persecutions, the Lollards concealed their sentiments, and their persons, in their own country, or fled into foreign lands; some into France, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland; where they might enjoy their religion, without fear or restraint. At this time, they carried with them the Liturgy of King Edward VI.; but a company at Frankfort in Germany, set aside the Liturgy, and adopted that form of worship, which has continued in the Puritan churches to this day. Although the sentiments, or principles of the Puritan church, commenced with Wickliffe, about the middle of the fourteenth century; yet their regular form of worship, was not established until this time, 1556.—This involved the question of uniformity, in the mode of worship, and occasioned some warmth of sentiment and feeling, which led them to apply to Mr. Calvin, at Geneva, the great apostle of Switzerland, who replied, “That he had read the English Liturgy, and found in it many tolerable weaknesses, which could not be amended at first; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ, to enterprise further, and to set up something more filed from rust, and purer. Since the Reformation is overthrown in England, and a church is to be set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish what order is most for edification; I cannot tell what they mean, who are so fond of the leavings of Popish dregs.” This kindled a fire, which divided the church, and the one part removed to Geneva, where they settled, under the appellation of Puritans; and the others continued in Germany, under the appellation of Conformists; and these

terms, with the different modes of worship, have continued to this day.

The persecutions of Queen Mary, still raged in England, where she attempted to establish an inquisition of laymen, to increase the severities of her bloody reign, against heretics; but the hand of God was against her, and she died, before she had accomplished her purpose, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age. Thus we see how God makes use of his own instruments, to accomplish his purposes.

Henry VIII. had opened the way for the Reformation in England; Edward VI. had established the Liturgy; but it was left to the bloody persecutions of Queen Mary, to open the way for the exiles, in a foreign land, to shake off the Liturgy, the last trappings of popery, and establish the free and pure worship of the gospel, in the Puritan church.—Who that surveys the government of God, in the dispensations of his all wise providence, has ever failed to see, that he often, and most generally, works by the corruptest passions of his creatures, in order to bring into action, the virtues of his saints; and thus makes them the instruments of accomplishing his all wise, and holy purposes; and also that the greatest, and most important events, generally result from the smallest, and most unexpected causes. The whole page of sacred and profane history, corroborates this remark.—A few instances in the sequel, will be sufficient for our purpose, to confirm it.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND—
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.

In our first chapter, was disclosed the origin of the principles of the puritan church, in the rise of Wickliffe: and in the last chapter, was unfolded the distinct formation of the Puritan church. It is now our task to trace the rise, and progress, of this little church, to the settlement of New-England, and shew what mighty wonders God has wrought for them, and by them; what a mighty mass he has already caused to be leavened, and how he will go on to work by his special means, until he shall cause this little leaven to leaven the whole lump, in the consummation of the great millennial day.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, 1558, she found her kingdom so torn with religious dissensions, that she suppressed all preaching, by proclamation, and confined the service of the church, to the reading the gospel, and the ten commandments, without exposition, together with the liturgy and creed.

The exiles rejoiced in the accession of the Queen, by their multiplied addresses, and congratulations, and prepared to settle their disputes in one mutual harmony; return to England and complete the reformation. To promote this, Gualten, one of the chief divines of Zurich wrote the following advice to Dr. Masters, physician to her Majesty. "I wish the reformers amongst us, would not hearken to the counsels of those men, who when they saw that Popery, could not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, uncertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded upon the church, which will make the returning back to Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry very easy. We have had the experience of this in Germany for some years, and

know what influence such persons may have. Their counsels seem, to a carnal judgment, to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal agreement; and we may well believe, the common enemy of our salvation, will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of Popery may still remain among you. I apprehend that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid giving some small offence, many things may be suffered under this colour: *that they will be continued but a little time*, and yet afterwards it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavours that can be used *to get them removed*; at least without *great strugglings*." They acknowledged the correctness of the advice and promised to comply; yet they grew slack; but the Queen obtained an act of supremacy, and the establishing the common prayer. The act of supremacy, gave rise to the new court, of High Commission,* both of which clothed the Queen with the despotic powers of her father, Henry VIII, and were in some measure, as despotically abused. All Papists refused the oath of supremacy, but the Puritans took it under certain explications and injunctions. The differences about modes, and forms amongst the exiles, were apparently healed; but the disposition of the crown, to establish a *uniformity of worship* continued to distract the parties, and check the progress of the Reformation. Under this point of uniformity of worship, the court party claimed, that the church of Rome was a true church, until it became corrupted under the universal supremacy of the Popes, and that the Hierarchy of the Romish church, was a correct appendage of the true church. The Puritans maintained that the Romish church, was corrupt

This court had full powers to remove from their parishes, bishoprics, or cures, all nonconformists, and to fine, and imprisonment, at their discretion, all such as disobeyed their orders, and decrees. They had full powers to send for witnesses, and papers, as proofs; and even use the rack and torture in obstinate, or difficult cases, to obtain proofs. In fact, this High Commission, was in all respects, an ecclesiastical inquisition.

throughout, and that her Hierarchy, was without the authority of scripture, or the usage of the apostles; and here they were at issue. Both parties stuck close to their principles, and the church was divided.

To quiet these divisions, the queen issued commissions for a general visitation of the churches, under the direction of a body of injunctions, consisting of 53 articles, which she enjoined upon all her subjects, to observe and obey. To enumerate these articles will be foreign to the plan of this work. Suffice it to say, the visitors made the circuit of the kingdom; and the churches generally conformed, with but few exceptions. The next year, the queen ordered a uniform confession of faith, to be diffused throughout the churches, and the Puritan Bible, which they had translated at Geneva was largely printed, and circulated through the kingdom. In the year 1760; John Knox, that celebrated Scots divine, returned from Geneva, and carried the principles of the Puritan church into Scotland, and unfolded the principles of the Reformation. This was opposed by Queen Mary, then in France; which opposition caused an association of certain noblemen and barons, who resolved to support the Reformation with their lives and fortunes. This brought on a collision with the crown, which being supported from France, soon broke out into a civil war, which pressed hard upon the reformers, until they obtained the support of Queen Elizabeth. The controversy was sharp and short, the death of Francis II. King of France, and husband of Queen Mary, together with the troubles in France, brought on a treaty, and a general amnestiy, and opened the way for the call of a Parliament to settle the affairs of the nation.

By this Parliament, the Reformation was established in Scotland, upon the plan of the Puritan Church of Geneva, with a confession of faith, upon the plan of Calvin, and the Pope's authority was abolished. From this time, the

King of Scotland became supreme, in all ecclesiastical concerns, and was governed by general provincial, and classical assemblies, which continue to this day. Not so in England, the Popish bishops threatened the Queen, with the spiritual thunders of the church, unless she suppressed the Reformation; and kept the kingdom in a state of confusion, and alarm; the discipline of the church suffered, and religion languished.

In 1561, appeared the celebrated John Fox, who wrote the history of the martyrs, which was a very popular work, and struck a mortal blow to Popery, at that time. At this time, the Popish vestments were introduced into the reformed churches, which gave great excitement and alarm, especially amongst the Puritans, who called in question the *lawfulness* of wearing habits that had been consecrated to idolatrous, and superstitious uses; and which were the very marks and badges, of that religion, they had renounced. The Queen was decided, and the clergy yielded, generally; but the nonconformists were deprived of their livings, which brought on a paper war, in which the Puritans engaged so warmly, that they were foreclosed from the liberty of publishing, by a decree of the court of Star Chamber, 1566. In Scotland they were thrown into a civil war, upon the return of Queen Mary from France, after the death of her husband Francis II; but this was soon closed, by means of the unworthy conduct of the Queen, who was compelled to resign her crown to her son James VI. and flee into England, where she died by the hand of the executioner; after a confinement, of about eighteen years.

The introduction of the Popish habits, at this time, into England, drove the Puritans generally, from the church, and opened a breach that has never been healed. They exclaimed, more bitterly than before, against the Hierarchy, their vestments, the union of temporal, and ecclesiastical power, and their titles, all as being unscriptural.

They lamented the want of godly discipline, they objected to set forms of prayer, the reading the apocraphal books, in the churches : they disapproved of festivals, or saints days, also of the cathedral mode of worship, of singing prayers, and chanting psalms by turns. They objected to singing the cross in baptism, the use of god-fathers, and god-mothers, in exclusion of the parents. In these objections they adhered, and gave up their livings. They were closely watched, and suffered bitter persecutions, even under the protestant reign of Queen Elisabeth. At this time, their persecution in France, and Holland, was bitter and terrible ; they were ready to be devoured by their enemies.

I will close this chapter with the following examination of the Rev. Mr. Axton, minister of Morton Corbet, who was cited into the Bishop's court.

Bishop. Now Mr. Axton, I would know of you, what you think of the calling of the Bishops of England ?

Axton. I may fall into danger, by answering this question.

Bish. I may compel you to answer, upon your oath.

Axt. But I may choose whether I will answer upon oath or not. I am not bound to bring myself into danger ; but because I am persuaded it will redound to God's glory, I will speak, be the consequences what they may ; and I trust in the *Holy Spirit*, that I shall be willing to die in defence of the truth.

Bish. Well, what do you think of my calling ?

Axt. You are not lawfully called to be a bishop, according to the word of God.

Bish. I thought so ; but why ?

Axt. For three reasons, 1st, because you was not ordained by the consent of the *Eldership*.

Bish. But I had the hands of three or four bishops.

Axt. But that was not the Eldership St. Paul speaks of, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Bish. What is your second reason ?

Axt. Because you are not ordained bishop over one flock ; nay you are not a pastor over any one congregation, contrary to the 1 Pet. v. 2. "Feed the flock," and Acts xiv. 23. from whence 'tis manifest that there should be bishops and elders, through every congregation.

Bish. What is a congregation ?

Axt. Not a whole diocese ; but such a number of people as ordinarily assemble in one place, to hear the word of God.

Bish. What if you had a parish six or seven miles long, where many could not come to hear, once in a quarter of a year ?

Axt. I would not be pastor over such a flock.

Bish. What is your third reason.

Axt. Because you are not chosen by the people. Acts xiv. 23. *And they ordained Elders by election in every church, by the lifting up of hands.*

Bishop's Chancellor. How came you to be parson of Morton Corbet ?

Axt. I am no parson.

Chan. Are you then a vicar ?

Axt. No, I am no vicar, I abhor those names as anti-christian ; I am a pastor of the congregation here.

Chan. Are you neither parson nor vicar ; how then do you hold your living ?

Axt. I receive these temporal things of the people, because I being their pastor, do minister unto them of spiritual things.

Chan. If you are neither parson, nor vicar, you must reap no profit.

Axt. Do you mean good faith in that you say ?

Chan. Yea, if you will be neither parson nor vicar, there is good reason why another should.

Bish. You must understand that all livings in the church are given to parsons and vicars, and not to parsons and ministers. How were you chosen pastor?

Axt. By the free election of the people, and the consent of the patron. After I had preached about six weeks, by way of probation, I was chosen, by one consent, by them all; a sermon was then preached by one of my brethren, setting forth the mutual duties of pastor and people.

Bish. May the *bishops of England*, ordain ministers?

Axt. You ought not to do it in the manner you do; that is, without the consent of the Eldership; without sufficient proof of their qualifications, and without ordaining them to a particular congregation.

Bish. Well Mr. Axton, you must yield somewhat to me, and I will yield somewhat to you; I will not trouble you for the cross in baptism, if you will yield the Surplice; but sometimes, it shall suffice.

Axt. I can't consent to wear the Surplice, 'tis against my conscience; I trust by the help of God, I shall never put on that *slave*, which is a mark of the beast.

Bish. Will you leave your flock for a Surplice?

Axt. Nay, will you persecute me from my flock for a Surplice? I love my flock in Jesus Christ, and had rather have my right arm cut off, than be removed from my flock.

Bish. Well, I will not deprive you this time.

Axt. I beseech you, consider what you do in removing me from my flock, seeing I am not come in at the window, or by Samony; but according to the institution of Jesus Christ.

Bish. You in refusing the Surplice, are disloyal to the queen, and shew a contempt of her laws.

Axt. You do me a great injury, in charging me with disloyalty; and especially, when you call me, and my brethren, traitors, and say that we are more troublesome than the papists.

Bish. I say still, the papists are afraid to stir ; but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the state.

Axt. If I or any that fear God speak the truth, doth this disquiet the state ? The papists have for twelve years, been plotting treason against the queen and the gospel, and yet this doth not grieve you. But I am a true and faithful subject to her majesty ; also I do pray daily both publicly, and privately, for her majesty's safety, and for her long and prosperous reign, and for the overthrow of all her enemies, and especially the papists. I do profess myself an enemy to all her enemies, and a friend to all her friends, therefore if you have any conscience, cease to charge me with disloyalty to my prince.

Bish. In as much as you refuse to wear the surplice, which she has commanded, you do in effect deny her to be supreme governess, in all cases ecclesiastical, and temporal.

Axt. I admit her majesty's supremacy so far as if there is any error, in the governors of the church, she has power to reform it ; but I do not admit her to be an ecclesiastical elder, or church governor.

Bish. Yes, but she is, and hath full power, and authority, all manner of ways ; indeed she doth not administer the sacraments, and preach, but leaveth those things to us. But if she were a man, as she is a woman, why might she not preach the word of God as well as we ?

Axt. May she if she were a man, preach the word of God ; then she may administer the sacraments.

Bish. This does not follow, for you know Paul preached, yet he did not baptize.

Axt. Paul confesses, that he *did baptize*, though he was sent specially to preach.

Bish. Did not Moses teach the people, and yet he was their civil governor.

Axt. Moses' calling, was extraordinary. Remember
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the king of Judah, how he would have sacrificed in the Temple of God. Take heed, how you confound those offices which God has distinguished.

Bish. You see how he runneth.

Bick. You speak very confidently, and rashly.

Bish. This is his arrogant spirit. Thus it closed, and Mr. Axton was removed from his flock, and went into voluntary banishment.

I have given this conference at large, to shew the character, and power of the high court of commission, as well as the powers of the queen; and the critical situation of the Puritans. The queen was a protestant at heart, and a firm supporter of the protestant cause; but like Luther, she judged it good policy to retain as much of the trappings of Popery, as were necessary to secure the tranquility of her throne, and maintain her influence, and respectability amongst the protestant princes of Europe. Luther was obliged to act the same part in Germany, and Charles V. attempted to act the same part, when he proposed his Interim; but this was too gross for either party, and was rejected by both. The libertics of Switzerland, enabled Zuinglius and Calvin, to go one step further in removing the trappings of the Papal church, and God in his alwise providence made them the great instruments of laying the foundation of the Puritan church, and in thus preparing his true church to enter the modern Canaan.

REMARKS.

THE sentiments of the Puritans with their partisans, crept into Parliament, where a motion was introduced for the removal of many Popish superstitions, from the Protestant church. The queen resented the attempt, sent for the member, and forbade him the house. This goes to

shew the high popularity of the queen, and the sovereign use she made of it, for the preservation of good order, and tranquility in her kingdom. The seeds of Popery had been long sown, and borne fruit in England; the civil and religious governments, had been so long and so closely interwoven, that the good of the crown, and even the best interest of the Protestant cause, rendered the measures of the queen highly proper. The English nation at that time, as well as the nations on the continent, were no more, and no better prepared to receive, and practice the pure doctrines and principles of the Puritan church, than the old stock of the Israelites, who went out of Egypt, were prepared to enter the land of Canaan. As in the one case so in the other, God chose a long succession of means, to prepare them for this high privilege; and in his own due time, bestowed it upon them. The corrupt state of the church and the nation, continued the persecutions of the high court of commission, against the Puritan clergy, through the long and Protestant reign of Queen Elizabeth. Although she became the palladium of the Protestant cause in Europe, and held the balances for its support, both in England, Germany, France and Holland, all which rendered her reign glorious, yet from the necessity of things, the Puritan church was suffered to languish under the oppression of her enemies, down to the time of her death.

CHAPTER V.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND—
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.

ALTHOUGH the persecutions of the court of Star-Chamber, and High Commissions, had ground into dust the Puritan Church in England, by their fines, imprisonments, and removals from office, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, yet the sufferings of the Puritan clergy, had so far awakened the sympathies of the nation, as to excite an extensive feeling of commiseration; this paved the way for an extensive spread of their principles. Upon the accession of James I. this extensive diffusion of the principles of the Puritan church, found its way into Parliament, and opened the door for the correction of many of the corruptions and abuses, which had been so offensive in the last reign, and so oppressive to the Puritan clergy.—The Puritan church had flourished much more in Scotland, under the reign of James, than it had done in England, which led king James to make this public declaration in the General Assembly of the kirk of Scotland, at Edinburgh, 1590. “Blessed be God, that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest, purest kirk in the world. The church of Geneva, keep *Pasche* and *Yule*, (easter and christmas,) what have they for them? They have no institutions. As for our neighbour Church of England, their service is an evil mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the Liturgy. I charge you my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, that ye stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, as long as I brook, my life shall maintain the same.” Upon

his leaving Scotland, to possess the throne of England, he gave public thanks in the kirk of Edinburgh, "That he had left both the kirk and kingdom, in that state which he intended not to alter any ways, his subjects living in peace." All this was well as far as it went, yet James when he entered England, entered upon untried ground, and when he wore the English crown, he entered upon untried scenes; that same magic which has ever changed the man of the people, into a tool of the crown, by appointing him Prime Minister, wrought the same change in King James. He found the supremacy of the kingdom, vested in the inquisitions of the courts of Star-Chamber, and High Commission, and that pure church which he thanked God in Scotland, that he had lived to see, was ground into the dust in England; and that the peace of his kingdom as well as the safety of his crown, required his homage to these high ecclesiastical courts. When the Puritans approached the throne with a petition for redress of grievances, James, like Queen Elizabeth, became a firm Englisman, and met them with a steady reply, "*No bishop, no king.*" This gave great offence to the kirk of Scotland, and kindled a fire; to quiet this, James summoned a conference at Hampton court, by proclamation of the bishops of the Church of England, and the ministers of the church of Scotland, to deliberate upon questions in controversy. In this proclamation, James declares, "That he was already persuaded that the constitution of the Church of *England*, was agreeable to God's word, and near to the condition of the primitive church; yet because he had received information that some things in it were scandalous, and gave offence, he had appointed a meeting to be held before him in council, of divers bishops, and other learned men; at which consultation he hoped to be better informed of the state of the church, and whether there were any such errors in it; in the

mean time he commanded all his subjects not to publish any thing against the state ecclesiastical, or to gather subscriptions, or make supplications, being resolved to make it appear by their chastisement, how far such a manner of proceeding was disagreeable to him; for he was determined to preserve the ecclesiastical state in the same form as he found it established by law, only to reform such abuses as he should find apparently proved."

The conference was held according to proclamation, and at the close, on the third day, the king made the following speech. "I congratulate myself that I am now come into the *promised land*, that I sit among grave and reverend men, that I am not a king as formerly, without state; nor in a place where beardless boys, would brave me to my face. I have not called this assembly for any invasion, for I acknowledge the government ecclesiastical, as it now is, to have been approved by manifold blessings from God himself; but because he had received some complaints of disorders, he was willing to remove them if scandalous, and to take notice of them, if but trifling, &c." Then turning to the bishops, he put his hand to his hat and said, "My lords I may thank you that these Puritans plead not for my supremacy, for if once you were out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy, for *no bishop, no king*." Then rising from his chair, he said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform; or I will bury them out of this land, or else worse." The king proceeded to publish a proclamation to the following effect, "That though the doctrine and discipline of the established church, were unexceptionable, and agreeable to primitive antiquity, nevertheless he had given way to a conference to hear the exceptions of the non-conformists, which he had found very slender; but that some explanations of passages had been yielded to for their satisfaction; therefore, now he requires and

enjoins all his subjects to conform to it, as the *only public form established by law in this realm*; and admonishes them not to expect any further alterations, for that his resolutions were absolutely settled. This proclamation was accordingly prefixed to the common Prayer Book, with the amendments, and it went into general use.

The next year, 1604, James met his Parliament with a speech, in which he flatters the Catholics, and offered to meet them half way in religious ceremonies, if they would renounce the pope's supremacy; but he goes on to denounce the Puritans, as a sect unsufferable in any well ordered community." In this Parliament, the struggles of the parties were warm and severe; but the Puritans were borne down by excommunications and persecutions, arising out of certain new ecclesiastical Canons. I will enumerate a few of these canons.—(Viz. Can. xviii. enjoins bowing at the name of Jesus. Can. xvii. xxiv. xxv. &c. enjoin the wearing the habits in colleges, cathedrals, &c. as Capes, Surplices, Hoods.)

ABSTRACT FROM THE BOOK OF CANONS.

CANON III. Says, "That whosoever shall affirm that the Church of England by law established, is not a true and apostolical church, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the Arch Bishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of his wicked error.

CAN. IV. "Whosoever shall affirm that the form of God's worship in the Church of *England*, established by law, and contained in the Book of common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, and unlawful worship, or contains any thing repugnant to scripture, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored."

CAN. V. Whosoever shall affirm that any of the thirty-

nine articles of the Church of England, agreed upon in 1562, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing, concentrating the true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. VI. Whosoever shall affirm that Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, by law established, are wicked, anti-christian, superstitious, or such as being commanded by lawful authority, good men may not with a good conscience, approve, or use, as occasion may require, subscribe, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. VII. Whosoever shall affirm that the government of *England*, by arch bishops, bishops, deacons, and arch deacons, and the rest that bear rule in the same, is anti-christian, or repugnant to the word of God, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. VIII. Whosoever shall affirm that the form and manner of making, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the word of God; or that persons so made and consecrated, are not lawfully made, or need any other calling, or ordination to their divine offices, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. IX. Whosoever shall separate from the Church of England, as it is approved by the apostles rules, and combine together in a new brotherhood, accounting those who conform to the doctrines, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England for their communion, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. X. Whosoever shall affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe, to the form and manner of God's worship, in the Church of *England*, and their adherents, may truly take to themselves the name of another church, not established by law, and shall publish that their church has

groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed on them by the Church of *England*, let them be excommunicated, *ipso facto* and not restored, &c.

CAN. X. Whosoever shall affirm that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations, of the king's born subjects, than such as are established by law, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. XII. Whosoever shall affirm that it is lawful for any sort of ministers or lay persons, to make rules, orders, or constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical, without the king's authority, and shall submit to be ruled, and governed by them, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

CAN. XCVIII. We decree, and appoint that after any judge ecclesiastical, hath proceeded judicially against obstinate and factious persons, for not observing the rites and ceremonies of the Church of *England*, or for contempt of public prayer, no judge *ad quem* shall admit, or allow of an appeal, unless (he having first seen the *original appeal*,) the party appellant do first promise and vow that he will faithfully keep and observe all the rites, and ceremonies of the Church of *England*, as also the prescript form of common prayer, and do likewise subscribe the three articles formerly by us specified and declared."

Here then is Popery in the abstract, here then is the foundation upon which the Puritan church grew up and flourished, here is the key to the whole mystery, that led to the settlement of New-England, and the planting of the Puritan church in this wilderness of the west, this modern Canaan of God. The courts of Star Chamber, and High Commission, had gone great lengths in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to humble the Puritans, break up their religious assemblies, and rob their pastors

of their livings, and persecute them by fines, and imprisonments; but all that was but the shadow of these Canons. Here is a persecution that excommunicated the whole Puritan church, both clergy and laity; drove them from the congregation of the faithful; stripped them of their lawful rights, as English subjects; deprived them of the power of sueing for the recovery of their lawful debts; subjected them to perpetual imprisonment for life, upon a writ of *Capias*; robbed them of the right of Christian burial at death; and as far as their power extended, barred them from the kingdom of heaven. There is but one penalty wanting, to render these Canons as bitter in their persecutions, as are to be found in the annals of the church of Rome,—“*let him be burned to death.*” This would have made them complete.

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND—
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.

WHEN King James gave his ratification to these Canons, 1604, he commanded that they should be diligently observed and executed; and to enforce this, he ordered them to be read once a year in all the churches, before divine service, and that all in ecclesiastical authority, should rigidly enforce the penalties upon all offenders. These Canons, upon the back of the powers and persecutions of the courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, commenced a persecution against the Puritans, unparalleled in any other reign, and rendered it high treason for them even to petition the king, for a redress of their grievances. Instances are recorded, that even counsellors at the bar, who were employed in the discharge of their regular duty, as advocates in the causes of the Puritans, in their trials in the ecclesiastical courts, were condemned by said courts, to suffer perpetual imprisonment for life. Under this state of things, the Puritans had but one alternative, and that was to flee into exile; this they chose; and thousands of them fled their country, and took up their abode in foreign lands. At this time the Rev. John Robbinson, with his little flock, fled from Norfolk, in England, and took up his residence at Leyden in Holland, and planted the Puritan church amongst the Dutch. The Puritans were willing to acknowledge that the basis of the Church of England, was truly apostolical; but that her usages, rites, and ceremonies, were many of them, to be ranked amongst the worst of the corruptions of Popery, and that it was incompatible with their consciences, to countenance and support them; and also, that it was just and right for them to withdraw from

such a communion. A conference at this time between arch bishop Laud, (the champion of the Church of England,) and the Jesuit Fisher, gave them the authority of this high prelate, in support of their resolutions. "Another church, (says his grace,) may separate from Rome, if Rome will separate from Christ, and so far as it separates from him, and the faith, so far may another church separate from it. I grant the church of Rome to be a true church in essence, though corrupt in manners and doctrine; and corruption in manners, attended with errors in doctrines of faith, is a just cause for one particular church to separate from another. That cause of the separation is then *yours*, for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth, and redress of abuses; for a schism must needs be theirs whose the cause is. The woe runs full out of the mouth of Christ, even against him who gives the offence, not against him who takes it, &c." This confession of the arch bishop, did not pass unnoticed by the Puritans; but it strengthened the weak, confirmed the doubtful and wavering; and was a real service to their cause.

At this time, November 5, 1605, was discovered the famous gun-powder Plot. This plot threw the king, the court, the church and the nation, into one general alarm; and although it was well understood to have been a Papal plot, and caused many Papists of the best blood of the nation, to wipe out the stain with their blood upon the scaffold; yet the Puritans were branded with the odium, as far as prejudice without conviction, could extend. This alarm called up an act of Parliament, that the oath of allegiance to the crown, should be renewed throughout the kingdom; not the usual oath of allegiance, but an oath that acknowledged *the king as supreme head of the church, as well as of the state*. The immediate design of this oath, was to suppress Catholic factions; but the Pope inter-

dicted the oath, and forbade the Catholics to receive it. This led King James to remonstrate to the Pope, and reproach him with ingratitude—" *Considering the free liberty of religion, he had granted to the Papists, the honors he had conferred on them ; the free access they had to his person at all times ; the general gaol delivcry of all Jesuits, and Papist convicts ; and the strict orders he had given his judges not to put the laws in execution against them; for the future.*" Here is a full sample of the king's disposition, which goes fully to shew that all this persecution was the creature of his will ; and that if he had power to set aside the execution of the laws in favour of Papists, he had power to have favoured the Puritans, or even to have had those laws repealed ; neither of which were done in one solitary instance.

Many of the Puritans who loved their king, their country, and their friends, were ready to make great sacrifices in their consciences, and steer a middle course, to restrain the arm of the law, and the scourge of ecclesiastical persecution ; but all this availed them nothing, if they offended in one point, they were judged guilty of all, and condemned without mercy. To detail the conflicts of the parties through this reign ; the bitterness, cruelty and persecution, that pursued the Puritans with unrelenting fury, would swell this work unnecessarily, and be foreign to my purpose. Sufficient has already been noticed to shew the causes that led to the settlement of New-England, and mark the characters and principles of that Puritan church, that fled from these cruel persecutions into a foreign land, and from thence into the wilds of America.

REMARKS.

" THE heart of the king is in the hands of the Lord, who turneth it as the rivers of waters are turned." As the persecutions of Pharaoh were absolutely necessary, to drive

out the children of Israel, and lead them to unite in their journey to their ancient Canaan ; so the persecutions of King James were also absolutely necessary, to drive out this Puritan church, and lead them to unite in their pilgrimage to this modern Canaan.

As God brought out his ancient church with a high hand and an outstretched arm, and planted them in his ancient Canaan ; so the arm of the Lord was conspicuously manifest in transplanting this Puritan church, from the land of their fathers, to this modern Canaan of God. Had the powder plot succeeded, (although it was altogether a Papal plot,) the resemblance would have been carried still one degree further ; for the king would have been destroyed with his Parliament, in the full career of their persecutions, as Pharaoh and his host were destroyed, in their pursuit, in the Red-Sea ; but this was not necessary, for God had reserved him to carry forward the great work, by continuing those persecutions, which should extend into the next reign ; and thus give strength and support to his cause, by multiplying the number of pilgrims, and thus increasing and strengthening his church in the wilderness.

CHAPTER VII.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.

—HISTORY OF THE PURITANS, CONTINUED.

IN our last chapter, we have fully disclosed the causes that led to the settlement of New-England. We will now disclose the true principles of the Puritans of those times, 1605, as published in a Treatise by the Rev. Dr. Bradshaw, entitled, "English Puritanism."

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING RELIGION IN GENERAL.

1. "The Puritans hold and maintain the absolute perfection of the holy scriptures, both as to faith and worship; and that whatsoever is enjoined as a part of divine service, that cannot be warranted as a part of said scriptures, is unlawful.

2. That all inventions of men, especially such as have been abused to idolatry, ought to be excluded out of the exercises of religion.

3. That all outward means, instituted to express and set forth the inward worship of God, are parts of divine worship, and ought to be prescribed by the word of God.

4. To institute and ordain any mystical rites, or ceremonies of religion, to mingle the same with the divine rites, and ceremonies of God's ordinances, is gross superstition.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

1. They hold and maintain, that every congregation or assembly of men, ordinarily joining together in the true worship of God, is a true visible church of Christ.

2. That all such churches are in all ecclesiastical matters equal; and by the word of God, ought to have the same officers, administrations, orders and forms of worship.

3. That Christ has not subjected any church or congregation, to any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, than to that which is within itself; so that if a whole church or congregation should err in matters of faith or worship, no other churches or spiritual officers, have power to censure and punish them; but only to counsel them.

4. That every church ought to have her own spiritual officers and ministers, resident with her; and these such as Christ has enjoined in the New Testament, and no other.

5. That every church ought to have liberty to choose her own spiritual officers.

6. That if particular churches err in this choice, none but the civil magistrate has power to controul them; and oblige them to make a better.

7. The ecclesiastical officers or ministers in one church, ought not to bear any ecclesiastical office in another; and they are not to forsake their callings without just cause, and such as may be approved by the congregation; but if the congregation will not hearken to reason, they are then to appeal to the civil magistrate, who is bound to do them justice.

8. That a church having chosen its spiritual governors, ought to live in canonical obedience to them, agreeable to the word of God; and if any of them be suspended, or unjustly deprived by other ecclesiastical officers, they are humbly to pray the magistrate to restore them; they are to own them to be their spiritual guides to their death, though they are rigorously deprived of their ministry and services.

9. That the laws and orders of the churches, warranted by the word of God, are not repugnant to civil govern-

ment, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, and we renounce all jurisdiction that is repugnant, or derogatory to any of these, especially the monarchy of this kingdom, (*England.*)

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE MINISTERS OF THE WORD.

1. They hold that the pastors of particular congregations, are the highest spiritual officers in the church, over whom there is no supreme pastor, by divine appointment; but Jesus Christ.

2. That there are not by *divine institution*, in the word of God, any ordinary national, provincial, or diocesan pastors, to whom the pastors of particular churches are to be subject.

3. That no pastor ought to exercise or accept of any civil jurisdiction or authority; but ought to be wholly employed in spiritual offices and duties, to the congregation over which he is set.

4. That the supreme office of the pastor, is to preach the word publicly to the congregation, and that the people of God, ought not to acknowledge any for their pastors, that are not able by preaching, to interpret and apply the word of God to them; and consequently, all ignorant and mere reading priests, are to be rejected.

5. That in public worship, the pastor only is to be the mouth of the congregation to God in prayer, and that the people are only to testify their assent by the word, *Amen.*

6. That the church has no power to impose upon their pastors or officers, any other ceremonies or injunctions, than what Christ has appointed.

7. That in every church, there should also be a doctor to catechise and instruct the ignorant, in the principles of religion.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING ELDERS.

1. They hold that by God's ordinance, the congregation should choose other officers, as assistants to the ministers in the government of the church, who are jointly with the ministers, to be overseers of the manners, and conversation of all the congregation.

2. That these are to be chosen out of the gravest, and most discreet members, who are also of some note in the world, and able, (if possible,) to maintain themselves.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE SPIRITUAL KEYS, OR CHURCH CENSURES.

1. They hold that the spiritual keys of the church, are committed to the aforesaid officers and governors, and to some others.

2. That by return of these keys, they are not to examine and make inquisition into the hearts of men, nor molest them upon private suspicions, or uncertain fame; but to proceed only upon open and notorious crimes. If the offender be convinced, they ought not to scorn, deride, taunt, and revile him with contumelious language, nor procure *proctors* to make personal invectives against him; nor make him give attendance from *term to term*, and from one court day to another, after the manner of our ecclesiastical courts; but to use him brotherly, and if possible, to move him to repentance; and if he repents, they are not to proceed to censure; but to accept his hearty sorrow and contrition, as sufficient satisfaction to the church, without imposing any fines, or enjoining any other outward mark of shame, as the *white sheet*, &c. But if the offender be obstinate, and shew no signs of repentance, and if his crime be fully proved upon him, and is of such an high nature as to deserve a censure according to the word

of God, then the ecclesiastical officers, with the free consent of the whole congregation, (and not otherwise,) are first to suspend him from the sacrament, praying for him at the same time, that God would give him repentance to the acknowledgment of his faults ; and if this does not humble him, then they are to denounce him to be as yet no member of the kingdom of heaven and of that congregation ; and so are to leave him to God and the king. This is all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that any spiritual officers are to exercise against any man, for the greatest crime that can be committed. If the party offending be a civil superior, they are to behave towards him, with all that reverence and civil subjection, that his honor or high office in the state may require. They are not to presume to convene him before them ; but are to go to him in all civil and humble manner, to stand bareheaded, to bow, to give him all his *civil titles* ; and if it be a supreme governor or king, then to kneel, and in a most humble manner, to acquaint him with his faults, and if such, or any other offenders will withdraw, voluntarily, from the communion, they have no further concern with them.

They hold the *oath ex officio*, on the imposer's part, to be most damnable and tyrannous, against the very law of nature, devised by antichrist through the inspiration of the devil, to tempt weak Christians to perjure themselves, or be drawn in to reveal to the enemies of Christianity, those secret religious acts, which though done for the advancement of the gospel, may bring on themselves, or their friends, heavy sentences of condemnation from the court.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

1. They hold that the civil magistrate, ought to have supreme civil power over all the churches within his domin-

ions ; but that as he is a Christian, he ought to be a member of some one of them ; which is not in the least derogatory to his civil supremacy.

2. That all ecclesiastical officers are punishable by the civil magistrate, for the abuse of their ecclesiastical offices ; and much more, if they intrude upon the rights and prerogatives of the civil authority.

3. They hold the Pope to be antichrist, because he usurps the supremacy over kings and princes ; and therefore all that defend the Popish faith, and all that tolerate that religion, are secret enemies to the king's supremacy.

4. That all arch-bishops, bishops, deans, officials, &c. hold their offices and functions of the king, and at his will, merely *jure humans*, and whosoever holdeth that the king may not remove them, or dispose of them at his pleasure, is an enemy to his supremacy."

Notwithstanding the Puritan church followed these declarations, with ten other articles, in which they yield a more full and entire submission to the civil magistrate, and acknowledge more extensively the supremacy of the king ; and followed it with a humble petition to his majesty for a redress of grievances, and the enjoyment of the rights of conscience, in their modes of worship, the king was inexorable, and their destruction was sealed.

During this period, the christian church was convulsed to its centre : the Popes were struggling to retain that power, which had exalted the papal throne to the supremacy over all things, spiritual and temporal, on earth, and even in heaven. The Reformers, under Luther, were struggling for liberty of conscience upon the continent, where the sword of spiritual controversy, was drenching the earth in blood. But in England, the persecutions of the Protestant church, against their brethren the Puritans, were, if possible, more unrelenting and bitter, than the persecutions of the Popes themselves. At this time,

flourished Arminius, professor of the university of Leyden; who, by his principles, corrupted the church, in the bosom of the church, and continues to corrupt her to this day. He died, 1609.

In this year, 1610, a new parliament was called, and the sufferings of the Puritans had opened a way to the hearts of many of its members; bold and dignified speeches were displayed against the spiritual tyranny of the bishops, and many petitions were presented to his majesty, against the despotic proceedings of the court of High Commissions, but all to no effect; James was fixed, the persecutions went right on, and the king gave them support. This year the king went down into Scotland, and usurped supremacy over the Presbyterian kirk, and subverted their constitution, thus making the bishops lords of council, lords of parliament, and the king's High Commissioners, in causes ecclesiastical. This kindled a fire in Scotland, which raged through his reign, and opened the way for all the triumphs of the Puritans, in the succeeding reign—1611. This year a new translation of the Bible was effected, at the request of the Puritans, which continues to this day, in all the churches. This request, obtained through the instrumentality of Arch-Bishop Abbot, who had succeeded upon the death of Arch-Bishop Bancroft.

The character of Bancroft we have witnessed; it needs no comment; but the character of his successor, is to be disclosed. A Puritan in heart, he began early to dispense his favours to the Puritans; first by checking the spirit of intolerance and persecution, which had marked the character of Bancroft; and next, by such indulgences as were consistent with the duties of his office. The arch-bishop was enabled to effect this lenity, not because the king had softened the rigour of his sentiments, but because the king, the court, and the nation, were sunk in the excesses of a corrupt sensuality, which gave up the affairs of

the church to the administration of the bishops. In this state of licentiousness, James became embarrassed for the want of money, which led him to many expedients, that took up much of his time and attention ; and at this time the Puritan principles were incorporated, as far as the nature of things would admit, into the Episcopal church in Ireland. Under this mild administration of Arch-Bishop Abbot, the Puritans began to return from their exile, and enjoy their religion unmolested in England, and in 1616, the first Puritan Church was formed and openly tolerated in England. This opened the way for the triumphs of that church, in the reign of Charles I. which have united their labours, and their prayers with the little church in the wilderness, in accomplishing all the great events they were destined by God to unfold to the world, and in opening the way for the translation of that Bible, which we have now witnessed in the reign of King James, into almost every language upon the face of the whole earth, and whose united labours and prayers, are destined to accomplish the universal spread of the everlasting gospel.

Towards the close of this reign, a new order of things sprang up ; the corruptions of the king, the court, and the church, under the mild administration of the Arch-Bishop Abbot, had so blended the Church of England and the Puritan Church, that *they* were considered as most entitled to the favour of the king, *who* were the most loyal ; and introduced a new sect, called Church and State Puritans. At this time the Armenians and Papists united, and amidst this strife, and corruption of the parties, a faction sprang up, that distracted the close of this reign, and ruined the next.

CHAPTER. VIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.—
HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS.

WE have witnessed the Reformation in England, in the 14th century, under the pious John Wickliffe; the rise of the disciples of Wickliffe, called Lollards; their principles; their persecutions under Henry VIII. and the succeeding reigns; their flight to Germany, and Switzerland; the refinement in their principles, and mode of worship under the advice of Calvin, the great apostle of Switzerland; which gave to their church the title, or name of Puritan; their return to England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; their persecutions in the reign of James I. their flight to Holland, in the year 1608, under the pious John Robbinson their pastor.

Let us now accompany this little church to the wilds of America, and witness how God rolls on the successive events of his providence, to accomplish his great purposes and designs. Twelve years this little flock enjoyed their religion in peace amongst their brethren in Holland; but the abuses of the sabbath, together with the confusion of business, and the general character of the Dutch, rendered this retreat irksome; they therefore resolved to make one more effort, to find a retreat where they might enjoy the religion of their hearts in peace. To effect this, they resolved to embark for the shores of North America; and accordingly in the month of August, 1620, they tore themselves from their beloved pastor, and their friends, and embarked, to the number of one hundred persons, and set sail for America. Their object was to join the Dutch Colony at Manhadoes at the mouth of the Hudson river; but the Dutch captain defeated this object, by touching at Cape Cod, at the entrance of Massachusetts Bay, November 1620. Such had been the severities, and distresses of the

voyage, that they preferred landing upon this solitary coast, to encountering again the perils of the deep, at this late season of the year. They accordingly made the necessary arrangements for landing upon this dreary, desolate, inhospitable coast; which they effected, November 11, 1620. Without one solitary hut to shelter themselves in; surrounded by the ocean, on the one side, and the dreary waste, of the barren sands of Cape Cod, on the other; and without the least knowledge of the local geography of that country, on which they had landed, and to which they had committed their destiny; without the knowledge of even one spring of water where they might cool their thirst, they gave themselves up to God their deliverer, and preserver, and submitted entirely to the guidance of his providence.

REMARKS.

Who that surveys this adventure in all its parts, from the rise of the Puritans, to the landing of these pilgrims, does not see the hand of God as conspicuously displayed, as in the call of Abraham, through the whole history of his family, to their settlement in the land of Canaan. The same divine light imparted by the agency of the same Divine Spirit, cultivated and enlarged by the same trials, persecutions, sufferings, and deliverances. The former to build up a great nation, and a pure church, to open the way for the first advent of Jesus Christ; and the latter to build up a great nation, and a pure church, to open the way for the second advent of Jesus Christ. Would you realize the truth of this remark, look at the history of the family of Abraham, that led to the first advent of Jesus Christ; look also at the history of the Puritan Church in America, in connection with the original stock in England, and Europe at large, and see what progress they have made in opening the way for the second advent of Jesus Christ. Look at their Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, stimulated

and supported by the outpouring of the Spirit of God, in the numerous and wonderful revivals of religion, to prompt them to carry forward the glorious work of translating the Bible, into all the different languages, of the whole earth; that every nation, tongue, and language, under the whole heaven, may learn the knowledge and character of God; and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth as the waters cover the seas; that the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, may become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth; that the mountain of the Lords's house may be established, upon the tops of the mountains, and all nations flow unto it and be saved. Who that surveys the united efforts of the christian world, by the *holy league of their sovereigns*, to suppress wars, and cultivate the arts of peace, (which all sprang from the labours, and sufferings of the Puritan Church,) does not realize that the days are at hand, when nation shall no more rise against nation, when their swords shall be beat into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and nations shall learn war no more.

CHAPTER IX.

ADVENTURES OF THE PILGRIMS.

THE shores of North America had been explored, by different adventurers, from the coast of Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico. The name of this coast had been changed by Captain Smith, from that of North Virginia, to that of New-England; who had sketched a chart of the coast, 1615, as may be seen in the introductory adventures. This was all that was known of the vast continent of America, to those pilgrims, who had kindled the first christian fires in New-England. It is true a settlement had been formed by a company of Dutch adventurers, at the mouth of the Hudson river, in the year 1610, and another by the English, at Jamestown in Virginia, in the same year. It is also true that the French had made a settlement in Lower-Canada, at Quebec, in 1608, and the English at Novascotia, in 1610. Yet all these were hundreds of miles remote from the pilgrims, and separated by the pathless desert, impassable rivers, and impenetrable forests, all rendered terrible by the ferocity of wild beasts, and the still greater ferocity of the savage. When they had drawn up, and subscribed a solemn compact, as the basis of civil government for the colony,* and when this instrument had been

* In the name of God Amen.—We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our Dread Sovereign, Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together, in a civil body politic, for our better ordering; preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission, and obedience.—In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, this eleventh day of November, 1620. in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the 18th, and of Scotland, the 54th:—Anno Domini 1620.

duly executed by twenty four heads of families, in behalf of themselves and families, and by seventeen single men, being in the whole one hundred and one, they proceeded to elect Mr. John Carver as their governor for one year. Thus having organised their little republic, they proceeded to explore the coast in quest of a permanent residence. Upon their first landing on the shores of the New World, they fell on their knees, poured out their souls in prayers and praises, with thanksgiving, and dedicated their hearts, their lives, and all that they possessed, to God their protector and deliverer, and renewedly committed themselves to his most holy keeping.

To detail the distresses of a long, tempestuous, and distressing sea-voyage, the painful feelings occasioned by the death of one of their number, or the joys of an infant born on the voyage, will make no part of a narrative, designed only to shew the wisdom, and goodness of God, in planting his pure church, in this wilderness of the west. When they had celebrated the first sabbath in their little colony, and thus rendered the shores of the howling wilderness, vocal with the praises of their God, they commenced the labours of the week in exploring the coast, in their shallop, and the forest, with an armed party, to spy out the land, and discover the face of the country, in quest of a permanent residence. In all their several attempts, to explore the forest, they discovered the savages, who sometimes fled at their approach, at others annoyed them with showers of arrows, and the horrors of their savage yells; but the report of their fire-arms awed them into submission, or held them at bay.

On the 17th of December, they discovered a site at the bottom of a spacious, and delightful bay, which attracted their attention, as being best adapted to their necessities, for a permanent residence. There they planted their little colony, and called it Plymouth, in honor of the

place which witnessed their last adieu to the land of their fathers. Here they erected their dwellings, which formed the first village in New-England, a village of log-huts; here they again celebrated the sabbath, and again the wildness became vocal with the praises of their God. Thus planted down upon the borders of an unbounded forest, at the commencement of a New-England winter; without support, excepting the scanty supplies which remained from the voyage; without friends to succour, or protect them; before them was the wilderness full of the habitations of cruelty; behind them that ocean, with its boisterous and tempestuous billows, which had borne them to these remote regions; in their dwellings a mortal sickness arose, that raged through the winter, and swept away forty-six of their number. To add to this, and other calamities, their store-house took fire, and consumed much of their valuable effects. Here was a picture of distress, that opened a field for the display of the virtues of that religion, which they had forsaken fathers, and mothers, houses and lands, and even their dear native country, the land of their fathers, and thus jeopardied their lives upon the ocean, and in the wilderness, to secure, and enjoy. This field of distress, became to them a field of delight; in the midst of their sufferings, their hearts were unappalled, they trusted in God, and he was their deliverer.

In the midst of their distresses, a friendly Indian, who spoke English, came into their village, and proffered his services.* By this Indian they learnt the geography of the country, the names and number of the tribes in this region, and particularly, that the tribe of Patuxet, which had possessed the section on which they had settled, had

* This Indian, whose name was Squanto, had been taken from the Patuxet tribe, by a Captain Hart, and carried to Spain; from thence he went to London, where he learnt the English, and from thence returned to his tribe in America, where he found himself the only survivor.

shortly before been cut off, by a mortal sickness, which left not one soul behind. Through the instrumentality of this Indian, a friendly intercourse was opened with the neighbouring tribes, and a friendly conference introduced with the principal chiefs; he taught them also how to cultivate the Indian corn. Thus we see how God their preserver, became their protector and deliverer.

This friendly intercourse excited a jealousy in the Narragansets, and other tribes, yet more remote, which produced some collisions with the friendly tribes; but these the colony soon quelled by the terror of their fire-arms.

In the midst of these scenes died Governor Carver, April, 1621, who was succeeded by Governor Bradford. This year they continued to explore the country, cultivate the ground, and maintain upon just and equitable terms, their friendly intercourse among the Indians; and in autumn they were blessed with plentiful supplies for the approaching winter. At this time a ship from England, with thirty-five passengers, arrived at Plymouth, by which they learnt the distracted state of their country, amidst the trying scenes of privilege and prerogative, and rejoiced in the God of their comforts, who had given them a peaceable habitation, amidst the savages of the forest, where they might enjoy the religion of their hearts.

Although trifling collisions often interrupted their friendly intercourse with the natives, and gave them frequent alarms, yet all these were managed by the governor, with such prudence, that he preserved the general peace; negotiated treaties, and purchased lands, and even supplies of corn, when the necessities of the colony required.

During the administration of Gov. Bradford, a Patent for the Plymouth Company, was obtained from King Charles I. in the name of William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, which defined the limits of New-Eng-

land, and confirmed their former title,* against all encroachments from the crown, or foreign adventurers; and gave them the right of holding the country either by purchase or conquest. This patent gave strength and confidence to the colony, and opened a commercial intercourse with England, in their fur trade, which proved useful, and profitable to the parties.

* Before the company left Holland, they had obtained a patent from the Virginia Company, which, as it was never improved, was omitted in its place. On the 3d of November, 1620, King James granted a patent to the Earl of Warwick, and others, to the number of about forty, and their successors, stiling them the Council of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England, in America. This charter included all that part of America, that lies between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude.

CHAPTER X.

ADVENTURES OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

In the midst of these distressing scenes, through which these pilgrims were called to pass, died James the first, who was succeeded by his son Charles the first, March 1625. That fire of civil and religious controversy, which distracted the reign of James I. was kindled into a flame in the reign of Charles I. by the madness of the king, his ministers and prelates; at the head of whom stood the Duke of Buckingham, and Bishop Laud. That spirit of civil and religious zeal, which led the pilgrims of New-England into voluntary exile, had now become general throughout the nation; and the Parliament itself had caught the fire. This opened afresh the contest of privilege and prerogative, which raged with unparalleled bitterness, until Buckingham was disgraced, the Earl of Strafford sacrificed, and even arch-bishop Laud, and the king themselves, brought to the block to appease the rage of popular fury. These distressing scenes in England, opened the way for the permanent enjoyment of that civil and religious liberty, which became so conspicuous in the commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell. These scenes of distress, drove into voluntary banishment, many of those sons of liberty and virtue, which increased the colony of Plymouth, and augmented their strength. Even this refuge of the pilgrims, in the wilds of America, became the assylum for the church of Jesus Christ, during these long and distressing persecutions. Some of the best blood of the nation, looked to the wilds of America for a retreat, and actually obtained patents from the crown, to accomplish their designs. In the year 1527, king Charles I. granted a patent to Henry Roswill, and others, constituting them a body politic, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachu-

setts Bay, in New England," &c. This patent was confirmed by the Plymouth Company, extending from the Atlantic on the east, to the Pacific on the west, and laid the foundation of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. Under this charter, Governor Craddoc, and Lieutenant Governor Goff, became the first chief magistrates. A settlement commenced this year at Salem, by an emigration from England, under the administration of Capt. John Endicott; this was augmented the next year, by a fresh emigration, which increased their numbers to three hundred. This colony was supported by a trading company in England. Thus God turned even the avarice, as well as the ambition of man, to the support of his church, and the cause of the pilgrims.

In 1629, John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, were chosen governor and lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, with Sir Richard Saltonstall, and seventeen others as assistants, and in 1630, their charter arrived from England, accompanied with an emigration of more than 1500 souls. This accession of wealth, numbers and character, gave new energies to New-England, and called forth the homage of their hearts, in gratitude and praise to God, in a public thanksgiving.

Perfection is not in the heart of man, and forms no part of his character; they who had fled from oppression, into the howling wilderness, brought out with them servants, held in bondage, as the price of money. Against this iniquity, the God of the pilgrims frowned with indignation, by cutting short their provisions, which caused them to liberate their slaves, that they might provide for themselves. The judgments of God still followed this crying sin, until the colony was greatly wasted, and diminished, by a severe and mortal pestilence. Thus we see how God makes use of his own means, to accomplish his purposes, and even his judgments are often the sure expressions of his mercies.

The retreat of the pilgrims was never designed to become the nursery of slavery, and even its introduction in its infancy, would have been incompatible with that system of civil, religious, and literary institutions, which God had called them out to establish in his modern Canaan. Who, that examines with attention, the causes that ruled the destinies of men, through the last century, to form and provide for this church in the wilderness, does not see the special agency of God, conspicuously manifest, through all the successive periods and events, from the days of Wickliffe and Luther, to the establishment of the pilgrims in the wilderness of the west.

On the 30th of July, 1630, the first Christian church was formed in Boston; and in August following, was held at Charlestown, the first general court. Justices were regularly appointed as in England, and a regular support for the gospel provided. During this year the settlements at and about Boston progressed rapidly, and the log huts, with thatched roofs, were so numerous, that it became necessary to build in Boston, the first meeting-house, August, 1631.

The trials, privations, and suffering that constantly awaited these infant settlements, were severely felt; but can never be described. Visited with severe and mortal sickness, distressing droughts, and often with scarcity, approaching to famine, their hearts were faithful to each other, to their religion, and their God. Composed of men of almost every rank, they had artists of almost every kind, who were ready to execute every needful operation. In the Spring of 1631, the general court resolved, "That the governor, lieutenant-governor, and assistants, should be chosen by the freemen only; that none should be admitted to the freedom of the company, but such as were chosen members, who had certificates from their ministers, that they were of orthodox principles, and that none

but freemen should vote as electors, or act as magistrates, or jurors." This act of the general court, laid the foundation of civil and religious liberty in Massachusetts, and deserves to be ranked amongst the most memorable epochs. This year witnessed the joyful arrival of the wife and family of Governor Winthrop, from England.

The encroachments of the French from Novascotia, (now le Acadia,) this year, in seizing on an establishment for trade, at Penobscot, owned by the Plymouth Company, sowed the seeds of jealousy, which were never extinguished, until the peace of 1763.

In 1632, 3, and 4, several emigrations arrived, and settled at Medford, Ipswich, and Newbury. At this time the churches had increased and extended, and God had sent out to them, able and faithful pastors, after his own heart. Amongst the most distinguished of the day, were a Higginson, a Parker, a Noyes, a Woodbridge, a Tappan, and others whose praise is in the churches. At this time a friendly negotiation for mutual aid, support, and defence, took place, between the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, which proved highly important to the parties. The flattering prospects of the pilgrims in New England, were soon published in England, where the spirit of bitterness and persecution still raged; this induced numbers to abandon their country, and fly into voluntary banishment, to join the standard of the church in the wilderness. Amongst the most distinguished of the time, were a Hanes, a Hooker, a Cotton, a Stone, with Sir Henry Vane, and others; all pious and godly men, who held the first distinction in the civil and religious establishments of New England. This year the general court, which had been composed of the governor and council, with all the freemen, for the first time, by general consent, became elective. This general court passed a bill of rights, which guaranteed to the citizens of Mas-

sachusetts, the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which they have continued to enjoy to this day.

About the year 1629, the Indian claims to the southern section of the state of New-Hampshire were extinguished, by John Wheelwright and others, of the colony of Massachusetts; but their efforts to settle it were feeble, and they sold their claims to two adventurers in England, Mason and Gorges,* who made an effort to divide New-England into twelve lordships, under a viceroy, or governor-general, and thus convert the church in the wilderness, into a principality, with all the degrading effects of a religious Hierarchy. This patent, (which embraced the Province of Maine,) was sanctioned by Charles I. and Gorges invested with the supreme authority; but that God who had transplanted his church, was able to protect it, and did protect it; Mason died early—Gorges with all his schemes, languished, and finally expired without producing one solitary settlement. About this time several settlements were made in New-Hampshire, by Wheelwright and others, upon the Piscataqua; but these, through their own imbecility, languished, and were by mutual consent, added to Massachusetts Bay. At this time, 1635, commenced the settlement of Connecticut, which forms a distinguished epoch in the history of New-England.

* The Plymouth council of N. England, granted to Gorges, his heirs and assigns, forever, December 1620, all that part of the main land, lying on the N. E. of the Massachusetts Bay, extending ten miles upon the sea coast, and thirty miles back into the country, with the adjacent islands, &c.

CHAPTER XI.

ADVENTURES OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED—SETTLEMENT
OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW-HAVEN.

WE have thus far traced the rise and progress of the pilgrims, in the settlement of the colonies of Plymouth, and Massachusetts, upon the Massachusetts Bay. Our task now is, to unfold the causes that led to the settlement of Connecticut, and mark the special providence of God, in planting and establishing this branch of his church in the wilderness. This district of country, lying south of Massachusetts, and west of Plymouth, was granted by the Plymouth council, to the Earl of Warwick, and confirmed by Charles I. 1630 ; extending 120 miles west of the river Naraganset.

In 1631, the Earl of Warwick conveyed this grant to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and associates, in trust for the pilgrims. In 1632, the Plymouth company sent out adventurers, to explore the country, by land. They also explored the coast, and sailed up the Connecticut river ; and in 1633, they penetrated as far as the mouth of the Windsor river, where they erected a trading house, under the protection of one of the great Sachems, who dwelt on that part of the Connecticut. The same self-preservation, which led the English to court the friendly aid of this Sachem, led him to court their alliance and protection against the Pequots, a fierce and warlike tribe, who possessed the sea coast, at the mouth of the Connecticut, extending east to the Naraganset, and across the Sound on to Long Island. The ambition and conquests of this tribe, had spread a general terror throughout the river tribes, which opened the way for the English to come in as friends, and protectors, and enjoy a quiet possession. The Dutch settlers at Mauhattan, or Monhadoes, at the

mouth of the Hudson, at this time explored the country west of the Connecticut river, and formed two establishments, one at Branford, and the other at the mouth of the Little River at Hartford, which retains the name of Dutch Point to this day.

In 1633, a settlement was formed, and a fort built at the mouth of the Connecticut, by a small company from England, with Mr. Fenwick at their head, under the patronage of Lords Say and Seal, and Brook, and the place retains the name of Say-Brook to this day. This settlement, obtained a grant of the river Connecticut, by a treaty with the Pequots, which embraced the adjacent country indefinitely. These great preliminaries being settled, the way was opened for the settlement of the colony of Connecticut, 1634. In 1635, a little colony of about one hundred persons, from the towns of Dorchester, Newtown, and Cambridge, in Massachusetts, removed in a body, across this howling wilderness, with their families and effects; and in fourteen days they traversed the desert, which for the first time, became vocal with the praises of the true God; explored the banks of the Connecticut at Windsor, near the mouth of the Scantic; a part of the company passed over to the mouth of Windsor river, and here they planted down, in anxious expectation of their effects, and supplies for the approaching winter; which they had sent round by water. Here the scenes and distresses of the pilgrims of Plymouth, were renewed; they were in the midst of numerous, fierce and savage tribes; divided from their friends by a pathless desert; their effects and supplies were all lost on their passage, and the blasts of a New-England winter, threatened them with inevitable ruin. Here the motto of our fathers was most conspicuously displayed, "*QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET*," (*He who transplanted sustains.*) He who shielded the three worthies of Israel, in the fiery furnace,

and Daniel in the lion's den, shielded this little flock from the tempestuous blasts of winter, the murderous savages, and fed them as with quails and manna from heaven.* Their suffering kept them near to God, and when spring returned, their hearts expanded with grateful emotions of gratitude and praise, to God their deliverer.

In October, 1636, a company from Watertown, settled at Wethersfield, and in 1637, a company from Newtown, (Massachusetts,) with their pious clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Hooker, at their head, took up their march with their little flocks, and herds; traversed the desert, as the Windsor company had done before, and settled at Hartford. These settlements laid the foundation of the colony of Connecticut, by a solemn compact, bearing date January 14, 1638. This compact was confirmed by King Charles II. 1662, and has continued to this day, the palladium of the civil and religious liberties of Connecticut. Would you learn the true worth of the characters of our fathers, look at the wisdom and virtue contained in this compact; a compact which for the correctness, and purity of its principles, stands unrivalled in the annals of man. For the truth of this remark, read the compact, and witness its effects.

THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF CONNECTICUT, APRIL, 1639.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased Almighty God, by the wise disposition of his divine providence, so to order and dispose of things, that we, the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, are now cohabiting, and dwelling in and upon the river of Connecticut, and the lands thereunto adjoining, and well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God

* They had neither bread nor meat; but fed on game when it could be obtained, and even acorns, and the bark of trees, and whatever nutriment they could procure.

requireth, that to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established, according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people, at all seasons, as occasion shall require; do therefore associate, and conjoin ourselves to be as one public state, or commonwealth; and do for ourselves, our successors, and such as shall be adjoined unto us, at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation, together, to maintain and preserve the liberty, and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which according to the truth of said gospel, is now practised among us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided, and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as shall be made, ordered, and decreed, as followeth:—

I. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two general assemblies, or courts; the one on the 2d Thursday of April, and the other on the 2d Thursday of September following. The first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be chosen from time to time, so many magistrates and other public officers, as shall be found requisite; whereof one to be chosen governor for the year ensuing, and until another be chosen, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year; provided always, there be six chosen, besides the governor; which being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice, according to the laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the rule of the word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen, and have taken the oath of fidelity, and do cohabit within this jurisdiction, having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town, where they live, or the major part as shall be then present.

II. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid magistrates shall be on this manner; every person present, and qualified to vote shall bring in (to the persons deputed to receive them,) one single paper, with the name written on it whom he desires to have governor, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be governor for that year; and the rest of the magistrates and public officers, to be chosen in this manner; the secretary for the time being, shall read the names of all that are to be put to choice, and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen, shall bring in one single paper, written upon; and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank, and every one that has more written papers than blanks, shall be a magistrate for that year, which papers shall be received, and told by one or more that shall be chosen by the court, and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there shall not be six persons, as aforesaid, besides the governor, out of those which are nominated, then he or they which have the most written papers, shall be a magistrate, or magistrates for the year ensuing, to make up the aforesaid number.

III. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the secretary shall not nominate any person new, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the magistracy, that was not propounded in some general court, before to be nominated at the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the towns aforesaid, by their deputies to nominate any two, whom they conceive fit to be put to election, and the court may add as many more, as they may judge requisite.

IV. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen governor, above once in two years, and that the governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the magistracy within this jurisdiction,

and all the magistrates, freemen of this commonwealth ; and that no magistrate, or other public officer, shall execute any part of his or their office, before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court, if they be present, and in case of absence, by some one deputed for that purpose.

V. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Executions, the several towns shall send their deputies, and when the elections are ended, they may proceed in any public services, as at other courts ; also the other general court, in September, shall be for making laws, and any other public occasions, which concern the good of the commonwealth.

VI. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the governor shall, either by himself, or by the secretary, send out summonses to the constables of every town, for the calling of those two standing courts, one month at least before their several terms ; and also, if the governor and the greatest part of the magistrates see cause, upon any special occasion, to call a general court, they may give orders to the secretary so to do, within fourteen days warning ; and if urgent necessity require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies, when they meet, or else be questioned for the same. And if the governor or the major part of the magistrates, shall either refuse or neglect, to call the two standing courts, or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the commonwealth may require, the freemen thereof, or the major part of them, may petition to them so to do, and then if it be either neglected or denied, the said freemen, or the major part of them, shall have power to give order to the constables of the several towns, to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power, which any other general courts may.

VII. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for the warning of any of the said general courts, that the constable or constables of each town, shall forthwith, give notice distinctly, to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly, or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together, to elect certain deputies, to be at the general court then following, to agitate the affairs of the commonwealth, which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted inhabitants, in the several towns, and have taken the oath of fidelity ; provided that none be chosen, a member of the general court, who is not a freemen of this commonwealth : the aforesaid deputy shall be chosen in the following manner : every person that is present and qualified, as before expressed, shall bring the names of such persons, written upon a piece of paper, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and those three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen at that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them, shall be deputies for that court ; whose names shall be indorsed upon the back of the warrant, and returned into the court, by the constable's hand, unto the same.

VIII. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, shall have power to send four of their freemen from each town, as deputies to every general court, and whatsoever other towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies, as the court shall judge meet ; a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen in each town, being to be attended therein ; which deputies shall have the power of the whole town, to give their votes, and allowance to all such laws and orders, as may be for the public good, and unto which the said towns are to be bound.

IX. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen, shall have power to appoint a time and

place, of meeting together, before any general court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the public good, as also to examine their own elections, whether according to the order ; and if they, or the greatest part of them, find any election to be illegal, they may seclude such person for the present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the court ; and if it be true, the court may fine the party or parties, so intruding upon the town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in the whole ; also the said deputies shall have power to fine any one that is disorderly in their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place, according to appointment ; and they may return said fine into the court, if it be refused to be paid, and the treasurer is to take notice of it, and to estreat or levy the same as he doth other fines.

It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every general court (except such as through neglect of the governor, and the greatest part of the magistrates, the freemen themselves do call) shall consist of the governor, or some one chosen to moderate the court, and four other magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies, of the several towns, legally chosen ; and in case the freemen or the major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the governor, and major part of the magistrates, shall call a court that shall consist of the major part of the freemen that are present, or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them, in which said general court, shall consist the supreme power of the commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws, or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, and to dispose of lands undisposed of, to several towns or persons, and also shall have power to call other courts, or magistrate, or any other person whatsoever, into question, for any misdemeanor ; and may for just cause displace or deal with otherwise, according to the nature of the offence ; and

also may deal in any other matter that concerns this commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of the freemen ; in which court the governor or moderator, shall have power to order the court to give liberty of speech ; and silence unreasonable and disorderly speaking, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal, to have a casting vote ; but none of these courts shall be adjourned or dissolved, without the consent of the major part of the same.

XI. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any general court have agreed upon the occasions of the commonwealth, upon any sum or sums of money, to be levied upon the several towns within this jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out, and appoint what shall be the proportion of every town to pay, of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number from each town. January, 14th 1638-9.

I have inserted this compact at large, to shew the simplicity of that form of government, that formed the basis of the colony of Connecticut, and which served as her political standard, through a period of nearly two centuries ; a standard that gave to Connecticut more political peace, and enjoyment, than ever fell to the lot of any other body politic, in the whole family of man ; out of this compact, have grown up with the rising colony, a system of habits, and morals, that have been as powerful in their effects in restraining vice, and promoting virtue, in suppressing discord, and promoting order, as the laws themselves ; a set of morals and habits, which in Connecticut may fairly be denominated, the handmaids of the laws. These habits serve to shew with what reverence, the sons have cherished the virtues, and the virtuous institutions of their sires, as well as the blessings they have inherited as their rich reward. May the latest posterity, enjoy the same blessings from a continuation of the same habits.

To enumerate the distressing incidents, that awaited the first settlers, forms no part of my plan; they would be uninteresting, and swell the work unnecessarily. The great outlines of events that marked the wisdom and goodness of that God, who planted this little church in the wilderness, and protected the pilgrims, shall be my only guide.

In 1636, the first court in Connecticut, was held at Wethersfield, and about the same time, the Pequots began their depredations upon the English settlements, which led to a war, that opened a field for exploring the country, as well as for conquest, and led also, to the settlement of the colony of New-Haven. This was effected by a company from Boston, with the Rev. Mr. Davenport at their head, a man of great piety and worth, accompanied by Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins, (two noted London merchants,) who settled the town of New-Haven,* 1638; where the first sermon was preached, under a large spreading oak, April 1638; which gave rise to the celebrated song of the Pilgrims, "*Around the huge oak.*"

This settlement at New-Haven, formed an independent compact, very similar to that of Connecticut, and the two colonies remained independent, until their mutual union, in 1665, under the title of the Colony of Connecticut, in which Hartford and New-Haven became alternately, the seat of government. The government of the Colony of New-Haven, was more immediately a Theocracy, than either of the other colonies of New-England; the church was at the head of the colony, and the learned and pious Mr. Davenport was at the head of the church. They held all things in common; all purchases were made in the name of the colony, and all lands apportioned by a regular distribution. None were admitted as freemen, but such as were church members; of course all the officers of the colony, both civil and military, were men of religion.

* Indian name Quinipioke.

This fundamental principle of the colony, was confirmed by their first general court, held at New-Haven, October 1639. This court consisted of the governor,* lieutenant-governor, magistrates, and two representatives from each town, to be chosen annually. This general court was vested with both legislative and judicial powers, with the right of appeal, in all cases, to the supreme court, which was composed of all the magistrates of the colony, six of whom constituted a quorum.

Thus organized, this Theocracy took the word of God for the rule of their faith and practice, and his moral and judicial laws, for the basis of their civil code. The Antinomian absurdities, which were distracting the church in Massachusetts, when Messrs. Davenport, Eaton, and Hopkins, arrived there from England, led them to guard this colony, against similar evils, in the first foundation of their institutions; and the purity of the church which grew out of this, as well as the wisdom of their civil and judicial institutions, have proved lasting monuments of the wisdom and piety of their founders.

In 1644, the title of Lords Say and Seal, and Brook, was conveyed to the pilgrims of Connecticut by purchase, for 1000*l*. In 1647, the General Court of Connecticut, prohibited the use of tobacco, with severe penalties. In 1650, commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England and the Colony of New-York settled, by arbitration, their line of division and boundary. In 1653, Middletown was settled. In 1657, died Governor Eaton, greatly lamented in New-England. In 1660, Norwich was settled. In 1661, Connecticut Colony, by their agent, Maj. John Mason, extinguished by purchase, all the Indian claims to the whole colony; and in 1662, they obtained that charter of King Charles II. which constituted them a body politic, with the confirmation of their ancient grant

* Theophilus Eaton, Esq. was their first governor.

and boundaries, as conveyed to the Earl of Warwick. This patent, or charter, embraced a width of two degrees, or 120 miles from the south line of Massachusetts, and thus interfered with the patent of the Duke of York, and the settlement of the Dutch at Manhadoes, at the mouth of the Hudson, as well as upon the settlements in New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania. This claim was overruled, in 1664, and the sea, fixed as the southern boundary of Connecticut. The patents of the Duke of York and William Penn, intersected the charter of the colony of Connecticut, and prevented their extending to the western ocean. This charter of King Charles included the colony of New-Haven; but they were not united until 1665, when it became necessary to form an union of interest and effort, to protect their charter, and their rights.

CHAPTER XII.

ADVENTURES OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.—SETTLEMENT
OF RHODE-ISLAND.

It will here be recollected that James I. of England, by attempting to establish episcopacy, as a uniform mode of worship in England and Scotland, roused up the Puritans to resist this religious usurpation, and kindled the fire which led the first colonies to flee into exile, and seek a sanctuary in the wilds of America; where they might enjoy in quiet, the religion of their hearts and their consciences. It will also be recollected, that this same usurpation, when continued into the reign of Charles I. kindled a civil war, which brought the king to the block, and established the commonwealth in England, under Oliver Cromwell.

The pilgrims carried with them into the wilds of America, the same civil and religious principles, which prevailed in England, in the time of the commonwealth, and these formed the basis of their civil and religious institutions, in America.

When the Quakers appeared amongst them, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, they enacted several laws against them, which suppressed the sect, as promptly as they had suppressed in England, the usurpations of King Charles I. and Arch-Bishop Laud. Impressed with the extremes of these virtues, the Reverend Roger Williams emigrated to New-England, and settled at Salem, 1631, as assistant to the Reverend Mr. Skelton. Mr. Williams soon disclosed his sentiments, which were these:—

1. That such churches, or church members, as had held communion with the Church of England, should manifest their repentance, by a confession;—
2. That it is not lawful for the godly to hold communion with the ungodly; either in prayer, or in an oath;—
3. That it is not law-

ful, for the unregenerate to pray ;—4. That the magistrate ought to be excluded, from all interference in religious matters, and that whatever controuled a free toleration of religious sentiment, was persecution ;—and lastly, that King Charles' patent, was founded upon injustice, in disposing of the lands of the natives, to which he had no right, and therefore a nullity.

These sentiments openly and publicly avowed ; led the Colony of Massachusetts, to call Mr. Williams to an account, and banish him from their limits. Mr. Williams fled into the wilderness, and settled upon the banks of a noble river, upon the confines of Massachusetts ; this place he called Providence, commemorative of his providential deliverance and preservation. This commenced the settlement of the state of Rhode-Island.

The best comment that can be made, upon the proceedings of Massachusetts, and the principles of Mr. Williams, is, the comparative characters of the states of Massachusetts and Rhode-Island. The same principles in Massachusetts, that banished Mr. Williams, banished also the Quakers. If any one can be at a loss, with regard to the expediency of this measure, let him read the account of Philip's wars, and reflect what New-England would have been had they all been Quakers. That diversity of sentiment that distracted England, and drove into exile the pilgrims of Massachusetts, now distracted their councils, and drove into exile the pilgrims of Rhode-Island ; these augmented the little colony of Mr. Williams, and received his patronage and protection.

As this little colony increased, they cultivated a friendly intercourse amongst the natives, and explored the country to the ocean, on the south, and the shores of the Narraganset Bay. In 1638, they extinguished the Indian claims to those lands, by purchase, (including Rhode-Island, and the islands of the Bay,) and associated themselves, under

a civil compact. In 1639, a settlement commenced on the Island of Rhode-Island, and in the same year, they commenced the settlement of Newport; which became the capital of the colony. Their civil compact was purely democratic, and embraced the whole field of religious toleration. In 1644, they, through Mr. Williams, obtained a Charter from parliament, guaranteeing to them the right of governing themselves, according to the laws of England.

From this time, mutual harmony prevailed between Massachusetts and Rhode-Island; so far as related to trade, and friendly intercourse; but when the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, attempted to confederate, for general safety and defence, they rejected the application of Rhode-Island, and excluded them from the confederacy, on account of their civil and religious sentiments. If the correctness of this measure is questioned, let it be remembered, that the extremes of civil, or religious liberty, become licentiousness, and that this formed no part of the divine plan, in planting this church in this modern Canaan, and in erecting the standard of the cross, in the wilderness of the west. It became necessary to check the free toleration of Rhode-Island. Let it also be remembered, that this church in the wilderness, was destined by God, to form the basis of a great nation, whose empire should be controlled by religion and the laws. To effect this, he has raised up his Joshuas, and his Judges, to drive out their enemies, and protect their rights. In 1647, all the freemen in the colony assembled, as a legislative body, and chose a President, as the chief executive, and proceeded to legislation. In 1652, this assembly was dissolved by order of Parliament; but was again resumed in a short time, and prevailed until the year 1663, when they obtained a regular charter from King Charles II. under the title of "The Governor and Company of the English colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations." This

charter, placed Rhode-Island upon the same footing as the colony of Connecticut, and authorised them to pass and repass through, and traffic with any of the colonies in New-England. This destroyed the interdiction of Massachusetts, and restored liberty to Rhode-Island.

The first legislative council that assembled, and in the same year, commenced the same persecutions against Roman Catholics, that Massachusetts had exercised against Quakers, and thereby barred them from the privilege of freemen, and thus destroying their rights in the charter. I am sensible that it has been reflected, and will be again, upon this colony of religious tolerance, that they, in their turn, became corrupted with intolerance, and persecution; but let it be remembered, that it was the persecutions of the Catholic church, that drove them out from the land of their fathers, into this howling wilderness, and that this religion, above all others, was the most obnoxious to them, and wholly incompatible with their views of civil and religious liberty.

Upon the accession of James II. who was a Catholic, they were brought, in their turn, to smart for their intolerance. James ordered a writ of *quo warranto* against their patent, stripped them of their charter, and in 1686 placed them under the government of Sir Edmond Andros, governor of Massachusetts.

The revolution in England, of 1688, which stripped James II. of his crown, and sent him into banishment, opened the way for the recovery of their liberties; they resumed their charter, and have continued to preserve it. That licentiousness of liberty which marked the character of Rhode-Island in her early settlement, was much improved, by the severe corrections she was called to pass through, and opened the way for such improvements, as her own experience, and the example of her neighbours, have taught her.

We have now laid the foundation of the church in the wilderness, and opened the field of this modern Canaan of God. Before we proceed to examine the rise and progress of the several colonies, let us take a view of the characters of those worthies, who became the special instruments, in the hands of God, in accomplishing this wonderful enterprise. The first character that appears on record, is that pious man of God, the Rev. John Robinson. Although he, like Moses and Aaron, was not permitted to enter the land, yet his example, his labours, his counsels, and his prayers, gave strength and confidence to the first pilgrims who settled the colony of Plymouth.

CHAPTER XIII.

ADVENTURES OF THE PILGRIMS, CONTINUED—A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE WORTHIES WHO BECAME THE FIRST PILLARS AND DEFENDERS OF THE CHURCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH.

UPON the first landing of the pilgrims on the shores of this howling wilderness, self preservation and defence, became the first objects of their attention; to effect this, it became necessary to select a leader, who might head and direct all their military operations. In the course of the winter, they formed themselves into a military company, and chose Miles Standish their captain, who became to the colony, a distinguished chief.—The first military display of Captain Standish, appears in his conducting the great Sachem Massasoit, upon a friendly visit to Governor Carver, March 1621.—At this interview, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded, with an interchange of great civilities. The governor kissed the hand of the sachem, and the sachem, in his turn, the hand of the governor, and the treaty was religiously observed, for about 50 years. Captain Standish became the champion of the colony, exhibiting specimens of distinguished coolness, intrepidity and bravery, that rendered his name a terror to the savages, and greatly endeared him to the colony. He acted as a judge of the superior court, through the remainder of his life; was honored with a mission as special agent to London, for the colony, 1625, which proved successful. In 1652, he was placed at the head of a council of war, which was constituted for the support and protection of the colony, and in 1654, Captain Standish was appointed to the command of

500 men, raised by the colonies, to act in concert with the troops of New-England, against the Dutch. In 1656, he died, aged 70. Captain Standish may be ranked amongst the Putnams of the age. His cool, yet firm and daring intrepidity, distinguished him as just such a character, as the exigencies of the colony required, to strike terror into his enemies, and give confidence and security to his friends. Captain Standish was truly the champion of Israel, who fought the battles of the living God.*

GOVERNOR CARVER.

When the colony had formed their first civil compact, before they landed, they chose John Carver for their chief magistrate, for one year, November 11th, 1620. Governor Carver served the colony with great fidelity, prudence, and wisdom, until the April following, when he was removed by death, and William Bradford was chosen to succeed him. Governor Carver was distinguished for piety, humility, benevolence, and a strong mind. He supported the burthens of his station with great firmness, resolution, and energy, as well as christian patience and fortitude. He enjoyed the universal confidence and affections of the colony.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

Upon the death of Governor Carver, William Bradford Esq. succeeded to the chair, in the 33d year of his age,

* One instance may serve to shew the valour, coolness, and intrepidity of Capt. Standish. A tradition in the family says, that a friendly Indian came and told Capt. S. that a particular Indian intended to kill him, the next time that he went to his wigwam, by giving him some water to drink, and then stab him when drinking. The Captain soon called at the Indian's wigwam, where were several Indians present; and the Indian soon gave him some water to drink, and at the same time prepared to stab him. The Captain watched his motions with a steady eye, and upon the first attempt of the Indian, he drew his sword, and cut off his head at one stroke: the other savages fled with terror and amazement. The Captain was left alone.

and Isaac Alerton was chosen as his assistant. Governor Bradford was noted for his "wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart," as well as for his popularity in the colony. Governor Bradford cultivated a friendly intercourse among the natives, particularly with Massasoit,* through the instrumentality of their interpreter, Squanto, and the colony flourished under his administration.

GOVERNOR WINTHROP, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

John Winthrop, Esq. was chosen governor of Massachusetts, 1620, (as successor of Governor Craddock, who served as their first governor, for the year 1628 :) he possessed a strong mind, with great prudence, virtue, moderation, and justice, added to a godly life. He acquired great influence over the Indians, in the exercise of these excellent qualities; one instance may serve as a specimen. In 1638, he was visited by Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegan tribe, with whom the governor had cultivated a friendly intercourse, Uncas approached the governor, delivered his present according to custom, and laying his hand upon his heart, thus addressed him—"This heart is not mine, but yours. I have no men, they are all yours. Command me any difficult service, and I will perform it. I will not believe any Indian's words against the English: if any man kill an Englishman, I will put him to death, let him be ever so dear to me." The governor was pleased with this address, and rewarded the Sachem with letters of protection, and a fine red coat, to his inexpressible delight and satisfaction.†

All the colonies flourished during the administration of Governor Winthrop; but especially Massachusetts. This prosperity occasioned some licentiousness of manners, in the colony, which called for some severity in the magistrates. This rendered Governor Winthrop unpopular amongst the

*See his character amongst the Sachems.

†Pride is one of the ruling features in the heart of an Indian.

dissolute, and gave an opening for the following display of the goodness of his character. He stepped aside from the chair of state, met the public clamour at the bar of a judicial tribunal, gave the controversy a fair discussion, was honourably acquitted, resumed again the office of state, and closed the proceedings with the following address.

“Gentlemen, I will not look back to the proceedings of this court, nor to the persons concerned; I am satisfied that I have been publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but let me say something upon the occasion, that may rectify the opinion of the people, from whom these distempers have arisen. The questions that have troubled the country of late, have been respecting the authority of the magistrates, and the liberties of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I intreat you to consider, that you choose your rulers from among yourselves, and that we take an oath to govern you according to God’s laws, and the laws of our country, according to the best of our skill: if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of ability, you ought to bear with us; nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty of *doing what we will*, without regard to *law or justice*; this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but *civil, moral, judicial liberty*, consist in every one’s enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to contend for, at the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection, to the civil magistrate, and paying him that respect which his character deserves.”

This proceeding secured the popularity of Governor Winthrop, to his death. Governor Winthrop spent his strength, and his fortune liberally, in the service of the colony, and died universally beloved, March 26, 1649, aged 63.

REV. FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

We have noticed, in the chain of our history, the arrival, and settlement of the Rev. Francis Higginson, in the ministry at Salem: a sketch of his character may be of importance, amongst many others, to shew what were the characters of the worthies who planted the church in the wilderness of the west. Mr. Higginson was born in England, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was settled in the ministry at Leicester in England. Here his splendid talents, as a preacher of the gospel, became conspicuous, and he was invited to accompany a respectable emigration to New-England, consisting of the governor and his associates. Mr. Higginson accepted the invitation, preached his farewell sermon to his people, from Luke *xxi.* 20, 21.—“When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then flee ye to the mountains, &c.” He then repaired to London with his family, where they embarked, and arrived at Salem in New-England in June, 1629, where he spent the remainder of his life, in doing good as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. He died early, and his praise is in the churches.

REV. JAMES DAVENPORT.

This pillar of the church and colony of New-Haven, was born at Coventry in England, 1597, of respectable parents, and sent to College at Oxford, before he was 14 years of age. When he had finished his education at the university, he entered into the ministry, and was soon called to preach in London. His powers of eloquence, added to the powers of his mind, soon distinguished him amongst his brethren, and gained him universal approbation and applause. This, joined to the Puritanical principles he taught, soon rendered him obnoxious to the government, and he was constrained to flee from the persecutions of the courts of

Star-Chamber and High Commission, and take refuge in Holland, and settled in the ministry at Amsterdam 1637. Finding the churches in Holland, too lax in their principles and discipline, he returned to England, and soon after he joined several respectable, and pious families in London, and embarked for New-England, and arrived at Boston, 1637. From thence they extended their pilgrimage into the wilderness, and planted the Colony of New-Haven.

Mr. Davenport was possessed of a remarkably strong mind; was a man of great application, and a powerful preacher; he was not only one of the first amongst the founders of the Colony of New-Haven, but the first of its pillars, both in church and state. Mr. Davenport was called to Boston, in 1667, to fill the place of a Cotton, a Norton, and a Wilson, where he died of an apoplexy, 1670, aged 74. The Colony of New-Haven have testified their affection for Mr. Davenport, by the respect they continue to show to his family, to this day.

REV. THOMAS HOOKER.

We have noticed already, this pillar of the Colony of Connecticut, and the church at Hartford; a particular sketch of his life, will add another pillar to that temple of fame, wherein are recorded the names of those worthies, who first settled New-England. "Mr. Hooker was born at Marfield, in Leicester-Shire, England, 1586. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and promoted to a fellowship in that university, where he acquitted himself with applause. Here he was made the subject of God's special grace, and became an heir of that kingdom he was now called to preach to others. He was soon called as a lecturer at Chelmsford, where he laboured with wonderful success. From this service he was removed by the persecutions of the Court of High Commission. To remove this persecution from Mr. Hooker, more than forty con-

forming priests in the neighbourhood, petitioned the court in his favour, in which they state—"that they know Mr. Hooker to be, for doctrine, orthodox; for life and conversation, honest; for disposition, peaceable, and in no wise turbulent and factious:" but all to no effect. In 1630, Mr. Hooker was bound over in a bond of 50*l.* to appear before the High Commission Court, which bond he forfeited and paid, by the advice and assistance of his friends, and fled to Holland, where he preached two years at Delft; from thence he removed to Rotterdam, where he preached with great celebrity. From thence he returned to England, to join his friends and embark for America, with Messrs. Cotton and Stone, and arrived at Cambridge, 1633; where he was joyfully received by his friends, who had arrived the year before. Their joyful salutations Mr. Hooker returned, with these memorable words, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." From Cambridge he removed with his friends, and settled at Hartford, on the banks of the Connecticut, 1636.

As a preacher, as well as an orator, he was remarkably animated, impressive, and powerful. As a man of prayer, he was distinguished. He would say, "that prayer was the principal part of a minister's work; by this he was to carry on the rest." Accordingly he devoted one day in every month, to prayer and fasting; besides many such days which he kept publicly with his people. It was his open opinion, that if professors neglected these duties, iniquities would abound, and the love of many wax cold. His prayers in public, were more fervent than lengthy; they were always adapted to the occasion; as he proceeded, his ardor increased, and the close of his prayer, was often a rapture of devotion. In the pulpit, he appeared with such astonishing majesty, and independence, that it was pleasantly said of him, "*He would put a king in his pocket.*" He had a most happy method of govern-

ing his church, and it was his desire to live no longer than he could be useful to her. When he was laid upon the bed of death, one of his friends observed to him, "You are going to receive *your reward*." He replied, "Brother, I am going to receive *mercy*." He closed his eyes in death, with great tranquillity, July 7th, 1647.

REV. EZEKIEL NOYES.

This godly man was born at Wethersfield, in England, 1590. (His father, Mr. Richard Noyes, "was a man who walked with God," who would often say, "*I should be sorry if every day were not to me as my last.*") "At thirteen years of age, Mr. Noyes was capable of preferment in the university, and at twenty, he took his degree of Master of Arts." Upon his first entrance into life, he became a chaplain in the family of Sir Francis Barrington. Mr. Noyes was pious and devout in his prayers, and in his sermons; and at the same time, his eloquence was interesting and powerful. Sir Francis bestowed on his chaplain the benefice of Rowley in Yorkshire, where he laboured about twenty years, when he was removed, by the tyrannical power of the spiritual courts, and uniting with a number of his friends, he fled with them to the wilds of New-England, where he arrived in 1638, and settled the town of Rowley, in honour of the place of his residence in England. Five years after this, he was called by the general court, to preach the election sermon, which gave him general eclat. He was a burning and a shining light, in the candlestick wherein God had placed him. He was an interesting, powerful, persuasive preacher: he possessed great influence with his people, by which he became very useful, in aiding and supporting them in the arrangement of their temporal, as well as their spiritual concerns. In the course of his remarks, he would often express his fears for the prosperity of the churches, and say,

“ I tremble when I think what will become of this glorious work, which we have begun, when the ancients shall be gathered unto their fathers. I fear grace and blessings will die with them. All is hurry for the world, every one for self and not for the public good. It hath been God's way, not to send sweeping judgments, when the chief magistrates are godly. I beseech all the Bay ministers, to call upon the magistrates ; tell them their godliness is our protection. I am hastening home ; I am near home ; you too, are not far off : O the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles. We shall sit next to the martyrs, and confessors. Cheer up your minds with these thoughts, and let us be zealous for God and Christ.” Thus he closed life, January 23d, 1661, in the 70th year of his age.

Mr. Noyes was a distinguished benefactor to Harvard College, and the town of Rowley.

REV. SAMUEL NEWMAN.

Mr. Newman was born at Banbury, and educated at Oxford. When he had closed his studies, he entered into the ministry, and settled in that country ; but he soon became one of the subjects of spiritual persecution, and to elude these courts of despotism, he fled from place to place, until he was finally constrained to flee with his friends, to the wilds of New-England, where he arrived in the summer of 1638, and settled at Rhoboth, in the Colony of New-Plymouth, where he spent the remainder of his days, in the service of the ministry ; greatly promoted the cause of the church, and the good of his people, and died greatly beloved, and much lamented, 1663, in the 63d, year of his age.

REV. CHARLES CHAUNCEY, B. D.

This pious servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, was educated at Cambridge, England, and became Greek professor

in that university, and afterwards was settled in the ministry at Ware. By the persecutions of the spiritual courts, (for preaching against the sports, corruptions, dissipations, dances, wakes, and revels, which Arch-Bishop Laud had let loose upon the Lord's day, to the grief, and distress of the Puritans, as well as all the good people of England,) he was driven from his ministry, and persecuted by fines and imprisonments, until he was constrained to flee into banishment, and took refuge amongst the pilgrims of the church, in the wilds of New-England, where he arrived in the year 1638, and where he became president of Harvard College, at Cambridge. Here he spent the remainder of his days, as a learned, laborious, and dignified governor, and here he closed his useful life, in the year 1672, in the 82d year of his age. The praise of this godly man will ever be in the university, as well as in the churches of New-England.

The limits of this work, will not permit me to pursue this glorious subject of the worthies of New-England, and speak of the splendid and useful labours of a Stone, a Cotton, a Mather, an Edwards, and others, whose wisdom, talents, and virtue, did honour to their names, and whose names will ever live in the churches of New-England.* "These suns are set!—O, rise some other such, or all is talk of old achievements and despair of new!" Great was the damage England sustained from the loss of such men; great was their acquisition in promoting the order, interest, happiness, peace, and glory of the church in the wilderness.

Thus we see how God makes use of his own means to accomplish his own purposes, and always adapts his causes

* The mantle of the Elijahs of New-England, has fallen, and continues to fall, upon her Elishas, through a period of about one hundred years, imparting the same inspiration to a succession of worthies, who (with a steady eye to the glory of God, and the best good of his church,) have become his great instruments of building up this modern Canaan in the wilderness of the west. Their deeds are recorded in the annals of New-England, and of the world, and their names can never die.

to the desired effects. Had not the spiritual persecutions in England, under the tyranny of a Bishop Laud, driven these godly men from their livings, and their religion; who would have supplied their places in New-England? and without such men, what would have become of the church in the wilderness? and without the example, the labours, and prayers of the church in the wilderness, what would have become of the Puritan church in England? and further, without the united prayers, and labours of these churches, where would have been the Bible Societies, the Missionary Societies, the Education Societies, and let me add, the Praying Societies, of the days in which we live? These are great in themselves, yet they are only parts of the divine plan, in planting His little church in the wilderness, and in building up His modern Canaan in the wilds of New-England.

Let us adore the God of our fathers, for what our eyes have seen, our ears heard, and we ourselves have enjoyed, of the riches of his goodness; and let our faith expand with our hopes, in the future promises of the gospel, which are yet full of the riches of his goodness. Here, in these promises, are blessings yet to be unfolded to his church, greater than all those she has yet enjoyed. Blessings, such as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man to conceive of." Blessings, which shall fill the church with his praise, and the whole earth with his glory.

See Appendix marked *a*.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

WE have noticed the planting of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven, and Rhode Island, with an attempt to establish the colony of New-Hampshire: we have noticed the freedom of civil and religious government, already established in these colonies, together with the severity of discipline that became necessary, to effect this great object. We have, also, noticed the attempt of Gorges, and others, in the reign of Charles I. to subvert these free institutions, by attempting to erect New-England into twelve Lordships, and planting himself at their head, under a grant from the same king. We have also noticed, how God frowned upon this attempt, in the death of Gorges, and the total destruction of his plan. We have also noticed, in a short sketch, the characters of those worthies who first planted New-England. We will now go forward, and consider an attempt of the natives, to destroy the settlements of Connecticut, and give a summary sketch of the Pequot war.

When the English attempted to explore the Connecticut River, 1634, the Pequots murdered a Captain Norton, with six of his company, which shewed the hostility of their character. In 1636, they murdered a Mr. Oldham, at Block-Island. These acts of hostility, roused the resentment of the governor and council of Massachusetts, and they resolved to punish the outrage, and bring the offenders to justice. They accordingly detached 90 men, under the command of Captain Endicot and others, with orders to take exemplary vengeance on the offenders. They set sail, immediately, for Block-Island, promptly executed their commission, and from thence, directed their course to Connecticut River, where they took twenty men, and re-

turned to Pequot River, (Thames) where they commenced an attack upon the villages, dispersed the Indians, (about 300) burnt their wigwams, canoes, corn, &c. and returned to Boston. This opened a war of the natives, upon the settlement at Saybrook; they assaulted the settlement, and an action ensued, in which one of the English was wounded. Depredations were continued, and it became dangerous for the English to appear in the fields, to pursue their labours; they were often ambushed, and sometimes taken and carried off. In autumn, of the same year, the Naraganset chiefs, entered into a confederacy at Boston, with the English, of offensive and defensive war, against the Pequots. This treaty was so guarded as to prevent the surprise of the English, if the Naragansets should prove treacherous.

The Plymouth company complained of the aggressions of the Massachusetts colony, in committing hostilities against the Pequots; but they justified themselves, by the necessity of the case, and the first aggressions of the Indians. About the same time, the Pequots murdered one Tilly, on the banks of Connecticut River, by cutting off his hands and feet, and thus leaving him to perish. In May, 1637, six men were killed by the Indians, at Wethersfield, and three women, and twenty cows were carried off, and three young girls taken prisoners. This led the settlers of this village, to build a stone fort, upon a rising ground, near the banks of the great meadow, where the whole village retired to pass the night, and where the women and children retired, in case of alarm; the men, after this, went armed into the field, to their common labour.

These successes, gave spirit and confidence to the Indians, and emboldened them in the war. The Dutch, at Manhattan, encouraged the Indians in their hostilities; this led to an union of effort between Connecticut and Massachusetts; the former furnished 90 men, and Massa-

chusetts 140 ; these were joined by 20 more from Connecticut, which made up an army of 250 men ; and Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, united in the war. When this formidable force was assembled for the war, the Rev. Mr. Hooker of Hartford, made the following address to the troops.

“ Fellow Soldiers, Countrymen, and Companions, you are this day assembled by the special providence of God ; you are not collected by wild fancy, nor ferocious passions. It is not a tumultuous assembly, whose actions are abortive, or if successful, produce only theft, rapine, rape, and murder ; crimes inconsistent with nature’s light, inconsistent with a soldier’s valour. You, my dear hearts, were selected from your neighbours, by the godly fathers of the land, for your known courage, to execute such a work. Your cause is the cause of heaven ; the enemy have blasphemed your God,* and slain his servants ; you are only the minsters of his justice. I do not pretend that your enemies are careless, or indifferent ; no, their hatred is inflamed, their lips thirst for blood ; they would devour you, and all the people of God ; but my brave soldiers their guilt has reached the clouds ; they are ripe for destruction ; their cruelty is notorious ; and cruelty and cowardice are always united. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent your certain victory, but their nimble feet, their impenetrable swamps, and woods ; from these your small numbers will entice them, or your courage drive them. I now put the question—Who would not fight in such a cause ? fight with undaunted boldness ? do you wish for more encouragement ? more I give you. Riches waken the soldier’s sword ; and though you will not obtain silver and gold, on the field of victory ; you will secure what is infinite-

* They had said the Englishman’s God was one *fy*, and the *Englishman* was one *sqaw*.

ly more precious ; you will secure the *liberties, the privileges, and the lives of Christ's Church, in this New World.* You will procure safety for your affectionate wives, safety for your prattling, harmless, smiling babes : you will secure all the blessings enjoyed by the people of God, in the ordinances of the gospel. Distinguished was the honor conferred upon David, for fighting the battles of the Lord ; this honor, O ye courageous soldiers of God, is now prepared for you. You will now execute his vengeance on the heathen ; you will bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron. But perhaps some one may fear that a fatal arrow may deprive him of this honor. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, be assured, that if any servant be taken away, it is merely because the honors of this world, are too narrow for his reward ; an everlasting crown is set upon his head ; because the rewards of this life are insufficient. March then with christian courage, in the strength of the Lord ; march with faith in his divine promises, and soon your swords shall find your enemies, soon they shall fall like leaves of the forest under your feet."

I have given this address at large, to shew the character of the speaker, as well as the spirit of the times ; it needs no comment.

This war opened very soon, with an action between the friendly Mohegans, their allies, and a party of the Pequots ; the former were successful, killed five, took one, and one only escaped. With their prisoners, they practised the tortures and cruelties, usual in Indian warfare ; then cut off all their heads, and set them upon the fort. This gave a general alarm, and the Indians retired to the eastward, took refuge in their forts upon Pequot and Naraganset rivers, where they felt themselves secure, and awaited the English. At the head of this tribe was Sassacus, a Sachem of renowned valour, who was considered as invulnerable as a God.

The whole army embarked at Saybrook, entered the Naraganset river, where they were joined by that tribe; landed their forces, and entered the forest, in quest of the enemy. They approached their forts in dead of night, when the Indians were all buried in sleep, and commenced an assault; a faithful dog, (the Indians' friend, and companion) gave the alarm, and the sentinel cried out *Wanux, Wanux*, (English,) but before they could awake, and stand in their defence, the English were in the fort, and the havoc of death was begun. Here opened a scene of indiscriminate butchery and carnage, amidst the explosion of fire arms, the shrieks of the wounded, and the groans of the dying, too horrible to be conceived of, or described. More than six hundred Indians fell a sacrifice in this terrible carnage, and lay piled in indiscriminate heaps of slaughter, or gasping in the agonies of death. This scene, kindled in the breasts of Sassacus and his warriors, the keenest resentment, and at the same time filled them with dread and dismay. On their march across the country for Pequot harbour,* (a distance of six miles,) where their boats with refreshment and supplies had arrived, they were attacked by about 300 Indians, with all their savage ferocity, and the whole wilderness resounded with the sound of the warhoop, and the terrors of their savage yells; but the hearts of the English were unappalled; they met them with firmness; repelled the attack; drove the enemy into the forest, where they made their escape, and retired to the fort of Sassacus. About the first of July, the Massachusetts troops arrived, under Captain Stoughton, with their Naraganset allies; surprised a party of Indians in a swamp, took eighty captives; killed thirty warriors; but spared the women and children alive. The time of vengeance had fallen upon the Pequots; they had made indiscriminate war upon their neighbours, who had felt their cruelty, and tyranny, and the neighbouring tribes

* Now New-London.

commenced indiscriminate war and butchery, now in their turn, upon the Pequots, and killed and destroyed all that fell in their way. Captain Stoughton pursued the fugitives into the heart of Connecticut; but they eluded his pursuit, and escaped. On his return to Pequot, he discovered about a hundred Indians, and commenced an attack, and put them to flight; killed, and took about one half, and distributed his prisoners amongst the Naraganets; or sent them to Boston. Soon after the Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, formed a junction, and set sail for New-Haven, killed and took eight more, and at a point of land, (now Guilford,) on their passage, they cut off the heads of two sachems, which gave name to the point, that continues to this day.*

The object of this expedition was, to find Sassacus, who had abandoned his forts, and fled into the wilderness; but the terror of the chief, had enlivened his sagacity, and given wings to his feet; he fled to the Mohawks. The remains of his tribe, which he had abandoned, fled to a swamp near Fairfield, with their women and children; where they were assaulted and compelled to surrender; but the men took advantage of the night, and stole out of the swamp and fled, whilst the English were securing about two hundred women and children, and eluded all further pursuit. The Mohawks, dreading the resentment of the English, slew Sassacus and his attendants, and sent his scalp to Boston.

Thus ended the Pequot war, and the whole nation was exterminated. In August the troops returned to their homes, without the loss of one man, by the power of the enemy. Two only had died with sickness. The success of this war, is the greatest encomium that can be paid to the Orator for his address to the troops, at the commence-

* Sachem's Head.

ment of the expedition. Who, that witnesses the events of this war, can withhold his acknowledgment, that the special hand of God was conspicuously manifest, in all its operations. The settlements of the colonies prospered generally, without any very serious alarms from the Indians, until the great contest of 1675, known by the name of Philip's war.

In 1638, a remarkable Earthquake was felt throughout the country, that fixed a remarkable epoch in the annals of New-England. In 1639 and 40, the settlements progressed rapidly in the colonies, and improvements kept pace with the settlements.

Religion was the first object of attention in New-England; next their civil government, and a regular system of education. To effect these great objects, they built meeting houses in all their towns; provided for, and settled ministers; they established regular civil, and judicial courts, throughout the colonies, each colony maintaining its independence; they established regular schools, by law, throughout their towns; and in 1639, they laid the foundation of the college at Cambridge. This soon engaged the interest of the wise, the learned, and the rich. A grant of 400*l.* made by the general court, 1636, for a public school, was applied to the use of this college, and the Rev. John Harvard, minister of Charlestown, bequeathed at his death, this year, 1639,—540*l.* for the benefit of the college, which conferred upon the college the honor of his name. In 1640, the general court conferred upon the college, the avails of the ferry at Charlestown, and the Rev. Henry Dunster became their first President.

From this time, the affairs of the college were regularly conducted, a general emulation prevailed for the promotion of its interest; public bodies, the clergy, and men of science and distinction, generally, attended the public Commencements. To give permanence and respectabili-

ty to the college, the general court appointed the magistrates and teaching elders, of the six nearest towns, together with the president, as a perpetual government. In 1650, the general court gave to the college a charter, which appointed a new corporation, consisting of seven, who were to be elective, under the title of *The President and Fellows of Harvard College*. These two branches united, compose the legislature of the college. Professorships in all the branches of science, have been regularly endowed in this college, (now University of Cambridge) by a Hollis, a Hancock, a Boylston, a John Alford, a Governor Bowdoin, and others, whose names distinguish their several Professorships. This institution began early to flourish, and has continued to flourish, in peace and war, without intermission, down to this time, when the number of students generally amounts to about 300.

Printing was introduced into the Colony of Massachusetts, as early as 1639, and a weekly paper soon commenced.

The settlements of the colonies continued to progress rapidly; the wilderness began extensively to blossom like the rose, and the desert to become vocal with the praises of God.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS, CONTINUED.

IN 1640, more than four thousand families, had fled from the persecutions of their suffering country, and taken refuge in the wilds of New-England. The expense of this numerous emigration, was estimated at about 200,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of the price paid to extinguish the Indian titles to their lands; but they had obtained a retreat secure from papal persecution, where they could enjoy the religion of their hearts, in a manner agreeable to their consciences, with a good hope, and a strong confidence, that they should transmit these blessings to their posterity, down to the latest generation. To accomplish this, they laid out their towns regularly, from four to six miles square, erected meeting houses for regular worship, settled regular ministers, and founded, or established regular schools, and provided for their support by law. It is true the numbers in the several towns were small when they settled their clergymen, and of course their *salaries* were *small*; yet both ministers and people, knew this to be best, and for the interest of the religion they came out to plant and enjoy. They well remembered, that a *rich clergy* in England, had made a *corrupt religion*, and they had endeavoured to correct the evil at home: when this failed, and they had fled to New-England, they were all contented to *correct the evil* in their *religious institutions*. Although the salaries of ministers, throughout New-England, have been from 50 to 100, and sometimes 150*l.* per annum; yet they have generally lived, and educated their families, in a stile the most respectable of any class of people in the country.

The special smiles of Divine Providence have been as conspicuous upon the *ministry*, as upon the *people*, in the

settlement of New-England. They have been, and continue to be a learned, wise, virtuous, prudent, godly set of men; zealous in their labours for the best interest of Zion, and the best good of their people. Under such a ministry, the church has flourished in its purity, the civil and literary institutions of New-England, and the nation, have flourished; and so long as God, in his providence, shall continue such a ministry, they will continue to flourish; but whenever the ministry of New-England become corrupted with the *mammon of unrighteousness*, then the church in the wilderness will become corrupt: *ambition, pride, and a lust of domination*, will stalk abroad, in the places of that meekness, simplicity, and purity, which have ever characterised the clergy and the church of New-England: and the corruptions, which we have noticed in England, as the causes which led to, and promoted the settlement and prosperity of the church in the wilderness, will sweep away all her excellent purity and glory, and usurp their dominion over this modern Canaan of God. Is there one of my readers who shall reply with Hazael, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great wickedness?" *2 Kings* vii. 13. Let him remember, that the whole church, in the ancient Canaan, revolted from God, and asked a *king*: that Jeroboam led the ten tribes to revolt from the true worship of God, set up the calves of Dan and Bethel, and joined themselves to idols; and that the other two tribes became notoriously corrupt, and abused their privileges, violated the rites of the *sabbath* and the *sanctuary*, and when they prostituted the *High-priesthood* to the *price of money*, then God gave them up to the rage of their enemies; razed their city and temple to their foundations, and blotted them out from the list of nations, to this day. Are we better than they, who sprang from the father of the faithful, and were the children of the promises? Let us remember

that there never was a *Court*, but what was notoriously corrupt. Even the Court of Heaven, in the presence of God himself, had its Lucifers and apostate angels; those sons of ambition and pride, whom it became necessary for Jehovah to banish from his presence, and to shut up in darkness, to the judgment of the great day. *And even this warning of the prophet, did not change the heart of Haael—“ Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.”*

In 1643, the Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Haven, entered into the following confederacy, for mutual aid and support.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

ARTICLE. 1. “The United Colonies of New-England, viz. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, enter into a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive.

2. Each colony to retain a distinct, and separate jurisdiction; no two colonies to join in a separate jurisdiction, without the consent of the whole; and no other colony to be received into the confederacy, without the like consent.

3. The charge of all wars, offensive and defensive, to be borne in proportion to the number of male inhabitants, between sixteen and sixty years of age, in each colony.

4. Upon notice from three magistrates of any colony, of an invasion, the rest shall immediately send aid. Massachusetts 100, and each of the other colonies 45 men; and if a greater number be necessary, commissioners to meet and determine upon it.

5. Two commissioners from each colony, being church members, to meet annually, the first Monday in September. The first meeting to be held at Boston, then at Hartford, New-Haven and Plymouth, and so yearly, in that order, saving that two meetings successively be held at Boston.

6. All matters wherein six shall agree, to be binding upon the whole; and if there be a majority, but under six, the matter in question shall be referred to the general court of each colony, and not be obligatory, unless the whole agree to it.

7. A president for preserving order, to be chosen by the commissioners each year, out of their number.

8. The commissioners shall have power to establish laws and rules, of a civil nature, and of general concern, for the conduct of the inhabitants, viz. relative to their conduct towards the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and the like.

9. No colony to engage in war, except upon a sudden exigency, (and in that case to be avoided as much as possible,) without consent of the whole.

10. If a meeting be summoned upon any extraordinary occasion, and the whole number of commissioners do not assemble, any four who shall meet, may determine upon a war, when the case will not admit of delay, and send for the agreed proportion of men, out of each jurisdiction; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or have power to settle bills of charges, or make levies for the same.

11. If any colony break any articles of this agreement, or in anywise injure another colony, the matter shall be considered and determined, by the commissioners of the other colonies."

I have given these articles at large, to shew the mutual confidence of the parties, as well as the simplicity of the contract. This contract became the palladium of New-England, and its good effects have been felt, through the whole period of her political existence, to this day. A strong mutual affection, of brotherly love, and christian fellow-

ship, prevailed in New-England ; the same mutual affection, that governed a family for their mutual aid and support, governed a society, a town, a colony, and even the whole confederacy. The same language, the same laws, the same religion, united with the same objects of pursuit, gave the same manners, customs, and habits to the whole ; and rendered them one common family.

CHAPTER XVI.

A SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES OF NEW-ENGLAND, WITH THEIR SACHEMS AND TRIBES.

BEFORE we enter upon that crisis, which fixed the destinies of New-England, known by the name of Philip's War, we will take a survey of the genius and character of the natives of New-England, and their number of tribes, with the particular chief or sachem, of each tribe.

The charter of the Colony of Plymouth, embraced three sachemdoms, including many small tribes; the principal of these tribes were the Naucets, and the principal sachem was Mashpee. They lay about the Cape; but on the west of the colony, and extending into Rhode-Island, lay the Pakanockets; a numerous tribe, with their great Sachem Massasoit, who either influenced, or controuled, all the neighbouring tribes. The great Philip, whose wars we are about to relate, became the sachem of this tribe, and thus acquired his influence. West of the Pakanockets, and extending along the coast, and about the Naraganset Bay, lay the Naragansets. These embraced six or seven smaller tribes, all under the great Sachem Miantonimo. The local situation of these Indians, was favourable to support, and preservation; the sea, upon one side, was a barrier to guard them from surprise by their enemies, and furnished them support, both which increased their population, and rendered them the most numerous sachemdom in New-England. West of the Naragansets, upon the coast, lay the Pequots, whose destruction we have witnessed. North of the Pequots, upon Connecticut River, lay the numerous tribes at Haddam, Middletown, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor; but the most numerous of all their tribes, was the Podunks at Windsor. West of the Connecticut, not only upon the sea-coast, but extending back into the country, the tribes and sa-

chemdoms were numerous, inhabiting the fertile banks of all the numerous rivers, and streams. East of the river, Indians, and north of the Pequots, were the Mohegans, which extended into the counties of Windham and Tolland, and were governed by the great Sachem, Uncas. This tribe, with the Pequots, in 1636, could muster 1000 warriors; and the whole number of Connecticut Indians, at that time, were estimated at 12000. The Rhode-Island Indians, at the commencement of Philip's war, were estimated at 2,000 warriors, and about one half had fire arms; their whole number, in 1636, in this state, were estimated at 8000. The whole number, as well as the particular tribes, in Massachusetts, at the early settlement, were not known; but at the time of Philip's war, they were estimated at ten or twelve hundred. The great sachem of Massachusetts, resided upon an eminence at Dorchester, and his dominion extended, generally, over the adjacent country, lying about the great bay; and the mouth of Charles' River, was a place of general rendezvous for all the neighbouring tribes. In the (now) county of Worcester, was the Nipmuck tribe. At Agawam, or Ipswich, was another tribe; and at Naumkeag, or Salem, was another sachemdom, that embraced all the tribes in the eastern part of Massachusetts proper. In New-Hampshire, the Newcehewannocks, the Wainopset, Patucket, Amoskeag, and Pennecook tribes, dwelt upon the principal rivers, and extended back onto the Connecticut, where dwelt a numerous tribe at Newberry. In the Province of Maine, the Norridgewacks, Kennebeck, Penobscot, and several other tribes, dwelt upon the principal waters; these were denominated Tarenteens, and with the more eastern Indians, (called Abenaguics,) were numerous, and warlike, and were almost perpetually at war with the English. The number of the New-England Indians could never be exactly known; but it was at all times sufficient to have destroyed the English, at any time before the settle-

ment of Connecticut, and the destruction of the Pequots; after that time, the English had become too strong, and they were able to quell an insurrection of all these tribes, which united in one grand confederacy, and armed with muskets, as may be seen in the following war, stiled Philip's war.

The Indians believed in two supreme Gods, or Great Spirits, the good, and the evil, who governed all events, and ruled the destinies of men; that these dwelt in some inaccessible mountain, cave, or swamp, and to these they made known their wants, and complaints; and supposed that all their good or evil, came from them. These deities they worshipped by prayers, and sacrifices, with all the tumultuous ceremonies of their *powahs*, and war dances, promising them skins, hatchets, kettles, beads, and other valuable things, together with the sacrifice of their own children, if their prayers should be granted. Bows and arrows, with spears, were their instruments of war and the chase, and he who was the most dexterous, athletic, and courageous, first became their chief, and this became hereditary in his family. Their rites of marriage, were exactly upon the plan of the old Jewish Patriarchs, and they were as rigid against adultery. Hunting and fishing, were their chief amusements, and they possessed great sagacity in taking their game. They ate their food, like the old Scythians, in a circle, seated upon the ground, with their humble repast placed in the middle—without even a knife to furnish their table; or divide their food. They were much addicted to idleness, and dissipation, particularly gaming. War and hunting occupied, solely, the attention of the men; the women were devoted to the cares of the family; to till the ground, and do the drudgery, carry the burthens, and keep the records. Their method of managing their infants, is common to the savages; they fasten them by bandages of bark, or splints, with their backs to some straight flat substance, as a piece of board, bark, &c. and thus supposed that they acquired those straight limbs

and forms, which distinguish the savage, but which has been found, by Europeans, to belong to the Indians of North America, as distinctly, and as decidedly as their red colour, their noble and majestic stature, or their small black eyes, and long black hair; all which are the characteristic features of an Indian. The friendship of these savages, was co-existent with their interest; and so long as it continued, was warm and affectionate; but their enmity always continued until satisfied or glutted with revenge. To effect this, neither heat nor cold, fatigue, labour, privation, peril, or distance of place, that harboured or concealed their enemy, were any bar to their revenge. Their attachments to their own tribes were strong; they seldom have any personal quarrels; they never steal from, rob, or defame each other. Whenever a family leave their hut or wigwam, they set up a stick against the outside of the door; this is their padlock, and proves a religious security to their dwellings.

Their mode of making war is always by stratagem and ambush; they never meet their enemies in the field. They generally commence their first attacks upon their enemy's village, by surprise, in dead of night, or before the waking hours of the morning, whilst their enemy is secure, or by way-laying him, in some thicket, where they can lie concealed. These modes of savage war, have been often fatal to the English. From this war of surprise, the first settlers of North America suffered severely; and even the first settlers of New-England, had their hair's breadth escapes, by the intelligence of friendly Indians, who disclosed the Indian plots. To guard against these, a constant vigilance became absolutely necessary, as well as a friendly intercourse, by treaty, or otherwise, with the sachems or chiefs, of the neighbouring tribes. This mode of warfare, opened the way for that war, in New-England, known by the name of Philip's war, which commenced in 1675, and lasted one whole year.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHILIP'S WAR.

DURING the period of fifty five-years, the English had lived quietly with the savages, excepting the war which exterminated the Pequots, and some slight collisions with the Naragansets, and some small tribes; but this war was commenced as a war of extermination, by a coalition of all the tribes of New-England. This plot was communicated to the English, as usual, by a friendly Indian; but it was too late, he paid for his friendship, by falling a sacrifice to savage resentment the next day, and the war commenced by an ambush, surprise, and attack, from a party of Indians, upon the people of Swanzey, on their return home from public worship on the sabbath; two men were killed, and one wounded: the people fled and dispersed, the Indians pursued, and eight more were killed. A body of horse, and infantry were dispatched from Boston, into the enemy's country, and besieged Philip in his camp; they commenced an attack by assault, and dispersed the savages, with the loss of one man killed, and one wounded. They next compelled the Naragansets to a peace, sword in hand, and returned home. The English at Boston, hearing that Philip had fled to the Nipmucks, (now county of Worcester,) sent an embassy to renew the treaty with that tribe; but Philip was there, and had recounted the slaughter of the Indians, and excited them to war. The embassy was received by the explosion of an Indian ambush, which killed eight of the mission, and wounded their chief; and the rest fled to a neighbouring village, where they all assembled in one house. Philip with his Indians, pursued, burnt the village, and surrounded this house, with all his force. Here commenced one of the most memorable attacks recorded in the wars of New-England: an incessant discharge

of musquetry pierced the house, accompanied with every act of savage malice to it ; but all without effect, excepting the loss of one man killed. They then set fire to a cart load of swingling-tow, and other combustibles, and moved it up against the house ; yet even this was extinguished, by a special providential shower of rain ; and at the moment when the savages felt sure of their conquest, and the destruction of their enemies, Major Willard arrived, raised the siege, and put the enemy to flight, with a very considerable slaughter.

The enemy next appeared at Deerfield, on Connecticut River, and laid waste the village. They next commenced an attack upon Northfield, where they killed eight men ; they next ambushed Captain Burr, who was sent with thirty men, to the relief of Northfield. The Indians, elated with these successes, were now collected, in great force, from all parts of New-England, and ambushed Captain Lathrop, from Boston, who was dispatched with eighty men, and a number of teams, to the relief of Deerfield ; a terrible slaughter ensued, the flower of his party fell, and seventy men were buried in one grave.

This scene was distressing, beyond what the pilgrims had ever experienced ; the whole country was filled with consternation, and mourning. A Captain Mosely, who was near with a body of men, flew to the relief of his friends, dispersed the enemy, who left 136 killed and wounded, on the field. Captain Mosely lost only two men. The successful termination of this action, roused up the energies of New-England ; but their villages were burnt, and their sons murdered, and the enemy were formidable, and in arms.

The Indians next appeared at Springfield, where they burnt 32 houses, which alarmed the general court, then sitting at Boston, who appointed a civil and ecclesiastical committee, to enquire into the state of New-England, if possibly they

might discover and correct those crying sins, that had brought such heavy judgments upon the land.

The committee reported agreeable to their appointment, and a general reformation of manners and morals was recommended, and attempted.

The ravages of the enemy, had now become general in Massachusetts; whilst the flames of Springfield were raging with violence, 7 or 800 Indians attacked the town of Hatfield; but the town was garrisoned, with a force sufficient to repel the assault of the enemy, with very considerable carnage, and the fugitives fled to Naraganset, and secured their retreat, in a dismal swamp, with the strongest fort the country had ever known.* General Winslow, with about 1800 men and 160 friendly Indians, pursued the fugitives, with the greatest possible rapidity, and overtook a strong party at the entrance of the swamp. They exchanged one shot, and the enemy fled into the fort; the English pursued, and commenced an attack upon the fort; but were compelled to retire with loss. They soon renewed the attack with redoubled ardor, and entered the fort, amidst a most tremendous explosion of musquetry, and put all to the sword that fell in their way, excepting about 300 warriors, and 300 women and children, and the rest made their escape. The English next set fire to about 600 wigwams, which exhibited a solemn, and an awful scene; amidst the rage of inextinguishable flames, were heard the shrieks of the aged, and the sick; the infant, and the mother; and the groans of the dying. With all this distress, was connected the destruction of their domestic stores, and their magazines of corn. More than 1000 warriors strewed the field of death, and the affrighted fugitives became the miserable victims of death,

* This fort was encircled by palisades and trees, so constructed as to be impenetrable; with but one entrance, which lay over a water, upon a single tree, and this pass was securely guarded. In this fort were collected about 4000 Indians.

in the ensuing winter, for the want of these very stores, whose destruction they had witnessed in this awful scene.

This was a glorious day to New-England, although they had purchased this bloody victory with the loss of six brave captains, and about 230 men killed and wounded; yet God had given their enemies into their hands, and broken the strength of the Canaanite in the land.

It was now the 20th of December, and the driving snow and piercing cold, were very distressing to the wounded amongst the English; yet their sufferings were small, compared to the sufferings of the savages, who felt the distressing loss of their families, their dwellings, their support, and even their country;—all which had fallen as a sacrifice, for those murderous scenes of carnage and conflagration they had spread through the land.

Although the strength of the Canaanite was now broken, yet the same power in Canada, who had furnished fire-arms for the war, now furnished allies to fill their ranks, and carry on an Indian predatory war. In January they took advantage of a thaw, and laid Mendon in ashes. In February they proceeded to the destruction of Lancaster, and carried off the inhabitants into captivity, particularly Mrs. Rowlinson, the wife of their minister, who was then absent. The same torch consumed part of Marlborough, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Medford, and Plymouth; and even Plymouth witnessed the loss of two of her families. In March they carried the torch into Warwick, Marlborough, Northampton, Sudbury again, and Groton, and committed a massacre at Springfield.

The English pursued the war with energy; but they suffered, often very severely, from the musquetry of the savages, who had become as fierce as bears bereft of their whelps. This war of extermination, raged through the month of March; and near the close of the month, the towns of Rehoboth and Providence, suffered severely by con-

flagration ; Andover suffered severely ; Sudbury was attacked again, by about 500 Indians, and felt the loss of her brave Captain, and more than fifty men. The savages wreaked their vengeance on their prisoners, with their most cruel tortures.

These scenes of general desolation and distress, called up the attention of the pilgrims, to a sense of their situation, and led them to eye the hand of God in these judgments, and to pour out their souls to him, in the deepest humility, fasting, and prayer. One general spirit of supplication, prevailed throughout the churches of New-England—God heard their prayers, and gave them a gracious answer of peace.

The ravages of the enemy were soon closed, for the want of supplies, and the parties, which were scattered about the country, were hunted like wild beasts, by the united forces of Massachusetts and Connecticut. They were driven from Bridgewater, Medfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, and Rehoboth, with severe loss, and carnage. These signal victories opened the heart of Massachusetts, in a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these signal successes in the war.

The scene was now changed. The Maquas, a powerful tribe, resented some severe wrongs, which they had suffered from Philip, rose in arms, fell upon his flying parties, and butchered them without mercy. Struck with despair, Philip fled to Mount Hope, and his people sought safety by flight.

At this time, the Colony of Plymouth followed the example of Massachusetts, and renewedly dedicated themselves to God, in a public Thanksgiving, for the signal displays of his goodness.

The troops of Connecticut and Massachusetts, again entered the country of the Naragansets, and triumphed over their enemies, wherever they found them ; in all their

skirmishes, they killed, took, and destroyed more than 1000 of the enemy ; and last of all, they caught the great Philip in one of his swamps, where they shot him, and carried his head to Plymouth, where it heightened the gratitude of that public Thanksgiving to Almighty God, which witnessed the joy of their hearts, upon this interesting occasion.

Thus fell great Philip, the head of this terrible confederacy against the pilgrims of New-England, and with him, all further hopes of success in this bloody, savage war. To recount the exploits of the heroes of New-England, who distinguished themselves in defence of the little church in the wilderness, would exceed the limits of this work. Such coolness, and bravery, as well as intrepidity and skill, as was manifested by the officers and troops of the pilgrims of New-England, has rarely, if ever, been recorded on the page of history ; and such a terrible, as well as total overthrow, has perhaps never been witnessed since the days of Joshua, in the ancient Canaan.* Amongst the heroes of that day, none were so conspicuously distinguished, and deserving of notice, as a Captain Church, of the Colony of Plymouth. More than a double portion of the mantle of the renowned Captain Standish, had fallen upon Captain Church, and acquired for him, more than a double portion of renown in this memorable war. The daring intrepidity, and the unexampled skill of this knight of New-England, in eluding the wiles of the enemy, in exploring their retreats, in repelling their assaults, in conducting his attacks, in overawing his enemy, and in commanding the respect, confidence, and even affections of his prisoners, were all distinguished features, peculiar to the character of Captain Church. Captain Church was greatly pros-

* Such was the severity of the war, that New-England lost more than six hundred of her valiant sons, who fell in the field, and almost every family was in mourning: more than six hundred buildings had been burnt, and property to a large amount had been destroyed, and the colonies were greatly in debt.

pered in his affairs, after the war, and commanded the respect and admiration of all who knew him, both as a man, a neighbour, a friend, and a christian, as well as a hero ; and in 1690, he engaged, with a major's command, in an expedition against the eastern Indians, who had commenced depredations on the settlements in Maine. In 1692, he accompanied Governor Phips, to Pemaquid, and from thence he was detached against the Penobscot tribe, and when he had subdued these, and scoured extensively, the banks of the Kenebec, he returned in triumph. In 1696, the governor detached him into that eastern country, and he penetrated into the French settlements, at Novascotia, and brought off much spoil.

In 1704, our hero was detached again, with a colonel's command, into that eastern country, to quell the depredations of the French and Indians ; he again scoured the country, and killed, took, or dispersed, all the French and Indians ; again he entered Novascotia, took some of their towns, and again returned in triumph, greatly enriched with the spoils of the enemy. Soon after his return, he received a severe contusion, by a fall from his horse, of which he died suddenly, in the 78th year of his age. His memory was long held in grateful remembrance, by the pilgrims of the wilderness, and his name will ever live in the annals of New-England.

The following sketch of the settlements in New-England, at the close of Philip's war, may not be uninteresting in this place, together with the worthy Pastors, who broke to them that bread of life, which led them out from the land of their fathers, to plant the church in the wilderness of the west.

SETTLEMENTS IN NEW-ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 1696.

Plymouth Colony.—County of Plymouth

Bridgewater,	Mr. James Keith.
Duxbury,	Mr. Ichabod Wiswul, n. c.
Marsfield,	Mr. Edward Thompson, n. c.
Middlebury,	Mr.
Plymouth,	Mr. John Cotton, n. c.
Scituate,	{ Messrs. Jeremiah Cushing, n. c. and De-
	odat Lawson.

Barnstable County.

Barnstable,	Mr. Jonathan Russel, n. c.
Eastham,	Mr. Samuel Treat, n. c.
Falmouth,	{ Mr. Nathaniel Stone, n. c.
Harwich,	
Manamoyet,	{ Mr. Arnold.
Rochester,	
Sandwich,	

Bristol County.

Bristol,	Mr. John Sparhawk, n. c.
Dartmouth,	Vacant.
Freetown,	Mr. Eliphalet Adams, n. c.
Little-Compton,	
Swansy,	Mr. Samuel Danforth, n. c.
Taunton,	

Islands.

Martha's Vine-	{ Messrs. Ralph Thatcher, and Denham,
yard,	
Nantucket,	Indian Pastors.
Newport in	{ Mr. Nathaniel Clap, n. c.
R. Island.	

Massachusetts Colony.—County of Suffolk.

Boston,	{	O. c. Messrs. Allen and Wadsworth, n. c.
		N. c. Messrs. Increase Mather, President
		of the College, and his son Cotton
		Mather, n. c.
		of the s. c. Mr. Samuel Willard, n. c.

Braintree,
Dedham,
Dorchester,
Hingham,
Hull,
Medfield,
Mendon,
Milton,
Roxbury,
Weymouth,
Woodstock,
Wrentham,

Mr. Moses Fisk, H. C.
Mr. Joseph Belcher, H. C.
Mr. John Danforth, H. C.
Mr. John Norton, H. C.
Mr. Zech. Whitman, H. C.
Mr. Joseph Baxter, H. C.
Mr. Grindal Rawson, H. C.
Mr. Peter Thatcher, H. C.
Mr. Nehemiah Walter, H. C.
Mr. Samuel Torrey, H. C.
Mr. Josiah Dwight, H. C.
Mr. Samuel Man, H. C.

Middlesex County.

Billerica,
Cambridge,
Charlestown,
Chelmsford,
Concord,
Dunstable,
Groton,
Lancaster,
Malborough,
Malden,
Medford,
Newtown,
Oxford,
Reading,
Sherborn,
Stow,
Sudbury,
Watertown,
Woburn,
Worcester,

Mr. Samuel Whiting, H. C.
Mr. William Brattle, H. C.
Mr. Charles Morton.
Mr. Thomas Clark, H. C.
Mr. Joseph Eastabrook, H. C.
Mr. Thomas Weld, H. C.
Mr. Gershom Hobart, H. C.
Mr. John Whiting, H. C.
Mr. William Brinsmead, H. C.
Mr. M. Wigglesworth, H. C.
Mr. Simon Bradstreet, H. C.
Mr. Nehemiah Hobart, H. C.

Mr. Jonathan Pierpont, H. C.
Mr. Daniel Gookin, H. C.

Mr. James Sherman.
{ East, Mr. Henry Gibs, H. C.
{ West, Mr. Samuel Angier, H. C.
Mr. Jabez Fox, H. C.

Essex County.

Amesbury,
Andover,
Beverly,
Boxford,
Bradford,

Messrs. Dean, and Barnard, H. C.
Mr. John Hale, H. C.
Mr. Zech. Symmes, H. C.

Glocester,	Mr. John Emerson, н. с.
Haveril,	Mr. Benjamin Rolfe, н. с.
Ipswich,	Messrs. Hubbard and, Rogers, н. с.
And village,	Mr. John Wise, н. с.
Lyn,	Mr. Jeremiah Shepherd, н. с.
Manchester,	Mr. John Emerson, н. с.
Marblehead,	Mr. Samuel Cheever, н. с.
Newbury,	{ East, Mr. Tappin, н. с.
Rowley,	{ West, Mr. Samuel Belcher, н. с.
Salem,	Mr. Edward Payson, н. с.
And village,	Mr. John Higginson, and Mr. Noyes, н. с.
Salisbury,	Mr. Samuel Paris, н. с.
Toppsfield,	Mr. Caleb Cushing, н. с.
Wenham,	Mr. Joseph Capen, н. с.
	Mr. Joseph Gerish, н. с.

Hampshire County.

Deerfield,	Mr. John Williams, н. с.
Endfield,	
Hatfield,	Mr. William Williams, н. с.
Hadley,	
Northampton,	Mr. Solomon Stoddard, н. с.
Springfield,	Mr. Daniel Brewer, н. с.
Southfield,	Mr. Benjamin Ruggles, н. с.
Westfield,	Mr. Edward Taylor, н. с.

Settlements on the Piscataqua.

Dover,	Mr. John Pike, н. с.
Exeter,	Mr. John Clark, н. с.
Hampton,	Mr. John Cotton, н. с.
Newcastle,	Mr. Samuel Hoadly, н. с.
Portsmouth,	Mr. Joshua Moody, н. с.

Province of Maine.

Isle of Sholes,	
Kittery,	
Wells,	
York,	Mr. Hancock, н. с.

Colony of Connecticut.—Hartford County.

Hartford,	Messrs. Woodbridge, and Buckingham, н. с.
Farmington,	Mr. Samuel Hooker, н. с.

Glastenbury,	Mr. Timothy Stevens, H. C.
Haddam,	Mr. Jeremiah Hobart, H. C.
Middletown,	Mr. Noadiah Russel, H. C.
Simsbury,	Mr. Dudley Woodbridge, H. C.
Waterbury,	Mr. Jeremiah Peck, H. C.
Wethersfield,	Mr. Steven Mix, H. C.
Windsor,	Mr. Samuel Mather, H. C.
do. Farms.	Mr. Timothy Edwards, H. C.
Windham.	Mr. Samuel Whiting, H. C.

New-London County.

Killingworth,	Mr. Abraham Pierson, H. C.
Lebanon,	
Lime,	Mr. Moses Noyse, H. C.
New-London,	Mr. Gurdon Saltonstal, H. C.
Norwich,	Mr. James Fitch, H. C.
Pescamsic,	Mr. Joseph Morse, H. C.
Preston,	Mr. Samuel Tread, H. C.
Saybrook,	Mr. Thomas Buckingham.
Stonington,	Mr. James Noyse, H. C.

New-Haven County.

New-Haven,	Mr. James Pierpont, H. C.
Milford,	Mr. Samuel Andrews, H. C.
Brainford,	Mr. Samuel Russel, H. C.
Guilford,	Mr. Thomas Ruggles, H. C.
Derby,	Mr. John James, H. C.
Wallingford,	Mr. Samuel Street, H. C.

Fairfield County

Fairfield,	Mr. Joseph Webb, H. C.
Fairfield village,	Mr. Charles Chauncey, H. C.
Danbury	Mr. Seth Shove, H. C.
Greenwich,	Mr. Joseph Morgan.
Norwalk,	Mr. Stephen Buckingham, H. C.
Rye,	Mr. Bowers, H. C.
Stamford,	Mr. John Davenport, H. C.
Stratford,	Mr. Israel Chauncey, H. C.
Woodbury,	Mr. Zechariah Walker, H. C.

Here is a list of one hundred and twenty towns, which have been planted in three of the Colonies of New-Eng-

land, exclusive of the settlements of Rhode-Island, in the space of fifty-six years; each town is supplied with a minister of the gospel, regularly settled, and supported; (with but few exceptions,) and all those which are marked H. C. were educated at Harvard College. By this list may be seen the rapid growth of New-England; the rapid growth of Harvard College, and the strict attention they have paid to a regular, and learned ministry. Here was the foundation of all their strength, their hopes, and their wishes: for this they fled from the land of their fathers, took up their abode in the wilds of New-England, and became the pilgrims of the west; for this, the sons of those sires, with undaunted bravery, repelled the murderous savages, through the successive bloody, cruel, exterminating savage wars, and by the means of this, God, in his providence, enabled them to triumph over all their enemies, and plant his little church in his modern Canaan. For this, the sons of those sires, have continued to plant the church, in the wilderness, under the guidance of a learned, and godly ministry, and by this, God has enabled them to triumph over all their enemies to this day.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS, CONTINUED—COLONY OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

WE pursued the history of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. of England, because they were fruitful in those causes which promoted the settlement of New-England; We have passed over the history of the commonwealth in England, because it opened a field at home, for the enjoyment of the same civil and religious rights, which the pilgrims had been compelled to seek in the wilds of New-England.

At the restoration of the monarchy in England, under Charles II. 1660, a new field was opened, in which the colonies became again entangled with the mother country. The licentiousness of liberty, had placed a despot at the head of the government, not as a king; but as Lord High Protector, with powers more despotic, than the crown had witnessed since the days of Henry VIII. Under this despotic commonwealth, the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of England, flourished; and the solemn league and covenant, continued to triumph over Episcopacy; but the nation could not long be content, with this state of things. Monarchy had been their government, from their first origin, and notwithstanding all they had suffered in their civil wars, as well as their revolutions, and sharp contests between privilege and prerogative, they shewed their readiness to hug their chains again, in the easy restoration of the monarchy, under Charles II. This opened the door for the triumph of Episcopacy, as well as Popery, over the solemn league and covenant, by an act of Parliament, which restored the House of Lords, with all the spiritual powers of the Bishops, and the famous *act of uniformity*, which required episcopal ordination; assent to

every thing contained in the common prayer book ; an oath of canonical obedience ; abjuration of the solemn league and covenant, &c.

This act rekindled the old fire of persecution ; the Presbyterians generally refused to conform, and more than 2000 of the first ministers in the nation, abandoned their livings in one day. The same spirit extended into Scotland, and the same efforts were made to restore Episcopacy ; but the spirit of opposition was much greater than in England. The Scots remonstrated against the measures of government, and besought the king to establish the Presbyterian kirk in Scotland ; to which Charles replied—“That it was not a religion for a gentleman, and that he could not agree to its further continuance in Scotland.”

This field of persecution, again increased the causes that promoted the settlement of New-England, the licentiousness of the king and court, opened the way for a general corruption of manners and morals : these became the basis of a general toleration in religion, and this the medium of restoring the ancient Hierarchy, with all their power, and persecution ; and this persecution was overruled for good, in promoting the settlement of New-England.

The efforts of Mason and Gorges, to divide New-England into lordships, and the patents they obtained for this purpose, under Charles I. have been noticed ; together with the death of Mason and Gorges, which defeated the plan ; but the heirs of Mason, continued to urge their claims, through the period of the commonwealth in England, and renewed them again at the accession of Charles II. Charles knew the character of the colonies, as well as his own interest, and wisely concluded, that the claims, as well as the plans of Mason and Gorges, would be incompatible with both. He therefore caused them to be suppressed, and opened the way for the organization of the colony of New-Hampshire, 1679.

In the month of September, 1679, the king caused the following commission to be issued, under the great seal of the realm, for the government of New-Hampshire.

After inhibiting and restraining the jurisdiction exercised by Massachusetts over the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton, and all other lands extending from three miles north of the Merimack, and of any, and every part thereof, to the Province of Maine; "this commission appoints John Cutts, Esq. president, for one year, and until another shall be appointed by the same authority; also Richard Martyn, William Vaughan, and Thomas Daniel of Portsmouth; John Gilman of Exeter, Christopher Hussey of Hampton, and Richard Waldon of Dover, Esqrs. to be of the council, who were authorised to choose three others, well qualified, out of the province, to be added to them. The president to appoint a deputy to preside in his absence, and the president or his deputy, with five councillors to form a quorum. They were to meet at Portsmouth in twenty days after the arrival of the commission, and publish it. They were constituted a court of record for the administration of justice, according to the laws of England, so far as circumstances would permit; reserving a right of appeal to the king in council, for actions of fifty pound value. They were to appoint military officers, and take all needful measures of defence against the common enemy. Liberty of conscience was allowed to all Protestants, those of the church of England to be particularly encouraged. For the support of government, they were to continue the present taxes, till an assembly could be called; to which end they were within three months to issue writs, under the province seal, for calling an assembly, to whom the president should recommend the passing such laws as should establish their allegiance, good order, and defence; and the raising taxes in such manner, and proportion as they should see fit. All laws to be approved

by the president and council, and then to remain in force until the king's pleasure could be known; for which purpose they should be sent to England by the first ships. In case of the president's death, his deputy to succeed him, and on the death of a counsellor, the remainder to elect another, and send over his name, with the names of two other meet persons, that the king might appoint one of the three. The king engaged for himself, and his successors, to continue the privilege of an assembly, in the same manner and form, unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same."

I have given this charter at large, to shew how well the king understood the character of the people, with whom he was treating, both in granting unlimited freedom, and yet reserving to himself a sovereign controul. On the 16th of March, 1680, the first legislative assembly was convened, according to the commission, or charter. They proceeded to declare the Colony of New-Hampshire, free and independent of Massachusetts, and to enact wise and salutary laws, conformable to the laws of England, and upon the same plan of Massachusetts; and the other colonies of New-England.

The peace of this government was of short duration; Mason came over, and demanded a seat in the council, which was granted; but he soon returned to England in disgust, and made a partial surrendery of his claims, to the crown, and mortgaged the remainder to Edmund Cranfield, Esq. who was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of New-Hampshire, and soon repaired to his government, 1682. By the commission issued to Cranfield it appears, "that he was impowered to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve general courts, to have a negative voice in all acts of government, to suspend any counsellor at his will, (which barred his future election,) to appoint a dep-

ty governor, judges, justices, and other officers, and to execute the powers of vice admiral. Here commenced a new order of things: Cranfield arrived, disclosed his commission, and commenced a system of tyranny, and persecution. A new assembly was called, and many new laws enacted, and a *douceur* of 250*l.* voted to the governor, which softened for a time, the rigors of his administration. The assembly was adjourned.

At an early day after the meeting of the next assembly, January 1683, a new collision sprang up between the governor, and the assembly, which produced so much warmth, that the governor dissolved the assembly. This struck a fatal blow to the peace of New-Hampshire. These sons of liberty could not brook such arbitrary power, especially, when aimed at the vital principles of their existence, as a body politic; they raised a hue and cry against the measure, with the sound of trumpet, and proclaimed "*Liberty and Reform.*" This outrage was so notorious, that it became necessary for the civil magistrate, to unite with the governor to suppress it, by the arm of the law; and one Gour, who was a principal, was convicted of high treason, and sentenced to death: this sentence was remitted, and he was sent to England, and imprisoned in the Tower three years, and afterwards released, and was restored to his country and estate.

These scenes opened the way for new troubles. Mason* again appeared, and set up his claim, and demanded that all lands, and estates, should be held of him by lease, upon an annual rent; and the governor favoured the claim. The people resisted, prosecutions commenced, and judgments were rendered in favour of Mason; but he could not obtain any consideration: all was anxiety, and alarm, and the people petitioned the king. The governor called an assembly for the purpose of quieting

* Son and heir to the original grantee.

the people, and to raise money: they were not cordial to his views, and he dissolved them. He next commenced a religious persecution, upon the statutes of non-conformity in England, which had driven our fathers from their country, their fires, and their altars, to take refuge in the wilds of New-England; and actually obtained judgment against the Rev. Joshua Moody, minister of Portsmouth one of the worthies of New-England, and committed him to prison for the term of six months, without bail. At the expiration of the time, Mr. Moody was released; and upon a call to settle in Boston, he accepted, and thus eluded his enemies. Here he was invited to the presidency of the college at Cambridge, but declined the offer, and remained with his people in Boston, (often visiting and preaching at private meetings, with his church at Portsmouth,) until 1692, when the Indian wars recommenced; he then found his enemies were removed, and a way was open for him to return to his people at Portsmouth, which he readily embraced; and there spent the remnant of his days in peace.

In the spring of 1684, the Baron De Castine, who resided at Penobscot, and had married the daughter of the sachem of that tribe, excited the savages to hostilities against the English. To meet the exigencies of this war, the governor levied taxes, with the advice of his council, without calling an assembly, and issued warrants for their collection. This again inflamed the popular resentment, and associations were soon formed for resistance, and mutual support. They next proceeded to resist the sheriff at Exeter, in an attempt to distrain, for the collection of the tax. Men, women, and children, engaged with clubs, spits, and scalding water, and repelled the attempt. At Hampton they resisted again, beat off the sheriff, took away his sword, seated him upon his horse, with his feet tied under the horse's belly, and a rope round his neck, and

conveyed him out of the province. The magistrates attempted to commit some of the rioters; but they were rescued on their way to prison. The governor then ordered out a troop of horse; but not a man appeared; the governor desisted, and the people, by their agent in England, exhibited a complaint against him to the king, stating his tyrannical usurpations, and their grievances. This was referred to the board of trade, and was soon followed with a new, and more extensive complaint. These complaints were duly noticed, and tried in England, and the governor was recalled, and sent out to Barbadoes; and Barefoot, the deputy governor, succeeded to the chair; where he continued until removed by Dudley, as President of New-England.*

I have given a more particular sketch of the characters, who first opened the government of New-Hampshire, for two important reasons; first, to shew the similarity in the spirit of the people; and next to shew the difference in the genius of the governments. If such riots and feuds, could so easily be produced from the usurpation of one tyrannical governor, what would have been the fate of New-England, had Mason and Gorges succeeded in dividing it up into Lordships? What would have been the fate of the church in the wilderness, and where would have been these boasted civil, religious, and literary privileges, which we so richly enjoy? Let us eye the hand of God in these events, and give him all the glory. Let us at the same time see to it, that we, by our virtues, add a lustre to the names of such renowned ancestors, and by preserving those liberties, which they so dearly purchased, shew ourselves worthy of our immortal sires.

At this time, 1685, a general peace took place between the colony of New-Hampshire, and the eastern Indians,

*Barefoot and Mason, were held in such contempt by the people, that they met with personal abuse, and some times were treated with great severity and violence. Mason was thrown into a large fire, and Barefoot, in attempting to rescue him, had his ribs broken and his teeth knocked out.

and Mason farmed out his claims to other adventurers, which served to perpetuate a nominal possession, and departed for England, April, 1686. This opened the way for a new order of things.

This spirit of liberty, which prevailed throughout the colonies, gave great offence to the king, and he determined to check and controul it ; accordingly he appointed Sir Edmond Randolph, as the special agent of the crown, to remove the charters from all the colonies, by writs of *Quo Warranto* and *Scire Facias* ; and appointed Joseph Dudley, Esq. as president, and Sir William Stoughton deputy president—Simon Bradstreet, Robert Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pynchon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Warton, John Usher, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Gidney, Jonathan Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hynckes, and Edward Tyng, counsellors. This government embraced the colonies of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode-Island. This form of government commenced May 1686, to the utter exclusion of those legislative assemblies so offensive to the governors of the crown. From this council of the country, were selected judges of the county courts, with right of appeal to the superior courts, to be holden at Boston, and from thence, to the crown. Justice courts, and probate courts, were organized under this new government, and a complete new order of things, appeared in the government of New-England.

To strengthen the dominion of the crown, yet further, Sir Edmond Andross, late governor of New-York, was appointed captain general and governor in chief, over the Colonies of New-England, including Plymouth. To this government was attached a council, five of whom, with the governor, made a quorum, with powers almost unlimited. To this government the colony of New-York was annexed, in 1687.

This new order of things in New-England, arose out of

the change which had taken place in England. Charles II. had died in 1685, and James II. a bloody Papist, was now upon the throne, and England was groaning under his despotic sway, as well as the colonies. Whilst James II. was attempting to restore Popery in England, Andross was oppressing the colonies, with almost every exertion of despotic sway; and when the people of England expelled James, from the throne, and conferred it upon William and Mary, the colonies rose in arms, seized and imprisoned Andross, and sent him home to meet his trial.

The colonies were again thrown into an unsettled state; their charters were gone; their governments were gone; and now their general government was at an end. Massachusetts resumed her former government, and at the request of New-Hampshire, admitted her again under their protection; but Mason's claim opened a new field of controversy in New-Hampshire. The heirs of Mason, sold their claims to the New-Hampshire grant, for seven hundred and fifty pounds, free from entail, to Samuel Allen, merchant, of London; and he obtained a commission for the government of New-Hampshire, with the appointment of John Usher, his son-in-law, as deputy-governor, with full powers in Allen's absence. This commission had also annexed to it, twelve counsellors, who acted under the crown, independent of the legislative assemblies.

In 1692, Usher took possession of his government, in the midst of a most extensive and distressing Indian war, which filled that country with distress, and drenched it in blood. To enumerate the particular adventures of this long and distressing war, would swell this work beyond my design; nothing like it had appeared in New-England, excepting Philip's wars, which have been noticed; a general sketch of the more prominent events, will be sufficient. The Indians in Canada and Novascotia were extensively engaged in it, and like the war of Philip, it was a desperate war of extermination.

CHAPTER. XIX.

GENERAL WAR IN NEW-HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE, KNOWN BY THE NAME OF KING WILLIAM'S WAR,—NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONTINUED.

THE revolution in England, of 1688, drove James II. from his throne, threw him into the arms of Lewis XIV. king of France, and brought William, Prince of Orange, with Mary his wife, to the throne of England, and at the same time involved the nation in a war with France.

The passions which kindled this war extended to New-England, and through the instrumentality of the Baron De Castine, (who resided at Penobscot,) and the governor of Canada, the Indians were induced to take up the hatchet, and commence hostilities. The Baron had received some pointed injury from Sir William Andross, during his administration, and the Indians upon the River Cocheco,* had been seized by a Major Waldron, and about 400 of them sent abroad, and sold as slaves, about the year 1676. Part of these Indians had now returned, and were thirsting for revenge. These facts, added to the national war, opened the way for immediate hostilities.

In the town of Dover, on the Cocheco, were five garrisoned houses, for the protection of the inhabitants, one of which was Major Waldron's. This settlement first felt the vengeance of savage war. A large body of Indians entered the village, at dawn of day, and surprised three of the garrisons, and put them to the sword. When they entered Major Waldron's house, he awoke at the alarm, seized his sword and drove them from his apartments; but in attempting to return for his gun, an Indian knocked him down; they then seized him, and bore him into an outer apartment; here they seated him upon a long table, in his

* A branch of the Piscataqua.

elbow-chair, and presenting themselves before him, exclaimed, "Who judge Indians now?" They then menaced him with their knives, and, cutting him across the breast and body, exclaimed, "I cross out my account." They next cut off his nose and ears, and cramed them into his mouth; and when he grew faint, they tumbled him down on to the point of his own sword, which closed this horid scene.

Such were the passions that kindled this war, and raged through the whole period. Twenty-three persons were butchered in this massacre, twenty-nine carried into captivity, five or six houses with the mills, were burnt; and the whole scene closed before the other parts of the town could come to their relief, and the savages had fled with their prisoners and booty, which were carried through the wilderness, to Canada.

This massacre spread general alarm, and vigorous measures were pursued, to prosecute the war. Troops were immediately forwarded to their relief, from Massachusetts and Plymouth, who repelled the Indians, and settled garrisons on their eastern borders. Before these troops arrived, the Indians surprised a village, on Oyster River, (a little below Cochecho) killed 18 men at work, seized a block-house, murdered some children, and carried the women into captivity.

Winter set in, and was expected to give some relief; but it opened a new scene, and gave a general scope to the war. Count de Frontenac, governor of Canada, entered with spirit into the war. He let loose those hellhounds of the forest, from the wilds of Canada, in three divisions; accompanied with French Canadians, to spread carnage, and desolation, throughout the English settlements, on heir frontier; 1690. Schenectada, (a Dutch settlement on the Mohawk) fell the first victim, to the party who marched from Montreal. This spread a general alarm. The next party proceeded from Trois Rivers, and surprised a set-

tlement at Salmon Falls, where after a sharp action, they killed and took about 80 men, women and children; plundered and destroyed the village, and the cattle, and fled. They were soon pursued by about 140 men, and overtaken and dispersed, after a sharp action. On their return, they fell in with the third party, who marched from Quebec, united their forces, and in May, they surprised and destroyed the settlement at Casco; and the eastern settlers abandoned their villages and fled to Wells. The savages overran the country, killing, burning, and destroying, all in their way. They had learnt by the discipline of the French, to face the English in the open field, and actually fought some severe actions.

Alarmed at this daring enterprise, the English determined to destroy the power of the French in Canada, at a blow: they accordingly fitted out a fleet and armament against Quebec, under the command of Sir William Phips; but the season was too far advanced before Sir William arrived before Quebec, and the expedition failed. The expences of this expedition, caused the first emission of paper money in New-England. Alarmed at the energies of the English, the Indians practised a new stratagem: they voluntarily came in, and proffered a truce, which was accepted, and the terms of peace were agreed upon, and hostages left on their part, to guarantee their fidelity. This truce continued until the June following; when, in the midst of security, the Indians attacked the fort at Wells, which had become the assylum of the east; but were repulsed with great slaughter. They next attacked Exeter, but with the destruction of only two men; they then fell upon Sandy Beach, where they killed and destroyed 22 persons, 1691. In January, 1692, they surprised and destroyed York, which closed the scene for the winter, generally; but in May following, they again fell upon the fortress at Wells, and were again repulsed with great loss:

this, added to the vigilance and exertions, of Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts, kept the Indians quiet.

This state of quiet, which continued through the years 1692 and 3, became again a snare to the English, by lulling them into a state of security. In the midst of this false security, the Sieur Villieu, the brave defender of Quebec, against the expedition under Sir William Phips, being now removed to the command of the station at Penobscot, assembled a force of about 250 Indians, attended by a French priest, and made a descent upon the village of Dover, upon Oyster River, where he took and destroyed five garrison-houses out of twelve; the others were defended with firmness. In this enterprise, about 100 persons were killed and taken, and about 20 houses were destroyed, and the Indians made their escape with their booty, 1694. The next year, two men again were killed at Exeter, and in 1696, a small village at Sandy Beach was surprised and burnt; 14 persons were killed, and four were taken and carried off. A strong party pursued, and recovered the prisoners and plunder, but the savages made their escape. They next surprised the citizens of Dover, on the sabbath, as they returned from meeting; 3 were killed and 3 wounded, and 3 were taken and carried to Penobscot, from whence they were soon returned. In 1697, they attempted to surprise the town of Exeter, but were providentially discovered, and fled. In their retreat, they took vengeance on a Major Frost at Kittery, who had been concerned in the capture of the 400 Indians, at Cocheco, which were sold in Europe.

These scenes of distress were but the preludes of what were to follow, had the whole plan succeeded. This plan, concerted in France, had for its object, the destruction of New-England; by the assistance of a fleet and armament from France, to co-operate with the forces of Canada, and lay waste the whole country. The plan was a

bold one; but that God, who had planted his church in the wilderness, had preserved her through sufferings, to meet and repel the attempt. The fleet remained at Newfoundland until winter, and then returned to France. The straggling parties of Indians, committed some depredations; but nothing of importance, and the next season, 1698, the war was closed, by the peace of Ryswick, in Europe, and by the treaty of Casco, in New-England.

The events of an Indian war can be related, but the horrors of an Indian war, can never be disclosed by the pen. The distresses of our fathers are lost in reality, and even their remembrance is almost swallowed up, in those rich enjoyments they provided for their descendants.

Through all these scenes of alarm and distress, the Colony of New-Hampshire was crossed, vexed, and perplexed with proprietary governors, appointed by the crown, under Mason's, or rather Allen's claims; first by Usher, as has been noticed, from 1692, to the year 1695; then by William Partridge; next by Allen himself: and in 1699, the Earl of Bellomont arrived, agreeable to his appointment, and entered upon the government of the province, and William Partridge acted as lieutenant governor. This change in the government, quieted the feuds which had perplexed the colony, and gave repose to the feelings of the people.

The Earl of Bellomont, was a man of distinguished rank and character, highly qualified for his station, and devoted to the best interest of the colony. He found the colony poor, and in debt, by the losses and expences of the war; and their coast, as well as frontier, opened to the ravages of an enemy. These he attempted to remedy, as well as to settle a correspondence, of mutual aid and support, throughout New-England, together with New-York; but these views were interrupted, by a renewal of Allen's claims, which he attempted to prosecute

in their courts of law, 1700. Here, again, he was lame, for the people had cut out of the records, every leaf that regarded his claims, and left him destitute of record testimony, and he failed in every trial. He next petitioned the king, who granted him an appeal; but the court refused to admit the appeal, and in the midst of this controversy, the Earl of Bellomont died, and the government devolved upon Lieut. Gov. Patridge, and the controversy continued until it was finally brought before the king, under the agency of Usher. Pending this process, King William died, and was succeeded by Queen Ann; who appointed Joseph Dudley, Esq. governor, and gave audience in the appeal, 1701: but Usher failed for want of proof, with permission to begin *de novo*. Usher next petitioned the queen, for permission to possess and enjoy all waste-lands in the province, and to be appointed lieutenant governor. These were both sharply contested, for they were both highly obnoxious to the people; but Usher prevailed, and Allen obtained all uninclosed, and unoccupied lands, as waste lands; and Usher obtained a commission as lieutenant governor. This stroke was more severe to this province, than an Indian war, and gave greater excitement to the public feeling. This controversy occupied the years 1701, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, up to 1713, when Allen's death closed the controversy. Such were the perplexities and vexations of this colony, arising out of these proprietary claims.

CHAPTER XX.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

WHEN the great religious controversy, which had been drenching with blood the plains of Germany, under the standard of the confession of Augsburg, (which produced the league of Augsburg,) had been closed by the peace of Ryswick, 1697, then a cessation of hostilities followed in New-England, until the general war in Europe recommenced, in 1701. This war opened anew the intrigues of the French, and in 1703, the depredations of savage war recommenced in New-England, and the French, in Canada and Novascotia, became more openly parties in the war. Then a fact was disclosed, that was well understood before; that Monsieur Frontenac, governor of Canada, had furnished the savages with arms, ammunition, and other supplies for the war, and actually held many thousands, in the service and pay of France. That the Roman Catholic priests in the dominions of France, both in Canada and Novascotia, excited the savages to war with the English, with this story—"That Jesus Christ was born of a French woman; that he was murdered by the English; therefore all his friends ought to kill the English."

The French in Novascotia, (or Le Acadia) attempted to extend their limits and settlements to the Kennebec River, by order of Lewis XIV. King of France, and excluded, or attempted to exclude the English from their fishery. This gave alarm, and Governor Dudley attempted to provide for the defence of the colony; but the people were poor, and he found it difficult to raise money; the most he could do, was to assemble the principal tribes of Indians, and renew the treaty of Casco, which was done with all apparent possible sincerity; but here again was stratagem, for in a few days after the treaty they were

joined by a strong party from Canada, and began their depredations, by a "general attack upon all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed, and took 130 people, burning and destroying all before them, 1703." These ravages extended from Deerfield, on the Connecticut River to Casco, on the east, and the whole country was in one general alarm; the women and children took shelter in the garrisons, and the men went armed to their labours; these ravages continued with various success, until winter closed the scene.

With the opening of spring, 1704, hostilities were renewed, and continued through the summer, with various success. These depredations continued through the years 1705, 6, and 7, when an expedition was planned against Port Royal, in Novascotia, where it arrived in May, 1707; but the expedition failed, and returned in disgrace. This gave encouragement to the enemy, and they renewed their depredations. Governor Dudley ordered the army to re-embark and return to Port Royal, where they arrived early in August, but effected nothing more than to dislodge a party of Indians, who had ambushed their landing. This expedition also failed, and returned in disgrace, but the enemy took advantage of the absence of the troops, and scooped the country with renewed boldness, and all was confusion and distress. In the midst of this distress, a party of Mohawks came down upon Oyster River, and cut off a party of labourers, killed eight, and mortally wounded the ninth, and made their escape. In the spring of 1708, a large party from Canada, fell upon Haverhill; but they were repulsed, and dispersed. In 1709, the same ravages continued upon Oyster River, and Exeter; five were taken, and one was killed.

The losses in this war, were severe upon this handful of people; but the constant anxiety, arising from constant, and distressing alarms; the dangers, and difficulties of till-

ing the ground, to procure the necessary support, together with harrassing watchfulness, and military duty, were, taken together, much more severe. They saw no possibility of relief from this murderous state of war, but the reduction of Canada, as the source of all their troubles. To effect this, they, by their agents, entered into an agreement with the English ministry, to co-operate with a fleet and armament from England, for this purpose. To effect this, they surmounted the most distressing pecuniary embarrassments, and raised troops, and transports, and embarked for the expedition; but the fleet and armament from England, failed, which defeated the enterprise.

In 1710, they, by their agents, obtained an armament from England, against Port Royal, which came out in July, and joined the Provincials at Boston, and in September, the expedition sailed against Port Royal, and the town was taken on the 5th of October, 1710.

In 1711, a fleet and armament from England was sent out to New-England, to co-operate with the Provincials, against Quebec. The whole armament sailed from Boston, in July, and Governor Dudley ordered a monthly fast to be observed throughout the whole expedition, to implore the assistance and support of Almighty God, against their enemies. This force was considered as adequate to the reduction of Quebec, as the force the last year had been for the reduction of Port Royal, but it failed; the transports were wrecked, in a fog, in the River St. Lawrence, on the night of the 23d of August; about 1000 of the English troops were lost; the whole of the remainder of the fleet, put back to the Island of Cape Breton, and from thence the English fleet returned to England, and the Provincials to their own homes.

In 1712, the enemy renewed their ravages, with increased boldness; but the vigilance of the English prevented all serious depredations, until the arrival of the

news of peace in Europe, on the 29th of October;* this layed the storm, and the savages laid down the hatchet; and renewed the treaty at Casco, July 11th, 1713. In the summer of 1714, a general exchange of prisoners was made at Quebec, and New-England was again at peace.

In 1715, Queen Ann died, and was succeeded by George I. The harmony that subsisted between the crown and New-England, during the reign of Queen Ann, is above all comment; and the harmony between Governor Dudley, and the Colony of New-Hampshire, gave new spirit and energies to this people.

Upon the accession of George I. General Stanhope was appointed to succeed Governor Dudley, in the government of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and George Vaughan, Esq. Lieut. Governor of New-Hampshire. I have continued the history of New-Hampshire; uninterrupted, down to the close of Queen Ann's war, in order to shew the effects the wars in Europe, produced in New-England, as well as to shew the effects which a contested proprietary claim have produced in weakening the energies of that devoted people.

*The peace of Utrecht.

CHAPTER XXI.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS, CONTINUED. —COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE character and adventures of the first settlers of Massachusetts, the charters obtained under Charles I. the spirit and genius of their government, together with the characters of the first governors and distinguished worthies, who settled this colony, have been noticed. The loss of their charter in the reign of Charles II. 1684, has also been noticed, together with the union of the governments of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, under the governors sent out from the crown.

The history of Massachusetts under the new charter, granted by William and Mary, commenced a new era in the history of Massachusetts. This new charter, embraced all the limits of the old, together with the colony of Plymouth, the Province of Maine, and of Novascotia, extending as far north as the river St. Lawrence, and to the South Sea on the west—also Elizabeth Islands, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, excepting New-Hampshire and New-York.

The wars which had ravaged and wasted, and continued to waste this devoted country on the east, before and since the new charter, down to the year 1715, have also been noticed under the History of New-Hampshire. Sir William Phips arrived at Boston, with the new charter, May 14th, 1692, and was received with great respect, and applause. At an early day, he published the charter, together with his commission, and that of the lieutenant-governor, and they entered upon the duties of their offices in due form. The governor issued writs for the election of a new general assembly, and they were convened on the 8th of June, but the council were named in the charter, and

were to continue until May, 1693.* This general court passed an act, confirming all the laws of Massachusetts and Plymouth, under the old charters, until November following. This council were mostly decendants of the first worthies of Massachusetts, and Plymouth Colonies, whose names they bear, and were generally of the old councils, in those colonies.

The most important subject, that interested the public attention at this time, was the confusion of witchcraft, that distracted the town of Salem. For the honor of New-England, it is strongly to be desired, that a subject so disgraceful in itself, might have been forever buried in oblivion; but since it has become a subject of public notoriety, both from tradition, as well as historical record, the whole of this contemptible transaction, may be seen in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts-Bay.

During the administration of Sir William Phips, the Indian war, known by the name of King William's war, raged in New-England, and Sir William attempted the reduction of Canada, by an expedition to Quebec, as was noticed under New-Hampshire, but failed; and Sir William on his return to Boston, fell into a controversy with the captain of an English frigate, which occasioned him a voyage to England, in his own defence, where he died, February 18th, 1695, and was succeeded the next year by Lord Bello-mont, who was also appointed governor of New-York and New-Hampshire. The prime object of appointing so distinguished a personage, was the suppression of that piracy and buccaneering, which infested the seas, at this time,

* The council appointed by the charter, were as follows; viz. Simon Bradstreet, John Richards, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Wait Winthrop, John Philips, James Russell, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Appleton, Bartholomew Giduey, John Hawthorn, Elisha Hutchinson, Robert Pike, Jonathan Carwin, John Joyliffe, Adam Winthrop, Richard Middlecot, John Forster, Peter Sarjeant, Joseph Lynd, Samuel Hayman, Stephen Mason, Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, Barnabas Lothrop, Job Olcott, Samuel Daniel, and Sylvanus Darvis.

and the American coast ; as well as to unite the strength and confidence of the New-England Colonies, with the Colony of New-York, in the person of their governor, and thus enable them to repel the ravages of their neighbours, the French and Indians.

The peace of Ryswick hushed the storm of war in Europe, December 1697 ; but the Indian ravages continued into the winter of 1698. By this treaty of Ryswick, it was understood, that all the country west of the River St. Croix, was ceded to the English ; but the French set up a claim to the fisheries upon the coast, hitherto un contemplated, and entered into a naval arrangement to enforce this claim. The governor of Novascotia, (Villebon) in the name of the king his master, next claimed all the country east of the River Kenebeck, and gave public notice of this claim to Lord Bellomont, governor of New-England. In the midst of these conflicting alarms, his lordship arrived at Boston, May 1699, and entered upon his high commission, as governor of New-England.

Lord Bellomont, entered upon the duties of his office, with all the majesty and dignity of himself. He laid aside that distinction of rank, in which he had been accustomed to move in England ; and conformed to the manners, customs, and habits, as well as the religion of the people of New-England ; which not only rendered him popular, but gave him a commanding influence in the councils of the colony. A striking display of this, may be seen in the following extract from the governor's first speech, to the general court at Boston.

“ I should be wanting to you, and myself too, did I not put you in mind of the indispensable duty and respect we owe the king, for being the glorious instrument of our deliverance from the odious fetters and chains of Popery and tyranny ; which have almost overwhelmed our consciences, and subverted our civil rights. There is

something that is godlike in what the king hath done for us. The works of redemption, and preservation, come next to the works of creation. I would not be misunderstood, so as to be thought to rob God of the glory of that stupendous act of his providence, in bringing to pass the late happy and wonderful revolution in England. His blessed work undoubtedly it was, and he was pleased to make King William immediately the author and instrument of it. Ever since 1602, England, has had a succession of kings, who have been aliens in this respect, that they have not fought our battles, nor been in our interest; but have been in an unnatural manner, plotting and contriving to subvert our religion, laws, and liberties, until God was pleased, by his infinite power, mercy, and goodness, to give us a true English king, in the person of his present majesty; who has, upon all occasions, hazarded his royal person in the front of our battles, and where there was most danger; he has restored to our nation the almost lost character of bravery and valour; and what is most valuable of all, his majesty is in the interest of his people. It is, therefore, our indispensable duty and interest, to pray to God, in the most fervent manner, that he would bless our great King William, with a long and prosperous reign over us, to which I am persuaded, that you that are present, and all good people, will say Amen."

This speech was in unison with the whole administration of this excellent man, and shews to the life, the character of the governor.

Although in the loss of her first charter, Massachusetts had lost the simplicity and independence of her government; that simplicity and independence which placed the governor and council at the disposal of the people; and although by her second charter, her governor and council were appointed by the crown, which opened the way for

perpetual collisions hereafter, between the governor and the people; yet under the wise administration of Lord Bellomont, the people rejoiced. During the first year of his administration, he entered with zeal and spirit into a system of measures, for the suppression of piracy, and was so fortunate as to seize in the port of Boston, the noted Pirate Kid, and caused him to be executed. Many other pirates were taken in New-England, and the infamous practice generally suppressed. Some general alarms of savages prevailed, during this administration, but open hostilities were suppressed, and the people remained quiet.

In the year 1700, his lordship returned to New-York, where he died, March, 1701, and the government devolved upon Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, an old man, who possessed the confidence of the people; but in May, 1702, he died, and the government devolved upon the council, until the arrival of Governor Dudley, as his successor, 1702. Under this administration, the people began to feel the change in their charter. In place of that dignified conciliatory administration, under Lord Bellomont, Governor Dudley assumed a despotic dictatorial stile, which kindled a fire in the government, that changed the joy of the people into mourning. The first act of sovereignty which the governor exercised, was his displacing five of the council, at the first election, who were men of the first distinction, in point of family and estate, in the government. The shock which the colony received from this act, was followed by an invasion from Canada of French and Indians. This storm burst upon Deerfield, February 1703, where 40 persons were killed, and about 100 taken captives, and carried off into the wilderness, on their way to Canada. Amongst the captives were the Rev. Mr. Williams, their minister, and his wife, with five of their children. When the savages had secured their

prisoners, and collected their booty, they set fire to the village, and made a hasty retreat, whilst the houses were wrapped in flames. On the second day, Mr. Williams was called to witness a scene yet more distressing: he was torn from his wife, when sinking under the fatigues of her journey, and constrained to leave her at the mercy of the merciless savage, without one word, or one act of a husband's voice, a husband's aid, or a husband's consolation. Her distress was short, her master sunk his hatchet into her head, and she expired without a groan. About 20 others shared the fate of Mrs. Williams, on their way through the desert: and on the 25th of March, the survivors arrived in Canada, where they were treated with humanity by Gov. Vaudreuil.

This opened the scene in Massachusetts, for that war, which we have noticed before, under New-Hampshire, which was closed by the peace of Utrecht in Europe, 1713. The disgust which ushered in the administration of Governor Dudley, in his removing five of the council, opened a field of controversy which could never be healed. The general court could never act cordially with the governor, nor could they ever be induced to allow him more than 500*l.* per annum for his salary, which he complained of, as being inadequate to his support.

On the death of Queen Ann, August 1st, 1714, the house of Hanover succeeded to the throne; under George I. This change in the dynasty, made a general change in the administration, and this change extended to New-England, where Colonel Burges was appointed governor of Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire; in the place of Governor Dudley removed, and Colonel Tailor was appointed lieutenant-governor, and entered upon his administration, in place of the governor, until his arrival from England. Governor Burges was finally prevailed upon to resign his commission in favour of Colonel Shute, for the considera-

tion of 1000*l.* and he was accordingly appointed in his place, and Mr. William Dummer was appointed lieutenant-governor in place of Colonel Tailor.

Governor Shute arrived at Boston, October 1716, and entered upon the duties of his administration. His first object was to promote trade; and to effect this, he recommended a second emission of paper money. This, by its depreciation, embarrassed the colony. In 1718, the governor gave his assent to a bill, laying an impost on West-India and English goods, and a tonage upon English shipping. This bill opened a controversy between the House of Representatives and the Council, and rendered the governor unpopular, both in his own government and in England. This controversy in the assembly, proceeded to such lengths, that the governor dissolved the assembly, in 1719. In 1720, the dissensions in the government, the depredations of the eastern Indians, the depreciation of paper money, &c. involved the colony in general disorder. At the opening of the assembly, they chose a speaker, as usual, and sent his name up to the governor for concurrence. The governor negatived the appointment, and the controversy began. The governor next negatived two of the council, and the controversy was increased, and the governor dissolved the assembly, with the following address:—

“Gentlemen, out of a tender regard I have for the welfare of this province, I shall give you the following advice before we part; that when it shall please God, that we meet again in general assembly, which shall be as soon as possible, you will not let this province suffer by the perverse temper of a particular person; but that you will chuse one for a speaker, who has no other view but that of the public good—one that fears God and honors the king. It is irksome and disagreeable to me, to dis-

solve an assembly ; but as matters now stand, I am forced to do it, or must give up the king my master's prerogative, which nothing shall ever oblige me to do, who am the king's governor.—Gentlemen, I do not think it for the honor of the king's government, that this assembly should sit any longer, and therefore I shall dissolve them.”

By this act, the people were brought to feel the loss of their liberties, under the new charter, which gave them a governor, from the crown, and they expressed their feelings, by electing the same members to attend the next general court, which the governor called in July following ; when the house elected Timothy Lindal of Saicm, for their speaker, who was approved by the governor, and the assembly proceeded to business. Amongst the first proceedings of this assembly, they passed the following address, and sent it up to the governor.

“ The last assembly took no pleasure in being dissolved, before they had gone through with their usual necessary business ; their asserting and maintaining their just right and ancient privilege of choosing the speaker, and not owning his Excellency's power to negative him, was nothing but what they were strictly obliged to, and the new House are humbly of the opinion, that whoever was of advice to his excellency in this matter, did not consult his majesty's interest, nor the public weal, and quiet of this government ; but officiously endeavoured to beget unhappy misunderstanding, between his excellency and this House, and break off that desirable harmony, which every one ought to keep up. We earnestly hope and desire, that the province may never have an assembly, that will willingly forego such a valuable privilege, as King William and Queen Mary, of ever blessed memory, graciously favoured the province with, when they gave their royal assent to a law, directing and governing that affair.”

I have given as much of these extracts, as are necessary, to shew the feelings of the parties, that the subsequent evils which grew out of this controversy, as well as other parts of the administration, under the new charter, may be clearly understood. We have witnessed the effects of all the controversies, upon the subject of privilege and prerogative in England; and we have now opened the way to witness similar effects, arising from the same controversy, between the governors of the crown, and the people of Massachusetts.

Such was the bitterness of the people towards the governor, in this controversy, that hostilities, which soon after sprang up with some of the Indian tribes, were charged upon the parties, in their turn; from this may be seen the bitterness of party, and the confusion of the government. In this controversy, the governor endeavoured to exercise, to their full extent, the powers vested in him by the charter; and the assembly, in their turn, resisted every stretch of power, which infringed their old charter, or their just liberties, and checked the governor in his administration, as well as in his supplies, either for his own support, or the support of the state, as far as was practicable. This controversy also involved the lieutenant-governor, and cut short his salary, and the governor closed the session.

At the opening of the next assembly, March 1721, the governor called up the attention of the House, to the depreciated paper currency, to an improper trade carried on with Cape Breton, to factious and seditious papers, to provision for a treaty with the Five Nations of Indians, and to an enlargement of his salary. To all these recommendations the assembly acted in direct opposition, which opened fresh collisions between the governor and the assembly, which extended to the appointment of a Fast. All this moved the governor to dissolve the assembly with the following address.

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives—In my speech, at the opening of this session, I gave you the reasons of my meeting you at this time. I have since received your answer, which I shall transmit, by the first conveyance, that his majesty may see, not only how his governor of this province is treated, and supported; but what sort of regard is paid to his own royal instructions. I shall also lay before the lords commissioners of trade, and plantations, the bill prohibiting the trade to Cape Breton, which I recommended to your several sessions, and which had twice the concurrence of his majesty’s council; but was as often thrown out in your House, notwithstanding the message accompanying that bill.

I am very much surprised, that you should refuse two other bills which came down from the council, the one to prevent riots, the other to prohibit the making, and publishing libels, and scandalous pamphlets, the passing of which, would in my opinion, have tended both to the honor of the government, and the public peace, &c. I must therefore recommend to you, a loyal and peaceable behaviour, and to lay aside those misunderstandings and animosities, that of late prevail so much amongst you, which you will find to be your truest and best interest.”

With the close of this speech, closed the session of the assembly. At the opening of the next session, in May following, the house of assembly proceeded to elect John Clark, Esq. their speaker, (who had been negatived the preceding year by the governor as counsellor,) and informed his excellency by message, “that John Clark is chosen speaker and is now in the chair.” This contempt of the governor, was followed by the removal of the old clerk, (who was agreeable to the governor) and the appointment of a new one, who was a connection of his excellency’s most powerful enemies. This procedure, kindled

a resentment in the breast of the governor, which he did not fail to express; the house, in their turn, withheld their grant for the governor's salary, as a rod of correction, and to shew their power, and his dependence. They next turned their resentment towards the governor's friends, with sharp severity; and then demanded, by message, that the court might rise, in order that they might keep the fast with their families, the next week. The governor refused. The house proceeded to adjourn for one week. This kindled a flame which burst upon the house, in a severe reprimand from the governor, when they were again convened, which called forth a conciliatory message from the house; but the governor ordered their immediate attendance in the council chamber. The house proceeded to pass sundry important resolutions, and his excellency, impatient of their delay, repeated his order, and when the house were ready, they obeyed. The governor received the house with a reprimand, more severe than any that had proceeded from the chair, and dissolved the assembly. This fixed an incurable wound.

Upon the back of this procedure, the Indians again commenced hostilities, and the whole colony was in a ferment. This war was quelled by a negotiation with the French agents in America, and the Indians became quiet. The governor by his writs, convened a new house of representatives in August; but the same spirit appeared; and from this repeated change, with a continuance of the same spirit, he should have learnt that the contest was not with the house only, but with the colony.

During this struggle, the governor had made his complaints in England, and received from the attorney-general, a full approbation of his conduct, which he laid before the house, at an early day. The house met this communication, with a remonstrance, and vindicated their rights, as well their proceedings; the governor softened down,

and the storm was hushed for the present. The house continued their check upon the governor's salary, and cut short his supplies; but voted, at the same time, 500*l.* to support an agent in England, to defend their rights against the representations of the governor. They voted also, to raise 300 men, to go into the Indian country; and demand such Jesuits as resided amongst them, as the instigators of the wars, and the governor concurred. The house next proceeded, by a special vote, to lay such a check upon the treasury, as to put it out of the power of the governor, to pay even an express, without a vote of the whole court. The council non-concurred; but the house were firm, and the small-pox in Boston, compelled the governor to prorogue the assembly. At this time inoculation for the small-pox was first introduced into New-England, and caused a great ferment in the minds of the people; but it finally prevailed. In 1722, a war commenced with the eastern Indians, which occasioned much collision between the governor and the house, and in the midst of this storm, the governor alarmed for his personal safety, deserted his government and embarked for England, December 27th, 1722. The government devolved upon his honor the lieutenant-governor.

His honor the lieutenant-governor, met the assembly with a very conciliatory address, which was kindly received, and as kindly answered, by the following address from an aged senator, Mr. Sewall, who had been assistant, under the old charter.

“If your honor, and the honorable board, please to give me leave, I would speak a word or two upon this solemn occasion. Although the unerring providence of God has brought your honor to the chair of government, in a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet you have this for your encouragement, that the people you have to do

with, are a part of the *Israel of God*, and you may expect to have of the prudence and patience of Moses communicated to you for your conduct. It is evident that the Almighty Saviour, counselled the first planters to remove hither, and settle here, and they dutifully followed his advice; and therefore, he will never leave nor forsake them, nor theirs; so that your honor must needs be happy, in seeking their happiness and welfare, which your birth and education will incline you to do. *Difficilia qua pulchra.* I promise myself that they who sit at this board, will yield their faithful advice to your honor, according to the duty of their place."

In this address, the whole mystery of this controversy is revealed. The same spirit that called their fathers out into this wilderness, from the high prerogative power of James I. and Charles I. resisted the same prerogative in the governor of the crown, as an open violation of the first principles of their national existence; but more especially, as heirs of the modern Israel of God. To illustrate this fact, has been my immediate object in pursuing this controversy thus far; I shall omit all further discussions, together with the events of the war, for the present, and continue the settlements and government of Connecticut; and shall hereafter renew this history of controversy and war; and shew how, in their consequences, God used them as instruments to promote the great interest of the church in the wilderness, and to support and defend the best interests of his modern Canaan.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONNECTICUT.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.—GENERAL AFFAIRS OF CONNECTICUT.

In the course of our narrative, the settlement of the Dutch at Hartford, has been noticed, as a part of the country owned by that people, upon the borders of the Hudson River, known by the name of New-Netherlands; but the collisions between the Dutch and English, together with the Indian depredations, which necessarily sprang out of those collisions, from time to time, were passed over as of little moment in the great object of this work. These events are faithfully recorded in Trumbull's History of Connecticut, an interesting and valuable work, which should be the common-place book of every family in Connecticut.

Although the Charter of Connecticut, was obtained, from King Charles II. in 1662, yet the Colony of New-Haven was so tenacious of her independence, that a union could not be effected until 1665. Under this union, the following gentlemen were elected as governor and council, in May 1665: John Winthrop, Esq. Governor; John Mason Esq. Lieutenant-Governor: Matthew Allen, Samuel Wyllis, Nathan Gould, John Talcott, Henry Wolcott, John Allen, Samuel Sherman, James Richards, William Leet, William Jones, Benjamin Foa, and Jasper Crane, Esqs. Magistrates or Assitants: John Talcott, Esq. Treasurer, and Daniel Clark, Esq. Secretary. This election was harmoniously divided between Connecticut and New-Haven, and laid the foundation of that harmony, which has continued to this day. County Courts were established, for the first time, by this assembly, in the

counties of Hartford, New-Haven, and at New-London, which became a county in October following. A Superior Court was established at Hartford, and a general harmony prevailed. Under this happy union, I shall carry forward the Colony of Connecticut, which in 30 years had now amounted to the number of 19 towns that paid taxes, and whose grand levy amounted to 153,620*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*

That pious zeal which led these fathers into this howling wilderness, for the enjoyment of that Puritan Church, whose persecutions in England have been noticed, devoted their first attention, to the prosperity of the church, as the prime object of their pilgrimage. Although their churches were small, and their revenues small, yet they generally supported two faithful ministers to each church, and continued the practice for many years. The moral and religious characters of these pilgrims, have been fully noticed, both ministers and people ; and the wisdom and virtue displayed in their civil, religious, and literary institutions, are the highest encomium that can possibly be bestowed upon this people. In these wise institutions, their religious and political sentiments, are truly displayed, and that mutual harmony, which has so long and so generally prevailed, is the highest evidence of the wisdom and piety of their founders. The college at Cambridge, for the promotion of literature, has been fully noticed, and the college which at this time was founded at New-Haven, in a grammar school, by sundry donations from the towns of New-Haven and Milford ; Governor Hopkins and the Reverend Mr. Davenport ; together with the general court of the colony of New-Haven ; but the school did not flourish until after the union of the colonies ; when under the fostering care of the general court, it grew into a college, and now holds an equal rank with the University of Cambridge.

In the year 1665, the king sent out three commissioners, to enquire into the state of the colonies ; these were kindly received in Connecticut, and their report to the crown, called forth the following complimentary notice from the king—" We cannot but let you know how much we are pleased, although your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise, and approbation ; yet it seems to be set off with more lustre, by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts. We shall forever be mindful of your loyal and dutiful behaviour."

In 1667, Governor Winthrop declined the office, upon the ground that the emoluments were not adequate to the support of his family ; and the legislature cheerfully made him a grant of 100*l.* with an exemption of his estate from taxes, and he accepted the appointment, to the joy of the colony. In 1666, 7, 8, and 70, the towns of Haddam, Simsbury, and Wallingford, were incorporated. In 1670, Governor Winthrop again declined the office, and again the assembly retained him, by a grant of 150*l.* together with sundry grants of lands, from time to time, which, with the voice and affections of the people, induced him to hold, or continue in office, until his death. In 1671, the town of Danbury was incorporated, and in '72, his Honor John Mason, was at his request, excused from serving as lieutenant-governor, and John Nash, Esq. was chosen in his place. His Honor Governor Mason, was bred a soldier, in the wars in Flanders, and came early into Connecticut ; and in the united capacity of the soldier, and the statesman, became one of the first champions in this modern Canaan.

In 1672, the MS. laws of Connecticut were digested into a regular code, and printed at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in a small folio, with duplicate blank pages, for the insertion of all subsequent laws ; and in 1699, the blanks were filled. The solemnity of the prefatory introduction to

this code of laws, expresses fully, the solemnity of the work, as well as the religious character of its founders. *Extract.*—"To our beloved brethren, and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the general court of that colony, with grace and peace, in our Lord Jesus Christ." It next proceeds to recommend the maintaining "these foundations of religion, according to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the latest generation."

In 1673, a Dutch squadron surprised and captured the fort at New-York, which commanded the submission of the colonies of New-York and New-Jersey. This opened a war, which occasioned a meeting of the general assembly at Hartford, and a general preparation for defence throughout the colony. This invasion, was in consequence of a declaration of war, between England and Holland, in the year 1672. This storm was layed by the peace between England and Holland, in the winter of 1674. The same year Woodbury was incorporated. Here commences the reign of Sir Edmond Andross, the tool of the Duke of York, who now claimed all the lands west of Connecticut River, as a part of his patent. The administration of Andross, has been noticed under Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. Here commences, also, Philip's wars, which have also been noticed. Andross did not attempt to remove the charter of Connecticut by a peaceable commission, but by force and arms, and with a strong military force, attempted to subdue it, under the dominion of the Duke of York.

This hostile attempt of Major Andross was made at Saybrook, where it was met by Captain Thomas Bull of Hartford, at the head of the military force upon that station, with such a manful, dignified, and soldier-like resistance, that Major Andross withdrew his force, and embarked for Long-Island.

The general assembly resented the outrage offered to the sovereignty of the colony, and published a spirited resolution, calculated to support the dignity and spirit of the colony, and appointed commissioners, or agents, to represent the whole transaction to the king. At the same time the confederates entered into a treaty of amity with the Naragansets, at the point of the bayonet; but it was only momentary; hostilities soon commenced, and the war raged with all savage violence. The particulars of this war were noticed under Massachusetts.

Upon the close of this war, 1677, Connecticut set up a claim to that part of Rhode-Island, called Naraganset, in defiance to the act of the commissioners, who declared the Colony of Rhode-Island to be the king's colony. This opened a collision between Connecticut and Rhode-Island, which was settled by commissioners, specially appointed by the king, and the claims of Connecticut were confirmed, 1683.

The assembly entered a protest against Sir Edmond Andross, for fishing on Fisher's Island. At the same time Sir Edward Randolph, Esq. claimed a grant of the controverted lands, in the country of the Naragansets, under a power of attorney from the Duke of Hamilton, the grantee. This claim was rejected, and Connecticut held her jurisdiction. This year Colonel Dungan arrived at New-York, to succeed Andross, in the government of that colony, and an amicable adjustment took place between Connecticut and New-York, in establishing the boundary line as it now stands. 1685 James II. succeeded to the throne of England, upon the death of his brother Charles II. who issued a writ of *quo warranto* against the governor and company of Connecticut, to remove their charter, which occasioned the governor to convene a special assembly, who petitioned his majesty in the most suppliant manner to withdraw his writ of *quo warranto*, and graciously continue their char-

ter, 1686 ; but without effect ; the writs were brought over by Edward Randolph, and served in due form upon the governor of Connecticut, which occasioned him to convene another special assembly, who appointed Mr. Whiting their special agent, to present their petition to the king, &c. In October following, another writ of *quo warranto* was issued from the crown, and in December it was duly served upon the governor, and another special assembly was called in January. This assembly vested the governor and council, with full powers to negotiate the business, to the best advantage for the colony. At the annual May session, very little was done ; all was anxiety, distress, and alarm. Mr. Whiting sent over a report of his agency, in January 1687, and requested an assistant agent ; this occasioned another special assembly, who thanked Mr. Whiting, and requested him to continue his agency ; but declined sending out another.

Sir Edmond Andross had arrived at Boston in December, 1686, with a special appointment from the crown, as governor general of New-England ; and great efforts were made to persuade Connecticut to resign her charter, and place herself under his administration. At the usual October session, 1687, Sir Edmond arrived at Hartford, with his suit, and a military escort of more than 60 men ; demanded the charter, and declared the government dissolved. Cool deliberations ensued, with strong remonstrances against the measure, until evening ; when the candles were lit, and the charter brought in, and laid upon the table, amidst a great collection of spectators, and an anxious, distressed assembly, awaiting the awful crisis for the surrender of their liberties. But the fatal hour had not yet come, the motto of our fathers, "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," was here most conspicuously illustrated : the lights were instantly extinguished, the charter was instantly removed by some (then) unknown hand, some daring son of freedom, and

placed in the hollow of an *oak*, standing in front of the seat of the Honorable Samuel Wyllis, then one of the assistants. All was quiet, the candles were relit ; but the charter was irrecoverably gone, and no one knew where. Stung with rage and disappointment. Sir Edmond issued the following notification, or proclamation.

“ At a General Assembly at Hartford, October 31, 1687, His Excellency Sir Edmond Andross, Knight, and Captain General, and Governor of his Majesty’s territories, and dominions in New-England, by order from his Majesty King James II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the Colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his Excellency’s government,” &c.

In this form this modern Nero entered upon his administration. Smooth were his promises ; but bitter and severe were his measures, and his government was truly despotic. In 1688, he was appointed governor of New-York, and the same imperious sway reigned throughout the whole. *The people mourned.*

“ Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.” That God who had transplanted this vine into the wilderness, had witnessed the sins of his people, and often chastised them with cruel, and bloody savage wars, as well as strife and contentions amongst themselves ; but the rod of Andross was a scourge more severe than all others ; it was the same rod that drove them from the land of their fathers ; it was a rod laid upon their civil, and religious liberties, and it was grievous to be borne. This rod, although severe, was not of long duration. God heard the cries of his people, both in England and America, and raised up William, Prince of

Orange, to fill the throne of James II. 1688, *that Popish, despotic master, of his peculiar servant Andross.* In 1689, these glorious tidings arrived at Boston, the people rose in arms, seized Andross, and sent him home to England. The governor and council of Connecticut, resumed the reigns of government, restored the charter from its hidden recess in the *Charter Oak*; with all its liberties, and privileges, *and the people rejoiced.*

In the midst of this triumph, the people poured out their souls in gratitude and praise to God their deliverer; and this gratitude flowed from their hearts in loyal addresses to King William, their protector; and prayed for a continuance of that charter they had never resigned, and that liberty they had so richly enjoyed. Their prayer was heard, and we their descendants, are witnesses to this day, of the distinguished blessings that have flowed from it.

The same glad tidings arrived in New-York; William and Mary were joyfully proclaimed, and the fort was immediately seized in the name of King William. One Leisler assumed the government in the name of King William, and sent to Connecticut for aid and support. Connecticut met the request with cheerfulness, and sent Captain Thomas Bull, with his company, from Hartford, to protect the frontiers at and about Albany, and another detachment to New-York, to assist Captain Leisler. This glorious deliverance was permanent in its effects, in Connecticut, and the charter, with all its privileges, continued a rich blessing to this people, down to the year 1818, when it was superseded by the new constitution.

That glorious revolution in England, which placed William and Mary upon the throne, involved the nation in a war with France. This war extended to America, and opened an Indian war upon the colonies, throughout the whole extent of their northern and eastern frontier, which has been noticed under New-Hampshire, as King William's

War. Pressing letters were sent to Connecticut, from Massachusetts, praying for assistance in the defence of the river towns, which was granted. Also from New-York, praying that Captain Bull might remain with his company, for the defence of Albany: this also was granted, by a special assembly, convened at Hartford, April 1690; and two companies of men were immediately raised, and sent on, to strengthen the force at Albany.

Connecticut might be said to be put under martial law; every able bodied man was constrained to keep watch in his turn, and all the aged and infirm, who were over 50 $\frac{1}{2}$. in the list, were obliged to procure a man to watch in their turn. Connecticut was also urged to unite in this contemplated attack upon Canada.

The charter government was not yet confirmed in Connecticut by King William, yet it was fully restored in all its operations; and commissioners were appointed by the assembly, in may 1690, to meet the commissioners of the other colonies, at New-York, where the plan of the expedition against Canada was fully matured.* Express was sent to England, praying for a naval force, as well as military supplies, to aid in the expedition; but the state of the nation was such, that the request could not be granted at that time, and the colonies determined to prosecute the expedition, at their own expence and hazard. This expedition has been noticed under New-Hampshire.

At a General Assembly held at Hartford, May, 1691, a letter of thanks was voted and sent out to Mr. Whiting, their agent at the court of King William, including also the Rev. Increase Mather, agent for the colony of Massachusetts, expressing the high sense they entertained for their services, in behalf of the colonies; and desiring them to procure from his majesty, a confirmation of their char-

* This year Glastenbury was incorporated.

ter. The assembly ordered contributions throughout the colony, for the relief of the distressed people on the eastern frontier, and liberal supplies were obtained. The French invaded Block-Island, committed cruel depredations; and carried off the inhabitants, and gave a general alarm throughout the sea-board, which occasioned the repairs of the forts at New-London, and Saybrook. This, with the depredations on the frontier, kept the colony in perpetual alarm. This year the town of Windham was incorporated, and soon after the towns of Mansfield and Canterbury.

In 1693, Count Frontenac, governor of Canada, commenced a general attack upon the Mohawks, and entered their villages with fire and sword. This attack was repulsed by General Schuyler, and at the same time a demand was made upon Connecticut for 200 men, to unite in defence of the frontier. A special assembly was called, and fifty men were dispatched for Albany, to join General Schuyler. Soon after, a fresh demand was made by Sir William Phips, for an armed force, to defend the eastern settlements, in the Province of Maine. Another special assembly was called, and a company of sixty men, with forty Indians, were marched immediately, under the command of Captain Whiting.

In the midst of these distresses, new difficulties arose from a new source. Col. Benjamin Fletcher entered upon his appointment as governor of New-York; vested with full powers to command the militia of Connecticut, and the neighbouring colonies. This threw the colony into a general alarm; to give up the command of the militia, was next to resigning the charter. Connecticut refused the command, and petitioned the king for redress, and Major-General Winthrop was sent over as their special agent to his majesty. Another agent was sent to New-York, to treat with Governor Fletcher at the same

time ; but to no effect ; and in the October session of assembly, Colonel Fletcher came to Hartford, and demanded the surrendry of the militia, in his majesty's name, and in the most laconic terms ; this was refused. Col. Bayard, by his excellency's command, tendered a commission to Governor Treat, empowering him to command, as usual, and assured him that no invasion of the rights of the colony was intended ; but claimed the command of the militia, as belonging of right to his majesty, and accompanied his demands with threats. Col. Fletcher ordered the trainbands of Hartford to assemble for duty, that he might beat up for volunteers, and they assembled accordingly. Col. Bayard attempted to read the commission of Col. Fletcher, when Capt. Wadsworth, the senior officer, ordered the drums to beat ; this interrupted the commission, and was repeated again and again ; and when Capt. Wadsworth saw that Bayard was determined to proceed, he turned to his excellency and said, "*Sir if I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you instantly.*" His manner shewed him to be in earnest, and his excellency found the assemblage of the people so fast increasing, withdrew from the scene, and left the colony, on his way back to New-York. The assembly voted 500*l.* to support their agent in England, and 600*l.* in compliance with his majesty's requisition, to fortify Albany ; and at the same time, made general provision for the defence of the river towns, in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts. General Winthrop, as agent for Connecticut, was graciously received in England, and his majesty in council, determined that the militia of Connecticut, should remain agreeable to charter ; except a particular quota of 120 men, which should be subject to the command of Governor Fletcher ; 1694. Agents at the same time were appointed, to co-operate with agents from New-York and Massachusetts, to treat with the Five Nations, and 400*l.* was voted to defray the expence.

In 1696, 60 men were sent to Albany, and 40 dragoons into Hampshire County, to assist in defence of the frontier. In 1697, the assembly complied with a requisition of Massachusetts, in part, and sent about 60 English and 40 Indians into the eastern settlements.

In the midst of these scenes, the Earl of Bellomont arrived in New-York, and entered upon his commission as governor of New-York and Massachusetts, as has been noticed under Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. With the arrival of his lordship, came the news of the peace of Ryswick ; this hushed the storm in America, and the assembly appointed a day of public thanksgiving, to express the gratitude of their hearts to God, their deliverer and benefactor.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.

THE popular agency of General Winthrop, in England, raised him to the chair of the colony, in May, 1698, as an expression of the affection and gratitude of the people, for his important service. At this session, for the first time, the assembly was formed into two houses, by a special act, denominated the upper and lower house, which continued down to the time of the new constitution. From this time a concurrence of both houses became necessary to enact a law. In May 1699, the two houses acted separately for the first time, and the lower house chose Colonel John Chester, speaker, and Captain William Whiting, clerk.

In 1700, renewed attempts were made to settle the colony line with Massachusetts, but it failed again, and this bone of contention continued. This year the grant of Voluntown was confirmed to the heroes of the Naraganset war, with a handsome addition. In 1701, the legislature at their May session, passed a resolution that the October session, hereafter, should be held at New-Haven; and that the Superior Court should be held, hereafter, at New-Haven, on the first Tuesday of October annually. This year King William died, and was succeeded by Queen Ann; and the assembly, at their October session at New-Haven, voted an address of congratulation, upon the accession of her majesty.

In 1703, Queen Ann declared war against France, which again laid open the frontiers of New-England to the ravages of the French and Indians, and Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, with the general court, requested a detachment of 100 men from Connecticut, to assist in the war against the eastern Indians. This caused a special assembly to be convened, and the requisition was complied

with ; also " a premium of ten pounds was voted to every friendly Indian, who should bring in and deliver up one who was an enemy : " and the civil and military officers in each town, were charged to watch their movements, and keep them quiet. General, as well as particular military arrangements, were made this session, to repel an invasion, to assist the county of Hampshire, and to preserve the peace and safety of the colony, 1704.

Lord Cornbury had been appointed Governor of New-York ; and he and Governor Dudley, had occasion to call often on Connecticut, for aid, in men and money, to carry on the war. These instruments of the crown carried on a secret war, by their acts and intrigues, against the liberties of Connecticut, that they might unite the colony to their respective governments. Dudley was the most subtle and influential, and by the assistance of his friends, actually introduced the following bill into parliament, early in Queen Ann's reign.

" Therefore be it enacted ; that all and singular, the clauses, matters, and things, contained in any Charters, or Letters Patent, granted by the Great Seal of England, or any of his royal predecessors, by his late Majesty, or the present Queen, to any of the said Plantations, or to any persons in them, should be utterly void, and of none effect, and that all such grants should revert to the crown."

This bill was met by a petition of Sir Henry Ashurst, the friend of New-England ; and by his influence and address, the bill failed. The failure of this bill did not lay the storm ; Dudley and Cornbury proceeded to draw up articles of complaint against Connecticut, as a nest of pirates, and charged the colony with numerous high crimes and misdemeanors, and high offences against the other colonies, as well as against the interest of the crown.

They charged the colony with cheating the Indians in the purchase of their lands, particularly the Mohegans : these complaints and charges, were carried by their agents to the queen, and her majesty appointed Dudley and others, to the number of twelve, to hear and determine the complaints ; reserving an appeal to her majesty in council.

This was vexatious and expensive. All attempts to settle this controversy in New-England, failed ; but in February 1705, the complaint was heard by the Queen in council, where the pleadings of the parties were long and interesting ; and after a full hearing, her majesty in council, ordered that the lords of trade should send to the governor of Connecticut, a copy of the articles of complaint, and also to Dudley and Cornbury, the two principal complainants, and that each should send their answers, with their evidences, in due form. This defeated the whole plot. The facts transmitted from the Colony of Connecticut, proved the whole charges and complaint, to be founded upon the most infamous falsehoods, instigated by ambition and malice.

Upon the back of this controversy, was brought a complaint by the Quakers in England against a law of Connecticut, enacted against their brethren the Quakers ; and praying her majesty that it might be repealed. Her majesty heard their petition, and declared the law null and void, without a hearing of the colony.

The commission of Dudley and others, as noticed before, now entered upon the trial of the Mason and Mohegan claims, and proceeded to give judgment against the colony, upon an *ex parte* hearing, and transmitted their doings, together with all the complaints they could collect from the disaffected parties, to her majesty. The assembly met this proceeding by appointing a committee, to transmit a particular and full statement to Sir Henry Ashurst, their agent in England, which he received and laid be-

fore her majesty, by way of petition ; appealed from Dudley's court, and prayed to be heard by her majesty in council.

This controversy was continued down to the reign of George III. about 70 years, with repeated decisions in favour of Connecticut ; and the claims of the colony finally prevailed, and she maintained all her rights. Whatever there was of infamy in this affair, rested upon Dudley, Cornbury, and their associates. The affairs of the colony continued to prosper, notwithstanding the malice of her enemies ; and although she often was called upon to assist her neighbours, in New-York and Massachusetts, in this, as well as all other wars, with both men and money, yet her own borders were preserved from the ravages of the enemy, and her sons were not butchered in her own fields. Under all these trials and expenses, they maintained a steady regard for that religion which brought them out into this savage wilderness, preserved it in their hearts and lives, and supported its institutions liberally with their money.

The assembly at their October session, 1706, exonerated the estates of all the clergy, lying within their own towns, from all taxes, by the following resolution.

“ Be it enacted, &c. That all the ministers of the gospel, that now are, or hereafter may be settled in this colony, during their continuance in their public service in the gospel ministry, shall have their estates, lying in the same town where they dwell, and all the Polls belonging to their several families, exempted; and they are hereby exempted, and freed from being entered in the public lists, and payment of rates.” [This law is now in force.]

The circulating cash of Connecticut, did not then exceed 2000*l.* and yet she had paid in taxes, in three years, more than two shillings on the pound, upon the Polls and rateable estate of the colony, for the support of the war,

and her just rights, against the machinations of her enemies. Should it be enquired how they could meet this expence ? let it be remembered, that they were the pilgrims of the church, and that for the cause of their Divine Master, they had entered this wilderness, and were ready to sacrifice, cheerfully, themselves, and all that they possessed, for the good of his cause. This pious zeal supported them in all their trials, enabled them to surmount all their troubles and difficulties, and finally to triumph over all their enemies.

In the year 1707, the colony were called, by the providence of God, to lament the death of his Excellency Gov. Winthrop, who reigned in the hearts of the people.* His Honor Lieut. Gov. Treat, convened a special assembly in December, to fill the vacancy in the chair; when the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall of New-London, was chosen, and accepted the trust. This appointment was contrary to law, which required that the choice should be confined to magistrates, or assistants in nomination ; but the same assembly repealed this law, after the appointment of Mr. Saltonstall, to secure his acceptance. The people approved of the doings of this assembly, by electing his excellency the May following.

At this time, Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, and Danbury, were garrisoned as frontier towns, and the colony was in a general state of alarm, as well as the whole New-England frontier. The French and Indian war, from Canada and Acadia, raged extensively. These ravages called up the attention of the crown, to the protection of the colonies, and her majesty ordered a fleet and armament onto the American station, for the reduction of Quebec and le Acadia, and sent to the colonies to furnish

* Governor Winthrop's character as a soldier, and a statesman, is above all comment ; but by his agency in England, in behalf of the colony, he won the hearts of the people.

troops, and supplies, to co-operate by land, in the reduction of Canada, as has been noticed under New-Hampshire. The colonies, as far south as Pennsylvania, met the requisition with cheerfulness, and furnished the men, &c.

Connecticut raised her quota of men with great expedition, and the hearts of the colony, as well as of New-England were engaged in the enterprise. The colonial troops were ready in May, 1709, assembled at Albany, and took the field, under the command of General Nicholson; but the time had not yet arrived for so great a deliverance; God by his special providence, called the fleet to a different service in Europe, and the enterprise failed, as has been noticed.

The failure of this expedition was oppressive to the colonies, in expense, in the loss of men by sickness, and in the boldness the enemy assumed in their ravages; yet all this was borne with firmness, and they agreed to call a convention of the governors of the several colonies, to meet at Rehoboth in Massachusetts, to settle a plan for the further prosecution of the reduction of Canada, and to petition her majesty for her support, with a fleet and armament. General Nicholson, with several of his principal officers, met in the convention, and assisted with their advice. The council resolved that a petition be presented to her majesty, expressing the alacrity with which the colonies had engaged in the expedition the last year, as well as their disposition to engage in a new expedition, for the same purpose, this year; and praying her majesty to furnish a fleet and armament accordingly. This resolution met the approbation of the general assembly, in October; they also united in a petition from the colony of Connecticut, and chose Governor Saltonstall as their special agent, to present it to her majesty.* The first bills of Connect-

* Governor Saltonstall declined the agency, and the petition was sent forward to her Majesty.

icut were emitted at this time, to meet the exigencies of the colony

Under all this pressure of the war, the settlements progressed, and the towns of Hebron, Killingly, and Ridgefield, were incorporated in 1607, 8, and 9.

This expedition against Canada, began to lay that foundation of union in interest, and effort, between New-England, New-York, and the colonies to the south, which has grown up with their settlements, in the support of the common cause. These ravages of the enemy were a sore calamity, when considered in themselves; but when considered in their effects, in producing that union of interest, in defence and support of the common cause in New-England, and in rendering their discordant interests subservient to the public good, this curse became a blessing, and laid the foundation of all those blessings of national union, which have grown out of it, and will continue to grow out of it, so long as our national union shall be preserved. The ravages of the common enemy upon the frontiers, taught our fathers the necessity of union; may their descendants, to the latest generation, remember the blessings that have flowed from it, as well as the curses that flowed from an enemy's frontier, and frown forever, with indignation, upon the man who should presume to favour a division of this union. May they also remember that such a division, wherever it might fall, would open an enemy's frontier, as extensive, as lasting, and as bloody, as the conflicting passions of man could be made to effect. That the scenes of Europe, would be acted over again in America, and her fields would be drenched in blood.

The assembly of New-York were unanimous in an address to her majesty, upon the subject of a new armament from England, and sent the illustrious Colonel Schuyler, as their agent, to present it. General Nicholson went over to England, to support the cause of the colonies, and an

armament was obtained in the spring, against Port Royal, as has been noticed. General Nicholson was appointed to the command of this expedition: Connecticut furnished her quota of men, transports and supplies, and the expedition was crowned with success, October 22d, 1710.

Upon the reduction of Port Royal, its name was changed to Annapolis Royal, in honor of her majesty. The success of this expedition filled the hearts of the people with joy; and their joy, flowed in grateful emotions to God their protector and deliverer; and to the queen for her kind and benevolent care of her colonies.

Flushed with the success of this expedition, General Nicholson repaired again to England; to solicit her majesty for a fleet and armament against Quebec; and in June, 1711, he returned to Boston, with tidings that a fleet and armament would shortly follow him. Her majesty made an immediate requisition of men, &c. upon the colonies of New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to support an expedition against Canada, together with a supply of provisions for the armament from England, for ten days. A congress of the several governors of these colonies assembled at New-London, agreeable to appointment, and the general courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut were convened. The fleet arrived—joy beamed in every countenance; the assembly voted to raise three hundred and sixty men, as the quota of the colony, and transport them to Albany, with military supplies for the expedition; together with an address of gratitude to her majesty. They also appointed a special committee to express the thanks of the assembly to his Excellency General Nicholson, for his services in behalf of the colonies, and to congratulate him upon his late success against Port Royal, and to assure him of their cordial support. The convention at New-London, entered cordially and unanimously into the requisitions of her majesty, and all was joy, effort, and enterprise throughout the colonies.

In one month the whole expedition was ready. The fleet sailed from Boston July 30th, with the armament from England, and the levies from the eastern colonies; and in five days after this, the troops of Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey, were reviewed by General Nicholson at Albany. Such unity, energy, and dispatch, had never been witnessed in New-England. To exterminate the French from Canada, was to extinguish the torch that set fire to their dwellings, and bury the hatchet, and the scalping knife, that butchered their heroes, and shed the blood of the aged, the infant, and the mother; and convert into friends the merciless savages, who by their ravages laid waste their cornfields, as well as their dwellings, and dragged their families into captivity; but God had not yet prepared his church for these blessings; he had yet many favours to bestow upon them, which were destined to flow through their sufferings. Discord, and division in the fundamental doctrines of their religion, distracted the church;* and this religious discord, would have caused their political discord, if they had been delivered from the pressure of the common enemy.

The strength of the expedition, in all its parts, was considered adequate to the magnitude of the object, and every heart flowed with anxious confidence in its success; but a cloud soon overshadowed the brightest prospects. The fleet entered the St. Lawrence the 14th of August; on the 22d, it was enveloped in a thick fog, in the midst of a gale, that shattered their fleet, dashed their transports against the rocks, and buried a great part of the armament in the sea. The admiral abandoned the enterprise, and set sail for England; and the remnant of the provincial armament re-

*See Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, and Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, upon the New-England Synod. and upon the Connecticut Synod, or assembly of ministers. These religious controversies, interested the passions and feelings of the churches, as well as the people, as strongly as the ravages of the enemy.

turned to their homes. The fleet arrived in England October 9th, when a 70 gun ship blew up with the loss of her crew, and their numerous friends, who were on board to welcome their return.

Such a succession of disasters strongly agitated the public mind, both in England and America, and parties accused each other with violence; but the church saw that the lot was cast into the lap, and the whole disposal thereof was of the Lord."

The enemy took courage and renewed his ravages, and the whole country was in a state of alarm. A special assembly was convened in November, to unite with the other colonies, in sending out their pilots to England, to explain to her majesty the causes of the late disasters, and to petition her majesty for another fleet and armament, for the same purpose. This mission passed without notice.

At the same time Connecticut ordered the Superior Court, to hold circular sessions in the several county towns, to try the causes of the several counties. New-Town and Coventry were incorporated this year. In 1712, New-Milford was incorporated, and in 1713, the long contested boundary lines, between Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode-Island, were amicably settled, by commissioners, from each of the colonies. This year the peace of Utrecht hushed the storm in Europe, and gave some repose to the colonies.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.—YALE COLLEGE.

THE storm of war was now hushed into peace in Europe and America; the contentions of the church in New-England were softened down, by the efforts of her ministers generally, and their attention now was turned to the support of the church, hereafter, upon the broad basis of literature. To effect this, a number of the clergy of Connecticut, at their private meetings, contributed a few books, as the basis of a library for a college; and appointed one of their number as librarian, and ten of their number as trustees, in the years 1699 and 1700. This effort met the public mind, and donations to the college increased, both in books and money. A petition for an act of incorporation was presented to the general assembly, in October 1701, signed by the first characters in the colony, both ministers and people; and the prayer of the petition was then granted, vesting the trustees, with all the powers assential to their corporate capacity. In November the corporation met, agreeable to charter, and appointed the Reverend Samuel Pierson of Killingworth, as their first Rector, and furnished him with a system of religious, and literary instructions, as a general guide to the duties of his office. They also desired the Rector to remove to Saybrook, as the most convenient place for the college, whenever the number of students shall render it necessary. This recommendation was not complied with, and the college remained at Killingworth during the life of the Rector. In 1702, was the first commencement at Saybrook.

The college continued to progress and prosper, and in 1703, a general contribution was raised throughout the colony, to erect a suitable edifice for the college. This year the clergy of the colony met in a general Synod, and

established a system of government, and a confession of faith for the college, upon the Presbyterian plan; adopted the Westminster confession, and thus laid the foundation of the school of the church. This year also witnessed the origin of the consociation of the churches, which became the basis of that mutual and social harmony in sentiment and feeling, which has proved to be the life and peace of the churches to this day.

In 1706, Episcopacy for the first time, appeared in Connecticut, and an Episcopal clergyman was received and heard at Stratford, which laid the foundation for an Episcopal Church in that town.

In 1708, the General Assembly, by a special act, authorised the convocation of a special Synod of the colony, to be held at Saybrook, for the purpose of establishing a general system of ecclesiastical discipline, throughout the churches. This Synod assembled agreeable to act of assembly, and framed and established the famous Saybrook Platform, upon the basis of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions of Faith. This Platform was reported to the General Assembly, at their October session, and approved in due form, with a salvo for the liberty of conscience, to honest and sober dissenters. Great harmony prevailed, both in the civil and ecclesiastical departments, throughout the whole of this great and important work. The churches generally adopted the Platform, and formed themselves into general associations and consociations, in 1709; and the government of the college went into full operation at the same time.

In 1713, the library of the college had increased, by numerous donations, from gentlemen of the first character and respectability, both in England and America, to the number of about 900 volumes. Forty-six graduates had received the honors of this college, since the year 1702; 84 of whom became ministers of the gospel, and two became

magistrates, and one of them, the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson became President of Princeton college, New-Jersey. Such was the purity of the zeal of our pious forefathers, that a minister was regularly ordained and supported, to every 400 persons, throughout the colony, and there was not one destitute church.

In 1704; Rector Pierson died March 5th, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Andrew of Milford, and the senior class was removed into his parish, until commencement, where it continued until the year 1715; and the other classes removed to Saybrook, under the care of two tutors.

In this divided state of the college, great uneasiness arose; which occasioned a meeting of the trustees at Saybrook April 4, 1717, with a view to fix on some more-convenient place for the college, and collect the students together. The attempt failed, the trustees were divided in sentiment, and the college was broken up; the majority went to Wethersfield, under the instruction of the Reverend Elisha Williams; some remained at Saybrook, and others were promiscuously scattered. Subscriptions were opened to erect a permanent building, and 12 or 1500*l.* was subscribed; and at commencement at Saybrook, the trustees made another effort to fix on a place; but failed, and adjourned to meet at New-Haven in October.

They met according to adjournment, and by the advice of the governor, with many of the council, and house of assembly, they fixed on New-Haven as the place of permanence for the college. The place being fixed, and a grant from the assembly of 250*l.* being received, in addition to the subscription and other funds, they passed a resolve to erect a college for the students, and a house for the Rector, and appointed a committee to carry into effect this resolve.

This act of the trustees excited the public interest; the committee proceeded to carry the resolve of the trustees

into effect; but a part of the board remonstrated to the assembly; this remonstrance was heard and decided in favour of the trustees, 1717. This year the commencement was held at New-Haven, in September. The assembly at their October session, granted 100*l.* for the benefit of the instructors, and 300 volumes more were sent over by Governor Yale, in addition to the 40 before received; and in 1718, he sent over an additional donation of 200*l.* more, with other valuables. At the same time Mr. Dummer sent over 30*l.* more in valuable books; and Governor Saltonstall and others, gave 50*l.*

Thus the college grew and flourished, and the house was finished for the reception of the students at the commencement, September 1718. The name of Governor Yale was affixed to the college, in grateful remembrance of his liberal donations.

In 1719, the Reverend Mr. Woodbridge was chosen Rector *pro tem*, in the place of Mr. Andrew. In 1719, the Reverend Mr. Cutler of Stratford, was chosen Rector; but in 1722, he turned Episcopalian, was removed from his office, went to England, was doctorated, and returned in Episcopal orders, and settled in Boston.

Upon the removal of Mr. Cutler, the trustees officiated in their turns, as Rector, about four years, when the Rev. Elisha Williams, was chosen Rector, and regularly installed, Sept. 26th, 1726. Under the administration of Mr. Williams, the college was prosperous, regular, and flourishing; with the prosperity of the college, learning was generally encouraged throughout the colony, population increased, towns and societies multiplied, and the colony flourished. In the midst of this general prosperity, the church was disturbed by daring innovations; Episcopalians began to increase, sectaries of various denominations multiplied, and laymen administered the sacrament. The disorderly and immoral conduct of the sect of the Rogerenes, (a sect of Quakers who followed John Rogers of

New-England, and who were guilty of many excesses too gross to be named,) called for a special act of the general assembly in support of the churches; but it is doubted even to this day, whether legislative interference produced any good effects. In the midst of these trials, the colony was threatened again with the loss of their charter. These alarms arose out of such measures as were pursuing in England, by the crown, in consequence of the refractory spirit in Massachusetts towards her governors, as well as the intrigues of several members of Connecticut, who were unfriendly to the government, in their representations to the crown. These representations to the crown, occasioned the abolition of the law of the colony, which regarded intestate estates, and gave such general alarm, that special instructions were sent out to their agents in England; and through their instrumentality the law was continued, the charter preserved, and tranquillity restored, 1720.

CHAPTER XXV.

FOURTH INDIAN WAR.

ALTHOUGH the grand design of God in his providence, in planting the Colonies of New-England in the wilds of America, was to plant that pure church, which should grow up and become the instrument of filling the earth with the knowledge and glory of God; yet to effect this glorious object it became necessary for the great head of his church, to chastise her avarice, and corruptions, and to increase her perfections through sufferings. To accomplish this his great purpose, he was pleased to lay upon her those chastisements, which we have witnessed, with many others which we shall be called to witness. Internal dissensions and divisions, formed a part of their corrections; but famine, pestilence, and war, are amongst the heaviest of God's judgments.

We have already witnessed three general wars with the savages, with all their horrid barbarities and distresses; and we are now called to enter upon the fourth, to shew that avarice when coupled with religion, must be scourged. To enlarge the borders of the church it was absolutely necessary to possess the lands of the Indians, locate towns, clear up the forest, and plant churches: to effect all this, it became necessary to purchase the Indian claims, or possess them by conquest and by treaty: the former was generally preferred; but in many of these purchases, avarice had her influence: advantage was often taken of savage ignorance, and trifles of little value, were often exchanged for tracts of land highly valuable; ardent spirits were often used to excess, as an instrument to cheat the natives; and conveyances of land often covered tracts of land, vastly more extensive than the Indians contemplated, and forts, and block-houses, with garrisons, were often erected

on those lands, to the annoyance of the Indians in their usual hunting, all which became subjects of collision between the parties, and were rendered the causes of savage wars, through the instigations of the French agents, who dwelt amongst them. The war on which we are about to enter, arose from a combination of all these causes.

The settlements in the Province of Maine, were more exposed to savage depredations than any other part of New-England, being bounded upon the French settlements of Canada and Novascotia, or le Acadia, on the north and east, and being also more scattered in their population. That spirit of the gospel which was the basis of the settlement of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, was little known in these eastern settlements, and nothing short of the scourge of war could have restrained their licentiousness, and united them with the church of New-England: this taught them their state of dependence; and their sufferings led them to unite with the people of God. Avarice was the ruling principle amongst this people, and governed all their transactions with the Indians, and furnished continually fresh causes for war.

The intrigues of the French took advantage of these corruptions, and when they furnished the Indians with arms, ammunition, and other utensils, essential to the conveniences of their mode of life, they left their lands free; and supported this weight of influence, by annual presents from the king. All this placed the savages at their disposal, in all the wars between England and France, and secured their alliance as auxiliaries in the war.

During the last peace, Gov. Shute had promised to erect trading houses, that should afford the Indians regular supplies, in order to establish a trading intercourse of mutual interest; but this had been neglected, and the savages felt and resented the neglect, by committing depredations.

The French strengthened their influence amongst the savages, by their missionaries from the Catholic Church, who had at this time erected two churches, or places of worship, in the Province of Maine; the one at Penobscot, and the other at Norridgewog, where a stated French Missionary resided, by the name of Sebastian Ralle. This Jesuit practised all the arts of his order, upon these savages of the forest. He taught them the doctrine of salvation, through Jesus Christ the Son of God; but at the same time, led them to believe that Mary the mother of Jesus Christ, was a French woman; that he was murdered by the English, and that it was lawful, right, and best, for all good christians to butcher the English. To enforce this doctrine, he erected a standard at the door of his church, ornamented with the cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, as the instruments of defence and protection; whenever he excited the Indians to war, he displayed this banner, and gave them absolution. This priest was the instrument of the Pope and the king, and the immediate agent of the governor of Canada, and possessed an extensive influence throughout these savage tribes.

Through the instrumentality of these intrigues, these savages were excited to this war, when France and England were at peace in Europe; and in 1717, they began their depredations by destroying the cattle, &c. with other excesses. This led the English to strengthen their military posts, and scour the Indian country by their scouts, and at the same time invite them to peace, which they appeared to prefer; but Ralle with other agents, who had joined him from Canada, and Penobscot, the next season, fanned the fire, and kindled the torch of war.

Enraged at this abuse, it was proposed to send the sheriff of York, and seize Ralle by a civil process, and convey him to Boston; but this was judged difficult, and a military force was ordered in the winter of 1721, to seize Ralle at

Norridgewog, and bring him to Boston. The detachment proceeded to Norridgewog, and surrounded the house of Ralle; but he had fled into the forest, and left all his papers and effects behind him; these were seized and brought off safe; and these disclosed a correspondence with the governor of Canada, which unfolded the whole intrigue, with the promise of aid from Canada in the war.

This attack opened the war; Ralle was in danger, and the Indians were in arms. In the summer of 1722, they made a descent upon the settlement at Merrymeeting-Bay, and took nine families; but dismissed a part, and sent the rest to Canada. After committing several other slight depredations, they made an attack upon Brunswick, and burnt the town: this caused the government to publish a declaration of war. Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, in the absence of the governor, entered with spirit into the war, and the general court supported his measures, with liberal supplies of money. Troops were enlisted for two years, to prosecute the war, and liberal pay was granted.

In 1723, the Indians surprised the town of Dover, killed two men and took three children; soon after, they committed their ravages upon Lamprey River, killed one man and his child, and carried off his wife, and three children.* In 1724, they appeared at Oyster River, and killed one man; soon after they took two men and two children at Kingston, one of whom made his escape, and returned about ten months afterwards. This year again, they appeared at Oyster River, killed one man, mortally wounded a woman, and carried off two men into the wilderness; who made their escape, and returned in three days. Soon after this, another attack was made upon the settlement at Oyster River, where two men

* One of the sons was adopted by the Indians and remained with them; and the daughter married a Frenchman in Canada; both came down to visit their friends, in after days.

were killed; but the Indians were pursued, their chief was killed, who from the delicacy of his appearance, was supposed to be the natural son of the Jesuit Ralle; his scalp was carried to Boston, with its silken hair, and obtained a premium.*

The next depredations were committed upon two families of Quakers at Dover; they killed two male children, and took one man, and one woman, with her infant 14 days old, two daughters and a son, and carried them into captivity. These depredations roused up the spirit and indignation of the government; they sent another detachment to Norridgewog, killed Ralle the Jesuit, with about 80 Indians, destroyed his church, and brought off his plate, furniture, and devotional flag, as trophies of their victory.

Thus fell Ralle, the apostle of superstition, intrigue, and war amongst the Indians, in the 68th year of his age, and 26th of his mission. "He that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword."

This blow gave a general alarm to the Indians; but it increased their ferocity; they soon after fell in with, and fired upon a party of English, consisting of eleven, killed nine, wounded one, and the other made his escape; soon after they ambushed another company; killed one, wounded four, and the rest made their escape; and soon after they killed two men at work in the field.

The success of the expedition against Norridgewog, joined to the premium of 100*l.* on scalps, called up several volunteer companies, to scour the wilderness in search of the enemy, and thus protect the settlements. These companies were often successful, and sometimes destroyed whole parties of marauders, and brought in their scalps; amongst these companies, that of a Captain Lovewell, was

* The government had offered a premium of 100*l.* for every scalp of the enemy which should be brought in.

distinguished for their success. Flushed with their successes, the company penetrated far into the wilderness, where they were ambushed by a superior party of Indians; and after sustaining a desperate, and bloody conflict, made good their retreat, with the loss of their captain, and eight men killed, eleven wounded; two mortally, and two others perished in the wilderness on their return. This was one of the most memorable conflicts in this war, and greatly interested the public feeling. A party was ordered out from the frontier, to bury the dead, who reached the field of action, performed the solemn rite of sepulture for these heroes, and engraved their names upon the surrounding trees, where they were visible in the year 1784.

This memorable battle cleared the frontier on this quarter. And at the same time it roused up the colonies, to send a commission to Monsieur Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, to remonstrate against the part he had taken in the war, and to demand his influence to settle a peace with the Indians. The commissioners found the governor at Montreal, where they were politely received; but the governor denied the charge of his being accessory to the war. The commissioners, amongst other direct testimony to the fact, produced his own letters that were found upon the Jesuit Ralle, at Norridgewog, which were decisive; and the governor promised to use his influence to recover the captives, and induce the Indians to come forward with proposals of peace.

The influence of the governor recovered sixteen captives, and obtained assurances for ten others; but the Jesuit Chase, who acted as interpreter, obstructed the proposals for a peace. This man appeared to possess greater influence over the Indians than the governor, and controuled the negotiation. The commission thus being closed, they returned under a military escort from Governor Vau-

dreuil, as far as Crown Point, and from thence to Albany, where they arrived safe in seven days; May 1725.

When the report of the commissioners was laid before the assemblies of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, they first determined, vigourously to prosecute the war; next to send out a complaint, by way of petition to his majesty, complaining of the conduct of the French governor, and praying that the other colonies of Connecticut and New-York, might be ordered to furnish men and supplies for the war. Letters at the same time were sent to the governor of New-York, requesting him to seize such hostile Indians as came down to Albany to trade.

The hostages which had been detained at Boston, were sent home on parole, and soon returned with proposals for peace, and a treaty was agreed upon, to be held at Boston. Pending these conferences, a small party from Canada surprised Dover, killed two men, and wounded the third in the following manner—the shot entered his breast, and the flow of blood from the wound led the Indians to suppose him to be dead; they stripped and scalped him, then turned him over, and gave him several strokes with their guns, and left him for dead; as soon as they were gone he rose up, and made for the garrison, naked, and besmeared with blood; but meeting his friends on the way, he was overcome, fainted, and fell down; they ran to him, wrapped him in a blanket, and bore him to the garrison, where he recovered, and lived fifty years afterwards. The enemy fled and escaped, and carried off one captive.

The treaty was held at Boston, agreeable to appointment, and the conditions were ratified at Falmouth, in the spring of 1726. This treaty was carried into effect, and trading houses were established, in such parts of the Indian country, as were best calculated to promote a friendly intercourse, and thus preserve the peace.

These repeated Indian wars, were severe scourges to the colonies, and filled the country with alarm and distress; but they were productive of the following good:—

1. They promoted union in the colonies;—2. They taught them their dependence upon God their deliverer, and kept them near the throne of grace: they, also trained the country to arms, and taught them how to defend themselves against a more formidable enemy hereafter, who was ready to swallow them up, and sacrifice the church in the wilderness, to the same monster from which the pilgrims had fled, when they left the land of their fathers.

The lieutenant-governor had conducted this war in the absence of the governor, to high acceptance, and satisfaction; the people rewarded him with their grateful acknowledgments, and the general court with liberal grants of money; and at the same time they issued an emission of 2000*l.* in bills of credit, to relieve the people from the burthens of the war; a general excise was also laid for three years, to support the public credit. The hatchet was buried, the storm was hushed, and the people returned to their several pursuits, in peace and tranquillity, 1726.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW-HAMPSHIRE UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNORS DUMMER AND WENTWORTH, AND GOVERNORS BURNET AND BELCHER.

It has been noticed that Governor Shute retired from his office in disgust, and went home to England, and that the government of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire devolved upon Lieut. Governor Dummer and Lieut. Governor Wentworth, through the late war, and that they acquitted themselves much to the satisfaction of the people. As soon as the war was closed, the old leaven of discord began to prevail; Governor Shute received a pension of 400*l.* per annum in England, and was succeeded in the administration by Governor Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, upon the accession of George II. 1727. Mr. Burnet had been governor of New-York and New-Jersey, where he acquitted himself with honor. Previous to the arrival of Gov. Burnet, was felt the shock of the great earthquake, which was preceded by a loud roaring like heavy distant thunder, followed suddenly by the earthquake, which continued about two minutes, and gave universal alarm; no buildings were thrown down; but many tops of chimneys were shaken off, and many cellar walls fell in, and many hearts fainted, for fear of the destruction which awaited them. We shall notice this earthquake further, in our remarks upon Moodus, or East-Haddam in Connecticut.

At this time the trade of New-England was depressed with the late war, and it became necessary that the general court of Massachusetts, should relieve the burthens of the people, by a new emission of bills of credit; this was effected, and a bill passed by the general court, to issue bills of credit to the amount of 30,000*l.* for the express purpose of fortifying their seaports, was sent up to the lieutenant-

ant-governor for his concurrence ; who received the bill, and then laid his majesty's instructions before the council, for advice, whether he could in honor approve the bill; the council decided that he could not, and the lieutenant-governor returned the bill with his negative ; together with his reasons. The house refused to vote his salary, and requested leave to rise ; this opened a field of altercation, and a recess for a fortnight was granted. When the general court were again convened, they gave a new face to the bill, and sent it up for concurrence ; the lieutenant-governor again sought advice from the council, but they had approved the bill, and declined giving advice : the lieutenant-governor signed the bill, returned it to the house, and then they voted his salary.*

The general court next proceeded to order three ranges of townships to be laid off upon the frontier, adjoining New-Hampshire ; extending from Connecticut River to the sea. This opened a controversy with New-Hampshire ; revived the old claims of Mason, and began a land-jobbing speculation, that greatly retarded the settlement of the lands in controversy.

In this state of public agitation, Governor Burnet arrived at Boston, July 1728, was received with great parade, and entered upon the duties of his administration. In his first speech to the general court, the same month, he disclosed the king's instructions for a permanent salary, and urged the demand ; the house met the demand with their usual firmness, and voted 1700*l.* for the current year ; the governor urged his instructions, and declined his acceptance ; this opened the old field of controversy, with the usual warmth, and the court sent a message to his excellency, requesting permission to rise ; this was refused ; again urged, and again refused. This opened a long field of controversy which was carried on by way of messages, and

* This was only 250*l.* sterling.

the claims, and rights of the parties were fully discussed; but all to no effect, both parties were firm. On the 4th of September the house again requested leave to rise; which was peremptorily refused. The council interfered, and passed a resolution in favour of a fixed salary, for a term of years, and sent it to the house; this was rejected, and if it had passed, would not have been accepted by the governor.

On the 20th of September, the house made a grant 3000*l.* (currency) equal to 1000*l.* sterling, which was rejected by the governor; again in October, the house by message, pressed the governor to accept the grant, with encouragement that subsequent assemblies would probably enlarge the grant; but all to no effect, the governor was fixed. The town of Boston entered warmly into this question, and by a special resolve in a special town meeting, approved the doings of the House of Representatives. The governor resented this act, and adjourned the court to the 31st of October, then to meet at Salem. This widened the breach, and the court began to lament that they had quarrelled away Governor Shute, who had been, and would have continued to be, content with an annual sum of half the amount voted to Governor Burnet.

The house appealed to the crown through their special agent in London; who was assisted by Mr. Belcher, sent out specially for the purpose, and money was raised by subscription, by the Boston merchants, to defray the expense. This agency failed, and the liberties of the colony became endangered. The general court applied to the governor, to sign a warrant upon the treasury for their pay; this he refused, alledging that one branch of the government might as well go unpaid as the other, and the breach still widened. The governor, pressed for a support, had recourse to a new expedient: he levied a tax or contribution, upon all vessels that cleared out of the ports

of the colony, either upon a foreign, or trading voyage, which put him into the power of his enemies; they appealed to the crown through their agents, and the measure of the governor was disapproved.

Pending this controversy, a new scene opened in the appointment of an attorney-general; the governor claimed the right of nomination, and the house refused the claim. The house passed a resolution to supply the treasury with 20,000*l.*; but the governor assured them that he would consent to no supply, but such as had been in practice before the year 1721.

The legislature of New-Hampshire, made a grant to the governor for three years, or during his administration, which was accepted; but he lived to pay them only one visit. The general court adjourned from the 20th of December to the 2d of April following. They met agreeable to adjournment, and continued their sittings until the 18th; at the same time a new assembly for the election of counsellors, was held at Salem, and four new counsellors were chosen; two of whom were negatived by the governor, and then he prorogued the assembly until the 25th of June. The assembly met again on the 25th of June, and continued their sittings until the 10th of July; the governor then prorogued them until the 20th of August, to meet at Cambridge.

In the mean time, the appeals of the parties to the crown, through their agents, had been heard, and determined in due form, and the conduct of the governor fully approved, and that of the house highly condemned. His majesty had also signified his wish, that the controversy should be laid before the Parliament. In the midst of this controversy, the governor fell sick, and died, September 7th, 1729.

The administration again devolved upon Lieut. Governor Dummer, whose conciliatory disposition, gave a temporary relief to the public feeling.

In order that the true characters of the parties, as well as the true spirit of this interesting controversy may be fully ascertained, I shall give the proceedings of the agents of the parties in England, by the way of appendix. [*See Appendix A.*]

Mr. Belcher was at this time in England, acting with Mr. Wilks, as agent for the assembly, in their defence against Governor Burnet, and being a native of the colony, and a popular man, the king was pleased to appoint him to the government, as successor to Governor Burnet; and a Col. Tailor was appointed Lieut. Governor, in place of Mr. Dummer. Col. Tailor being in the province, entered immediately upon the duties of his office. One of his first acts, was to secure a grant of 900*l.* to Mr. Dummer, by signing the act, authorising the grant, although it was passed before he came into office, and actually embraced the future, as well as the past services of Lieut Governor Dummer, as a part of its consideration.

In August 1730, Governor Belcher arrived at Boston, in the *Blanford* man of war, and was received with great parade and applause; by both parties; disclosed his instructions, and entered upon the duties of his office. Mr. Belcher was both a scholar and a gentleman; and although he was an American by birth, yet he had been much abroad, and visited the courts of Europe, as a private gentleman, as well as a public agent; and his affluent fortune had given him high advantages, both as a traveller and a merchant: added to all this, both parties in the government, claimed him as their friend.

Under these favourable advantages, Governor Belcher entered upon the duties of his office; but the same embarrassments lay before him, that had awaited his predecessors; a permanent salary composed one of the permanent articles of his instructions, which on his part, could not be dispensed with, and on the part of the house, could not be granted, consistent with their former resolutions:

here the parties were at issue as before. The council went all lengths to favour the governor; but the house were fixed. A conference between the two houses, was agreed to upon the subject, in the presence of the governor; but to no effect, the house was fixed. The governor closed the conference with an address, in which he applauded the council for their conciliatory disposition, and reminded the house, that he was not only instructed by his majesty to insist on a permanent salary, but that he was also instructed, in case of their refusal, to repair to England, and lay the whole facts before his majesty, and warned them of the danger the charter would be in, if his complaint should be laid before parliament. The governor was popular; but his speech had no effect, and the house continued inflexible.

In this state of the parties, the governor advised the house to petition his majesty, that he might have leave to accept of temporary grants, by the way of salary, which was finally obtained, and thus the controversy ended, 1731.

The next act of sovereignty exercised by the house, was a check upon the treasury, by a special act. The charter provides that all monies shall come into the treasury, by acts originating in the house, for specific purposes; and shall be drawn out for those purposes, by warrant from the governor, with advice of the council. The house infringed this article of the charter, by a special act, which barred the governor from the exercise of this power, except some trifling sums for expresses, &c. and held the controul of the treasury in their own hands. This act embarrassed the disbursements from the treasury, and the servants of the government suffered; and again the house exercised their sovereignty, and supplied the treasury by their special act.

In 1732, a sharp controversy sprang up between the governor, and a Col, Dupbar, (an officer of the crown,) about

the government of the fort at Pemaquid, and the eastern province ; but it was amicably adjusted.

In 1733, a general complaint of the scarcity of money extended throughout New-England. This was an artificial scarcity, arising from the depreciation of the paper currency, and from its being too much, became too little. Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, issued new emissions of about 100,000*l.* each, which by its depreciation, increased the evils ; embarrassed trade, and did great injustice to honest, and industrious creditors. At this time efforts were made to settle the contested line between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and in 1737, the parties obtained a commission from the crown, for the special purpose ; but the report of the commissioners not being satisfactory, the question was referred to the decision of the crown. This decision fixed the boundary, as it now stands, by a special committee of the council, and the line was established. At the same time, and under similar circumstances, the line was settled between New-Hampshire and the Province of Maine, as it now stands.

Pending this controversy of claims and boundaries, the assembly of Massachusetts made a grant of 800*l.* currency, to Governor Belcher, for divers good considerations therein named, particularly as an addition to his salary. This act of the assembly of Massachusetts, was viewed with a jealous eye by New-Hampshire, and ascribed to motives of bribery and corruption, to influence the interest of Governor Belcher in their favour, upon the dispute in question.

As soon as the controversy of claims and boundaries was settled, the accumulated weight of taxes, and of paper money, with its depreciation, began to claim the serious attention of the Province of Massachusetts. One party advised, (and laid their scheme before the general court,) to borrow specie in England, payable at different future instalments, and redeem all their paper currency, and thus

provide for the payment of the taxes in a permanent medium. Another party advised to a land bank, (so called,) to be issued in bills of credit on loan, upon mortgage, or with good endorsers, for small sums only—3 per cent interest, and 5 per cent principal to be discounted upon the loan, or the amount thereof then to be paid in the produce, or manufactures of the province; and thus a medium was to be provided for the payment of taxes. The plan of the bank was carried in the house, against the good sense of the province generally, and this opened a new field of strife and confusion. Governor Belcher opposed the land bank, yet both parties claimed him as their friend, and both parties openly accused him by their agents in England, until by false and scandalous insinuations and charges, they caused him to be condemned unheard, and removed from office; and Mr. Shirley, (another native of Massachusetts,) to be appointed in his stead. Soon after this change was made, by the appointment of Mr. Shirley, the charges against Gov. Belcher were clearly proved to be false, and his character stood fair; but his integrity appeared too late, and Mr. Shirley succeeded to the government, 1740.

When Governor Shirley entered upon the duties of his office, the general court met him with a grant of 1000*l.* sterling per annum, which was accepted. The old controversy about salary was healed at once; but the amount of taxes, of paper depreciated currency, and the land bank, lay before him, as insurmountable difficulties. A new expedient was soon got up, to obviate all the former evils; which was, to issue a new emission of paper money, predicated upon specie, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce of silver, or an equivalent thereof in gold, reserving to the eldest counsellor, in each county, the power of regulating the annual depreciation of the currency, upon all contracts.

His new expedient did not heal the wounds; the new money depreciated, equally with the old, and the bank

paper; and all was confusion. Parliament had disapproved the land bank, and ordered the stock-holders to be accountable for their bills to their full nominal amount, and all who had been concerned in the bank, to be held responsible. A special bill passed the general court, to carry this act of Parliament into equitable effect, which was signed by the governor; and thus this evil was cured.

The Spanish war of 1740, gave some diversion to the public mind, and turned their attention to the general defence and protection of the province, which served to unite all parties in the common cause, and thus render private interest subservient to the public good. This Spanish war not only produced this good effect, but it prepared the colony to meet the approaching French war, which commenced in 1744.

We shall have occasion to notice the spirit of Massachusetts, in her controversies with her crown governors, in their effects and consequences, hereafter. We shall also defer the events and operations of the Spanish war, as well as those of the approaching French war, until we have brought forward the history of Connecticut and New-Hampshire, to the commencement of the war. We shall then have occasion to notice how God, in his providence, adapts all his means to their special ends, and how he renders lesser evils subservient to the general good.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.—CONNECTICUT.

IN pursuing the history of Massachusetts, I noticed the great earthquake of New-England, in 1727, and promised to illustrate the event more fully in the subsequent history of Connecticut : accordingly I have extracted the following letter of the Reverend Mr. Hosmer of Moodus, or East-Haddam, (the land of noises) to Mr. Prince of Boston, bearing date August 13th, 1729.

“ As to the earthquakes, I have something considerable, and awful to tell you. Earthquakes have been here, (and no where but in this precinct, as can be discerned ; that is they seem to have their centre, rise, and origin amongst us,) as has been observed for more than thirty years. I have been informed, that in this place, before the English settlements, there were great numbers of Indian inhabitants, and that it was a place of very extraordinary Indian pawaws ; or in short, that it was a place where the Indians drove a great trade at worshipping the devil. Also I was informed, that many years past, an old Indian was asked the question, what was the reason of the noises in this place ? to which he replied, that Indian’s God was very angry, because Englishmen’s God was come here.

Now whether there be any thing diabolical in these things, I know not ; but this I know, that God Almighty is to be seen, and trembled at, in what has been often heard amongst us. Whether there be fire, or air distressed in the subterraneous caverns of the earth, cannot be known, for there is no eruption, no explosion perceptible ; but by sounds and terrors, which are sometimes very fearful, and dreadful. I have myself heard eight or ten sounds successively, imitating small arms, in the space of five minutes. I have, I suppose, heard several hundreds of them within twenty

years; some more, some less terrible. Sometimes we have heard them every day, and great numbers of them in the space of a year. Often times I have observed them to be coming down from the north, imitating slow thunder, until the sound came near, or right under us, and then there seemed to be a breaking, like the noise of a cannon shot, or severe thunder, which shakes the houses and all that is in them. They have in a manner ceased since the great earthquake. As I remember, there have been but two heard since that time, and those but moderate."

Another writer of the same place, pursues the remarks of Mr. Hosmer, and adds, "that in May 1791, a great earthquake was felt, as far as Boston, which was so severe at Moodus, as to untop many chimnies, &c. and fill the place with consternation and alarm. Many stones of several tons weight were removed out of their places, and openings and fissures made in vast rocks, &c."

When Governor Andross was about to enter upon his government, in Connecticut, a general alarm prevailed in the colony, that he might seize on all the unlocated lands, either for his own benefit, or the benefit of the crown; and in order to prevent this, the general assembly made a grant to the towns of Hartford and Windsor, of all the lands lying north of Woodbury, and west of Farmington and Simsbury, extending north to Massachusetts line, and west to Housatonic River, with a special reference to their safe keeping until better times. This conveyance bears date January 26th, 1686. Under this grant the towns of Hartford and Windsor proceeded to settle the town of Litchfield, and locate, and sell the lands; but the governor and company claimed the lands, and forbade their proceeding; the settlers set this claim at defiance, and proceeded to sell. The governor ordered them to be arrested, and brought before the Superior Court, and some of them were imprisoned in Hartford. The towns of Hartford and Windsor,

made a common cause in resisting the assembly; rose in arms, and liberated the prisoners, during the October session, in the year 1722. This riotous act, called forth a resolution of the assembly, empowering the Superior Court to enquire into the affair; hear and determine all crimes committed, &c. and award execution thereon according to law. The sheriff of the county of Hartford, was also by special act, empowered to arrest each and every one, who had thus made their escape from prison, and recommit them, unless they paid the charges for which they had been committed, or returned to voluntary imprisonment. He was also empowered to call out the militia of the county, if necessary, to enforce his warrant, and suppress resistance. The assembly next proceeded to pass a riot act, to secure the peace of the colony. They next appointed a committee, to enquire into the proceedings of the settlers, stop all further location of the lands, and bring all trespassers before the assembly.

The spirits of the parties were high, resistance continued, and the energies of the government were fully tried, before the riot was fully quelled. At length the rioters yielded, and petitioned the assembly for an abatement on their fines, which was partially granted, and order was restored. Many of the claimants still persisted in their claims, and some even proceeded to locate the town of Goshen. This opened the wound afresh, and caused a petition to the assembly, praying that a committee might be appointed to settle and adjust the demands of the claimants, which was granted; and after a long and interesting controversy of about two years, the parties finally agreed upon a compromise, and an equal division of the lands in question. The committee made their report to the assembly; they accepted the same, and the storm was hushed. The parties next proceeded to divide the lands, and the assembly guaranteed to Hartford and

Windsor, their rights by patent, 1732. About this time Barkhamsted, Colebrook, and Harwington, were incorporated. This controversy being thus amicably settled, these lands were soon located, in rapid succession, and settlements as rapidly commenced.

Before the year 1740, nearly all the towns in the north-western part of the colony were located, settled, and incorporated, and many valuable improvements made, particularly in the town of Salisbury ; where rich and extensive beds of iron ore were discovered ; extensive furnaces and ironworks erected ; and a foundation laid for the most valuable improvements and productions, in the important manufactory of iron. These lands abound with many of the most valuable mines, and minerals, as well as the most valuable grazing farms, of any other section of the colony.

Pending this controversy, another of a different nature, but equally bitter, sprang up in the town of Guilford. A personal quarrel about the settlement of a minister, divided the parish, and opened a controversy, which agitated the churches in the colony for many years, as well as the general assembly. Several councils were called, much time was spent, by way of advice and mediation, and much ink was shed by the parties ; but all to no effect ; their minds were fixed, they had separated, and could never again be united ; the aggrieved party petitioned the assembly, for an act of incorporation, as an independent society ; the assembly finally appointed a committee to enquire more fully into the state of the parties, and report. This committee upon a full hearing of the parties, reported in favor of the petitioners, and the assembly accepted their report, and granted the prayer of the petition, May 1733. This controversy being settled, opens the way for the consideration of the state of religion in the colony.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.—STATE OF RELIGION.

THE religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, was the standard around which our fathers rallied, and for which they suffered, and endured the severest persecutions in their own country, that the malice of man could invent, and for which they fled into voluntary banishment, became pilgrims, and strangers in foreign lands; endured all the perils enumerated by the great Apostle Paul, and finally repaired to the wilds of New-England, where they erected the standard of the church in the wilderness, and planted the religion of their Divine Master, in this modern Canaan of God. Here they devoted themselves to the security, support, and education of their families. They planted churches, pure in doctrine; discipline, and manners. They preached, and practised the pure principles of the gospel, placed their whole dependence upon God, and dedicated themselves, and all that they possessed to his service and his glory. Were they in affliction, they clothed their hearts with humility, and by fasting and prayer, sought to God for relief; and that God, who hears the young ravens when they cry, heard the cries of his people, and granted them relief. Were they in prosperity, they acknowledged God as the author of all their blessings, and poured out their souls to him in thanksgiving, gratitude, and praise, as the father of mercies, and God of all grace, comfort, and consolation; and gave him all the praise. Such was the piety of their hearts, and purity of their lives, that an eminent historian who resided seven years in New-England, has remarked, that "*during his residence in New-England, he had never seen a person drunk, or heard a profane oath.*"* Would to

God that the same might be said with equal truth at this day ; but the times are changed, our fathers are dead, and too great a portion of their excellent virtues is buried with them. Those eminent virtues which they possessed, drew upon them the persecutions of their own country ; these persecutions compelled them to unite as a band of brothers, and flee into the wilderness for succour and for safety. Their trials and sufferings in the wilderness, kept them united for their mutual support, and the religion of their hearts kept them near to God ; here they enjoyed the comforts and blessings of Agurs's prayer.

The wise, and virtuous institutions, which these fathers planted in the wilderness, have proved a rich source of comfort and enjoyment, to their descendants ; these could secure the externals of religion, but could not perpetuate that piety which their founders enjoyed. When the first race of the fathers slept, a small portion of their piety descended to the next generation ; then the cares of the world began to spring up, and infest this garden of God, and lead away the hearts of his people after the vanities of this life. Riches, honors, and the pride of life, descended to the third and fourth generations ; and luxury, dissipation, and corruption, had so very generally supplanted that piety, godliness and purity of heart, and life, which had so eminently distinguished their forefathers, that a new order of things began to appear, and the religion of the church began to wear a new garb. Although a full share of the mantle of the Elijahs of the church, had fallen upon the succeeding Elishas, yet the spirit of God had departed from his people, and the ways of Zion mourned.

In the midst of this general declension, God heard the cries of his people, and although their numbers were small, yet they cried mightily unto God, for deliverance from the flood of vice with which they were surrounded, and by which they were in danger of being swallowed up. Their

cry reached the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth; he had compassion upon his heritage, and began to pour out his spirit, and revive his work amongst his people.

The first shower of divine grace, was felt at Northampton, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard, in the year 1679. In this revival, the spirit of God was powerful, in awakening the hearts and consciences of the youth, and in leading them from the pursuit of their vain amusements, to a life of temperance, sobriety, and godliness; and the gay scenes of this parish were soon changed into scenes of piety, social religion, and interesting and engaged devotion. The change was great, the work was the Lord's, and they rightly ascribed to him all the praise.

In the year 1683, God again visited this people, with another refreshing shower of the same almighty grace; and in the years 1696, 1712, and 1718, God was pleased to pour out his spirit abundantly upon this people, and teach them to feel, in copious measures, the riches of that grace, which he had vouchsafed to their forefathers, and which had been their stay and support, their comfort and consolation through all the trials and afflictions, which God had called them to pass, in planting the church in the wilderness, and in laying this foundation of his modern Canaan.

These were the beginnings of the riches of that grace, and those blessings which God was about to bestow upon his people, and by which he was about to revive his work, and make himself known, to the degenerate descendents of their illustrious fathers, and bring them back to the footsteps of the flock.

The next display of divine grace was conspicuous in the town of Windham, under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Whiting. Here the shower was more abundant, and more powerful, than had been before felt in New-England. Love, joy, gratitude, and praise to God, were diffused throughout the town, and a day of public thanks-

giving was held, to express the emotions of their grateful hearts, and give to God the praise. About one fifth of the parish, were hopefully born again, in the space of six months, and about eighty converts were added to the church.

This revival embraced all ages, classes, and distinctions of characters, and will ever remain memorable in the annals of the church of Windham. Notwithstanding these powerful refreshings of divine grace, the ways of Zion continued to mourn generally, throughout the New-England churches; iniquity abounded, and the hearts of many waxed cold; a general degeneracy of manners and of morals, continued to prevail.

In the midst of this mad career, the God of heaven shook most terribly the earth, by the great earthquake of 1727. This concussion of the earth, gave a general shock to the hearts and consciences of the degenerate offspring of New-England. Although the purity of the religion of the churches, had slept with the fathers, yet the spirit of their Elijahs, rested upon their Elishas, and they, faithful to their trust, gave such seasonable warnings to their people, of the judgments of God, which awaited such a declension of manners, of morals, and religion, that when they felt the concussion of the earth, their sins stared them in the face; they were conscious of their deserts, however terrible the judgment, and alarmed for the issue. Conscientious guilt, led to a general serious enquiry, and this produced a temporary change in manners and morals; but this was only temporary; with a return of safety, came a return of lecentiousness and dissipation; and although God was pleased to follow this earthquake with sweeping sicknesses and dreadful mortality, little short of the plague, which spread through the country, and often swept away whole families of children, and filled the country with lamentation, mourning, and woe; yet their hearts were

hardened in sin : dissipation, and corruptions, had rooted out, generally, the purity and graces of the church ; and licentiousness stalked abroad, under a free toleration. The truths of the gospel were no longer relished from the pulpit, and the voice of their spiritual guides, was lulled into a lukewarm performance of the duties of the sacred office, or hushed into silence under a spirit of opposition.

In the midst of this degeneracy, the God of their fathers shook not only the earth, but the heavens, and poured out his spirit upon his churches, in abundant showers of divine grace. This glorious work commenced at Northampton in the year 1735, under the ministry of the Reverend Mr. Edwards, and continued in repeated and copious showers, down to the year 1741.

This interesting display of the power of God's Spirit, was the commencement of that general display of Almighty grace through the churches, which has been known, and distinguished by the term, "*the great revival*," and is thus beautifully and impressively described by the illustrious Dr. Jonathan Edwards. After describing the operations of the Divine Spirit, in the conversion of a young woman, and its good effects upon the youth generally, he thus proceeds ;—" Presently upon this, a great and earnest concern about the things of religion, and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and ages : the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder ; all other talk, but about spiritual and divine things, was thrown by ; all conversation, in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people to carry on their ordinary secular business. Other discourse than that of the things of religion, would scarcely be tolerated in any company. The minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world ; it was treated

among us as a thing of very little consequence. They seemed to follow their worldly business, more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it. The temptation now seemed to be on this hand, to neglect worldly business too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercises of religion. But although people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business, yet there was then the reverse of what ordinarily is; religion was with all, the great concern, and the world was a thing only by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the kingdom of heaven, and every one seemed to be pressing into it. The eagerness of their hearts, in this great concern, could not be hid; it appeared in their very countenances. It then was a dreadful thing amongst us, to live out of Christ, in danger every day of dropping into hell; and what people's minds were intent upon, was to escape for their lives, and fly from the wrath to come. All would lay hold of opportunities for their souls, and were wont to meet together in private houses, for religious purposes; and such meetings, when appointed, were wont often to be thronged.

There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. Those that were wont to be the vainest, and loosest, and those that had been the most disposed to think, and speak slightly of vital and experimental religion, were now subject to great awakenings. The work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls did, as it were, come by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, by months together, might be seen evident instances, of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and delivered out of the horrible pit, and miry clay, and set upon a rock, with a new song of praise to God in their mouths.

This work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town ; so that in the spring, and summer following, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God. It never was so full of love, and joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families, on the account of salvation being brought unto them ; parents rejoicing over their children, new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary ; God's day was delightful, and his tabernacles amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful ; the congregation was then alive in God's service, every one intent on public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister, as they came from his mouth ; the assembly were generally in tears, from time to time, while the word was preached ; some weeping with sorrow and distress ; others with joy and love ; others with pity and concern, for the souls of their neighbours. Our public praises were then greatly enlivened : they were sung with unusual elevation of heart, and voice, which made the duty pleasant indeed.

In all companies, and upon whatever occasions persons met together, Christ was to be heard, and seen in the midst of them. Our young people when they met, were wont to spend their time in talking of the excellency, and dying love of Christ, the gloriousness of the way of salvation, the wonderful, free, and sovereign grace of God, in his glorious work, in the conversion of a soul, the truth and certainty of the great things of God's word, the sweetness of the views of his glorious perfections, &c. and even at weddings, which formerly were merely occasions of mirth and jollity, there was now no discourse of any thing

but religion, and no appearance of any thing but spiritual joy.

Those who had before been born of God, experienced the fresh anointings of the spirit, and revived like the spring, and grew like the vine. Many who had laboured under great difficulties, with respect to their spiritual state, obtained satisfying evidence of the love of God to their souls."

These were glorious seasons of refreshing from the presence and spirit of God; these were showers of divine grace, such as their forefathers enjoyed in the land of *their* fathers, and which brought them out into this howling wilderness, to cultivate a land not sown, to plant a pure church, where God might be worshipped in purity and sincerity, and where generations yet unborn, might enjoy these blessings of divine grace, which we have now witnessed to have been poured out so copiously, upon the people of Northampton, and which we are about to witness, to have been poured out so copiously upon the people of New-England.

The spirit of God, which had become so glorious in Northampton, was soon displayed throughout the neighbouring towns. Hatfield, Deerfield, Sunderland, and Northfield, together with Westfield, West-Springfield, and Long-Meadow, in Massachusetts; also Enfield, East and West-Windsor, Coventry, Lebanon-Crank, Durham, Mansfield, Tolland, Bolton, Hebron, Norwich, Groton, New-Haven, Stratford, Ripton, Woodbury, and Guilford, in the State of Connecticut, were made partakers of this great, and glorious work. All those expressions of grace and love, which we have witnessed to flow from sincere and genuine religion, in Northampton, were felt and exhibited in all these places; God, even the living God, was in all their thoughts, and all their ways.

This spirit of revival became general, in some degree, throughout New-England, in the years 1740 and 41, and spread into New-York, and New-Jersey ; and all descriptions of character, both in the large towns, and in the country, of all ages, sexes, rank, and condition, became the subjects of the glorious work ; sang forth the praises of redeeming love, and magnified the riches of that grace, which had brought them out of darkness, into God's marvellous light ; and made them heirs of God, and joint heirs with Jesus Christ, to an heavenly inheritance, with the saints in life.

This glorious news of the wonderful display of the spirit of God upon the churches of New-England, reached the churches of the Puritan faith in England, and Doctor Guise, and Doctor Watts, (whose praise is in the churches,) wrote to Doctor Edwards for a full, and particular confirmation of the facts, which was given in a full narrative of the events, as early as 1738.

When the work had spread over New-England generally, and reached New-Jersey, it was there met by the renowned Whitfield, who had come out from England, for this special purpose, and landed at Philadelphia ; and by him, as God's instrument, carried to the south as far as Georgia.

Mr. Whitfield was a man of uncommon eloquence, a bold, pious, and powerful preacher, exactly calculated to publish the glad tidings of the gospel, to the dark and benighted regions of the south. His zeal and energies, rendered him popular wherever he went ; the churches were all opened to him, and numerous converts followed him, and attended his preaching, amidst numerous, and crowded assemblies. He was met and hailed, as the champion of the cross, by men of the first distinction, from New-Jersey to Georgia.

Mr. Whitfield preached in all their principal towns, and sometimes to audiences said to amount to ten thousand. The work was truly great, and his success was great; thousands of souls were hopefully born to God, through the instrumentality of Mr. Whitfield, and became seals of his ministry, and crowns of his rejoicing, in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The fame of Mr. Whitfield, in the south, spread into New-England, and Dr. Coleman and Mr. Cooper of Boston, wrote to him with a request, that he would visit New-England; this invitation he readily embraced, from the desire of witnessing the abodes of the Puritan fathers, and visiting the sons of those sires, who had erected the standard of the church in the wilderness; the fame of whose late revivals had traversed the ocean, and reached the land of their fathers, and kindled fresh joy in the hearts of the saints of the original church.

Mr. Whitfield embarked at Charlestown, August 1740, and arrived at Rhode-Island, Sept. 14, being Lord's day: here he was joyfully received by the Rev. Mr. Clap, one of the venerable pillars of the Puritan Church, and then minister of the first congregational church at Newport. Pleased with his reception by this venerable saint, Mr. Whitfield preached six sermons to this people, amidst crowded and deeply affected audiences, and then departed for Boston, where he arrived on Thursday, amidst the general acclamations of the people. Mr. Whitfield preached in all the parishes in Boston, in regular succession, and whenever they became so crowded as not to admit the audience, he adjourned to the common. His preaching was powerful, and the impressions were powerful; nothing like this preaching and awakening, had ever appeared in the country: it appeared to be the power of God, and the wisdom of God, to salvation of thousands of souls.

Although the revival which sprang up at Northampton,

had become general in Massachusetts and Connecticut, yet it had not appeared in Boston, until after the arrival of Mr. Whitfield ; then the hearts of this people, which had been so long cold, and indifferent to the things of their eternal peace, were warmed by the influences of the Divine Spirit, and melted into a submission to the Divine Will, by the preaching of Mr. Whitfield, and numerous sons and daughters were born to God, and became the trophies of his special and sovereign grace.

From Boston, Mr. Whitfield made an excursion through the eastern towns of Massachusetts, and published the glad tidings of the gospel in every town he visited, with powerful effects upon numerous crowded audiences. On his return to Boston, he preached to an audience of 20,000 ; and then took his departure for Northampton, the seat of the great revival, with a special view to visit Mr. Edwards, whose fame and whose praise, had become universal in the churches. Mr. Whitfield preached in every town through which he passed, until he reached Northampton, where he was most cordially received by Mr. Edwards, and his people ; here he preached four times. Here he revived that spirit, which God had so powerfully poured out upon this people, many years before, and here he rekindled that fire, which had so long been burning in the temple of the Lord, and gave a new zest to that zeal, which had shewn so conspicuously throughout the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. The joys of old saints were very generally revived, and the hearts of old and obstinate sinners, were very generally subdued, by the sovereign power of divine grace, and the songs of redeeming love became almost universal in Northampton.

Mr. Whitfield took an affectionate leave of this abode of the blessed, on his way through Connecticut, for New-York, and preached in every town through which he passed, with his usual energetic powers and success. Mr.

Whitfield preached three days successively in New-York, to numerous, and crowded audiences, and then commenced his route into the Southern States, as before ; but with renewed energies, and success. In December he arrived at Charlestown, after a tour of nearly 1000 miles, in which he had preached one hundred and seventy five sermons, beside private exhortations, and collected more than seven hundred pounds for the orphans of Georgia, where he thus exclaims,—“ Never did I perform my journey with so little fatigue, or see so much of the divine presence, in the congregations to whom I have preached. Praise the Lord, O my soul ! ”

Soon after Mr. Whitfield left Boston, the mantle of this Elijah, which had fallen upon the Elishas of that place, kindled a spirit of zeal, and ardor in the churches, which led to a revival, that became general, or rather almost universal ; and the power of God was conspicuously manifest in the churches in Boston. The zeal which Mr. Whitfield had sown in the churches in Connecticut, kindled into a flame, and led many of the regular ministers to become itinerants, and visit the neighbouring parishes, and preach with great ardor and zeal.

The Rev. Messrs. Mills, Pomeroy, Wheelock, and Belamy, became the principal itinerants, and greatly promoted the work of the Lord throughout the churches. Although great good appeared to follow this itinerant preaching, as it had done Mr. Whitfield's, yet jealousy, strife, animosity, and bitter contention, soon sprang up, and marred the good work of God ; and those churches which we have seen vocal with the praises of redeeming love, were filled with the malignity of all the evil passions : in the midst of this discord of the churches, appeared the Rev. James Davenport, of Long-Island, who made a tour through the churches of Connecticut, and in his route visited Boston. The madness of this man through the excess

of his zeal, ruined the revival, and threw the churches into confusion, and brought upon all zealous, and experimental christians, the reproachful terms of new lights; and this reproach was used indiscriminately by both ministers and people, who opposed the general revival. This spirit went from the churches into the general assembly, where severe laws were passed, to restrain itinerants, and prevent even neighbouring ministers from entering the pulpits, or even parishes of each other to preach, without a special invitation from the brethren therein settled, on penalty of becoming an outlaw in the colony, as a gospel minister, and thereby prevented from obtaining his regular support. This law opened a new field in the churches, and that zeal for religion which we have witnessed breaking forth in the raptures of redeeming love, and triumphing in the joys of peace on earth, and good will to men, was now swallowed up in the bitterness of strife, contention, and party persecution; and the churches of Connecticut, were clad in sackcloth, by the madness of their own folly.

Upon a complaint laid before the general assembly against Mr. Davenport, he was removed out of the state, and transported to Long-Island; and thus itinerants were generally suppressed.

Other excesses grew out of this strife in the churches; frequent divisions and separations took place; errors in doctrine, discipline, and manners, followed; the spirits of men were high, and obstinate; some of these were ordered by the general assembly to be arrested, and brought to the bar of the house, to answer for their offences; where they were duly punished. This was construed into persecution, and widened the breach: the people caught the fire, took part with the persecuted ministers, and then those churches, which but a short time before, we have witnessed to receive *the people in flocks, as clouds, and as doves flocking to their windows*, were now excommunicating their

brethren, in the bitterness of party ; and the churches in Connecticut were thus arrayed against themselves.

Great and serious separations took place at this time in many of the churches, and such was the spirit of the day, that even the sons of the college were expelled, whenever they withdrew from the regular churches, in their own parishes, and joined in worship with the separates.*

These separations multiplied in the churches, and became general, and threatened the peace and union of the churches ; but this arbitrary act of the authority of Yale College, gave great uneasiness in the colony, and widened the breach, and strengthened, if it did not multiply divisions.

This schism in the churches was ascribed to Mr. Whitfield ; and perhaps, in the ardor of his zeal, he might have been imprudent ; yet if the itinerants of the colony, who caught the fire of Mr. Whitfield, and attempted to follow his example, had kept steady to the labours of their charge, and had not entered into other men's labours, the evils imputed to Mr. Whitfield, had probably never existed.

During these schisms in the churches of Connecticut, Mr. Whitfield performed his southern tour, as he had done before ; and in autumn 1744, he returned again to New-England. He was as cordially received in Boston, as before, and preached there, and through the eastern parts of Massachusetts, to as great acceptance, and with as good success ; but the schisms in Connecticut, had embodied the ministers against him, and the general association of the colony, passed a resolve, that they would unitedly exclude him from their pulpits.

This resolve of the general association kindled, or rather fanned the fire in the church ; separates multiplied, became numerous, and divided, and distracted the churches in all parts of the state ; which called forth the exertions

* Instances of this, were John and Ebenezer Cleaveland of Canterbury.

of the associations, and consociations; and greatly increased their labours; and called forth also the pens of the first ecclesiastical characters in New-England, to illustrate the subject. Amongst the first of these, appeared the Reverend Dr. Edwards of Northampton, in vindication of the great revival of religion in the land, as the glorious work of God; and in this vindication of the work, he appeared worthy of himself. In opposition to Mr. Edwards, and the glorious work, appeared the Reverend Dr. Chauncy of Boston. The talents of Dr. Chauncy were well known at that day; but his vital piety was not at that time very conspicuous, much less has it become so since he published, in a learned and laboured work, the doctrines of Universal Salvation.*

Well might Dr. Chauncy oppose the doctrine of free, and sovereign grace, by the special agency of the Holy Spirit, upon the hearts and consciences of sinners; and well might he oppose Mr. Edwards as the champion of this glorious revival. The spirit of this revival, was the spirit that kindled the flame of divine love, in the fathers of the Puritan Church, and led them out from the persecutions in the land of their fathers, to plant the church in the wilderness; and when the sons of those sires had lost the spirit of their fathers, and suffered the spirit, and love of the Saviour to languish, become cold, and even die in his church, the great head of the church again displayed himself, by the powerful operations of his almighty spirit, to call up his church from their grave of sin, and spiritual death; and to give new life, and love, and joy, to all its members. If this display of Almighty goodness, kindled too great zeal in some of the friends of Zion, and too great bitterness in many of her enemies; and if through these extremes, the peace of the church was disturbed,

* This work was published in England, about the years 1779 or 80.

and her safety-endangered ; who will presume to argue from this, that the work was not the work of God, because the passions of sinners were disturbed; or even convulsed, by the joy, and prosperity of his saints? The graces of the church were buried with the pilgrims, and their descendants had given her a name to live when she might be fairly said to be dead, and this glorious revival had given her as great convulsions, as the resuscitation of a drowned man, gives to the minutest fibres of his whole frame and perhaps a full share of similar distress.*

For an extensive, and particular detail of these events, see Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Vol. II. Book II. generally.

I shall close these remarks, with the following eulogy of the immortal Cowper upon Mr. Whitfield, under the title of Leuconomus.

“ He lov'd the world that hated him ; the tear
That drop'd upon his bible, was sincere :
Assaild by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life ;
And he that forg'd and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ and steadiness unbrib'd
Were copied close in him, and well transcrib'd.
He follow'd Paul ; his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same :
Like him cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas
Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease.
Like him he labour'd and like him content
To bear it, suffered shame where'er he went.
Blush columny ! and upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare the room,

* In this revival, it was estimated that 30 or 40,000 in New-England, were raised from the grave of sin to a life of holiness, and manifested by their exemplary lives and conversation, that they were born again, and had become the children of God.

Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which aimed at him, have pierc'd the offended skies ;
And say, blot out my sin, confess'd, deplor'd,
Against thine image in thy saint, O Lord.

Cowper's Poems, Vol. I. page 126.

It is worthy of remark in this place, that although great dissensions had arisen in the churches of Connecticut, out of this great revival ; yet these were evils small in themselves, when compared to the general good, that the outpourings of God's spirit had produced, in reviving the primitive love and zeal of the church in the wilderness ; and thus preparing her to withstand the flood of temptations, and demoralising effects, that were about to overtake her, in the approaching French war. Also, to prepare her saints with warm, fervent, and animated zeal, to present the church at the throne of divine grace, for that support, consolation, and protection, she was about to need, in those trying and eventful scenes, that were ready to open upon her.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.—CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SPANISH WAR.—GENERAL OPERATIONS OF THE SPANISH WAR.—CAUSES THAT LED TO THE FRENCH WAR.

THROUGH the greatest part of the seventeenth; and beginning of the eighteenth century, the American seas, (especially the Gulf of Mexico,) were infested with pirates, known by the name buccaneers; or freebooters; a sett of men more daring and adventurous, than had appeared since the days of Cortez and Pizarro. These daring adventurers, plundered not only the ships of Spain, but the cities of Spain in her American colonies, and they even sacked and plundered the cities of Panama, and Portobello, the keys of Spanish America, and grand marts through which all the wealth of the mines of Mexico and Peru are conducted to Spain.

These ravages continued until the peace of Ryswick, 1697, when they were generally suppressed; but the successes of the buccaneers had disclosed the secret, that the cities of Spain, in her American colonies, were incomparably rich, and through the excesses and luxury arising from this wealth, as well as the effeminacy of a warm climate, were weak, and could make but a feeble resistance. England, ever avaricious of gain, opened a way of access to these cities, at the peace of Utrecht, 1713, by a special contract, for supplying the Spanish settlements in America, with negroes from Africa. To effect this, she established factories throughout the great commercial cities of Spanish America. These factories disclosed the secrets of Spanish wealth, more fully than had been done before by the buccaneers, and invited and promoted a clandestine commerce, highly advantageous to England, and her West-India islands. This was injurious, and even

ruinous to the trade of Spain, in those seas, and filled her with alarm and resentment. Spain expressed her resentment, by guarding her American coast generally, with ships of war, called *Guarda Costas*, who were rigid and severe in their duty, and sometimes corrupt in their practice, in seizing the ships of Britain indiscriminately, and condemning the innocent with the guilty, which called forth sharp remonstrances from the British Court, and finally a declaration of war, October 1739.

This declaration of war, was accompanied with a fleet of six ships of war, and a land force of 240 men, destined to reduce the city of Portobello, the grand mart of Spanish America; and this small armament carried the city by assault, and almost without resistance, 1740.

Flushed with the successes of this daring enterprise, the British minister dispatched one fleet round Cape Horn, under the command of Commodore Anson, to cruize against the Spanish commerce in the south seas, and seize on the treasures of Peru and Chili, and another fleet and armament onto the West-India station, to join admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Commodore Anson, across the Isthmus of Darien, in a general attack upon the Spanish American settlements. The land forces in this armament, were under the command of Lord Cathcart, an approved and distinguished officer. This land force was augmented by four regiments, drawn from the American colonies, and amounted to about 12,000 men. Connecticut exerted herself, together with the colonies generally, and raised her quota of men and supplies, and the four regiments embarked for the West-Indies, where they joined Lord Cathcart, and proceeded upon a grand expedition against Carthagena.

This armament, when it sailed from Jamaica, consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line, about thirty frigates, fire-ships, bombketches, &c. and was not only the most formi-

dable armament that had ever appeared in those seas ; but one from which the nation had the highest expectations ; considering the weak and defenceless state of Spanish America, as had been evinced by the buccaneers formerly, and by this same Admiral Vernon, in his late conquest of Portobello. How great must have been the mortification of the minister, and the nation, when they heard the tidings, that Lord Cathcart had died in the midst of their hopes, at the commencement of the expedition ; and that with his death, fell the success of all their sanguine expectations ; that with the death of Lord Cathcart, fell all that harmony, and mutual aid between his successor, General Wentworth, and Admiral Vernon, which are the inseparable companions of all success, in such expeditions ; that by the means of that discord which ensued, the attack upon Carthagea was rendered abortive ; and after a fruitless attempt to storm the city, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and retire with loss and disgrace. That an attempt upon the Island of Cuba had failed from the same causes, and that a mortal sickness, much like the plague, swept off the army in such numbers, that more than three thousand died in two days. And what must have been the distress and mortification of New-England, when she saw but about one hundred return home, out of the one thousand of her sons she had furnished upon this expedition.*

Spain, enraged at this expedition, sent her cruizers into the American seas, and committed great depredations upon the British, and American commerce ; this roused up the Americans, and caused the governor of Georgia to invade the Floridas, 1741 ; this expedition failed, and the Spaniards, in their turn, invaded Georgia, with a strong naval armament : this opened an Indian war against the Spaniards, in this thinly settled country ; headed by the Geor-

* Massachusetts furnished five hundred, and only fifty returned.

gians and Carolinians ; which defeated their enterprise, and the Spaniards returned to St. Augustine, with loss and disgrace, 1742.

This Spanish war was the forerunner of the war between France and England, which commenced in 1744, but not altogether the cause of it ; although France had shewn a strong partiality to Spain, in all the operations of the war, and had in a clandestine manner, afforded her all the aid in her power, without involving herself in the war ; and this partiality had given great umbrage to England, and excited her jealousy ; yet this French war may be imputed to another cause.

The crown of Austria, upon the death of Charles VI. had fallen of right to Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Charles VI. and then wife of Francis of Lorraine, and Grand Duke of Tuscany ; and this right of succession had been guaranteed to her, by almost all the princes of Europe, by a treaty stiled *The Pragmatic Sanction*. A competitor to Maria Theresa, sprang up in the King of Prussia, which opened the war in Germany, between Austria and Prussia, in 1741, and although France had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, yet she could not resist this tempting occasion of uniting with Prussia and Spain in the war, that she might seize on the Italian possessions of Maria Theresa, and thus renew her old Italian claims, and at the same time, humble the house of Austria in Europe, and the crown of England, by wresting from her the American colonies. Impressed with these motives, Lewis XV. entered with spirit into the war, under the influence of a secret treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, that should place him upon the throne of Germany. These treaties being concluded, the troops of France were put in motion, and the war raged generally, in Germany and Italy.

King George II. by his Parliament, supported Maria Theresa, by liberal supplies of money, from time to time,

and awaited the issue ; thus the parties remained balanced, until March, 1744, when France and England, vented their reciprocal reproaches, and entered into the war. These powers, who had secretly favoured the enemies of each other, first in the Spanish, and next in the German war, now became principals, and thus opened the scenes of war once more in the American colonies.

Although the failure of the grand expedition against Spanish America, had been in some measure repaired, by the arrival of Lord Anson in England, with a rich Spanish Galleon, taken in the south seas, and the minister, by a magnificent display of this wealth, had revived the spirits of the nation ;* yet France felt herself upon high ground, and had great expectations from the war.

We will pass over all other foreign events of this war, and confine our attention to the operations of New-England, and the adjoining French colonies. Before we enter upon the operations of the war in New-England, we will bring forward the colony of New-Hampshire, to that eventful period.

* It was landed and carried in triumph to the tower.

CHAPTER XXX.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONTINUED.

WE have noticed the attempts that have been made, for the settlement of the long contested boundary line, between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and the warmth of feeling excited between the parties. In the midst of this controversy, the claims of Mason were again renewed, by a son of Robert Mason, with high prospects of success; but he died in the midst of the pursuit, and his eldest son stepped in, and continued the prosecution, by the assistance of his friends.

Pending this prosecution in England, an agent of the Colony of New-Hampshire, purchased of the heir at law, all the Mason claim, for, and in behalf of the assembly of New-Hampshire, for the sum of 1000*l.* currency of New-England, which opened the way for the independence, and tranquillity of the Colony of New-Hampshire, 1738.

At the same time the enemies of Governor Belcher, were as active in New-Hampshire, to obtain his removal, as they had been in Massachusetts, and perhaps their joy was as great, when they had accomplished their object.

Amongst the last acts of Governor Belcher's administration, was the settlement of the boundary lines between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

This long and sharp controversy was finally closed by the commissioners appointed by the crown, in the following manner, viz. "That the northern boundary of the Province of Massachusetts, be a curve line pursuing the course of the Merimack River, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket Falls; and a

straight line drawn from thence due west, till it meets with his majesty's other governments."

The favourable decision of this long, and bitter controversy, together with the total extinction of Mason's claim, placed New-Hampshire at this time, upon high ground, and she next extended her claims as far west as the western boundary of Massachusetts, which embraced all that district of country, which now forms the State of Vermont.

New-Hampshire next made provision, by act of assembly, to raise a body of men, to unite with the other colonial troops, in an expedition against the Spanish settlements, on the Island of Cuba: but the commissions and arms were not sent, and the troops could not be raised, 1740.

The next year the boundary lines between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, were duly run, according to the report of the commissioners, and at the same time, Governor Belcher was removed from the administration, and Benning Wentworth, Esq. was appointed governor of the Colony of New-Hampshire, and William Shirley, Esq. Governor of Massachusetts.

Thus we have seen how New-Hampshire has surmounted a labyrinth of claims and difficulties, and finally obtained an independence coequal with the Colony of Massachusetts. That the strife of party should have inflamed the passions, and that the heat of the passions, should have involved Governor Belcher in the quarrel, is both natural, and easy to be seen, and that Governor Belcher should have suffered great injustice amidst this heat and strife of party, is also true; but that Governor Belcher, under existing circumstances, should be removed, and that two new governors should be appointed, was undoubtedly best for all the parties, and was the only basis on which the general interest, as well as a permanent tranquillity, could

be restored. Governor Belcher suffered for the moment, both in his feelings and reputation : but these were soon removed, by his appointment to the government of the Province of New-Jersey, where he lived and died beloved and respected.

Governor Wentworth was son to the late Lieut. Gov. Wentworth, a merchant of respectability in Portsmouth, and who had been a member of the council under the administration of Gov. Belcher. Mr. Wentworth as a merchant, had suffered severely in a contract with an agent of the Court of Spain, which ruined his trade, and rendered him a bankrupt ; but as a man of honor and integrity, he was rewarded by the crown with the government of New-Hampshire. In the course of this Spanish fraud, Mr. Wentworth went twice to Spain, to seek redress, and when that failed, he repaired to England to petition the crown for satisfaction against the Court of Spain. Pending the negotiations between the two courts, Mr. Wentworth had some hopes of redress ; but when these failed, the king appointed him governor of New-Hampshire, and he was ready for war.

Governor Wentworth sailed for America soon after his appointment, where he arrived December 1741, and was hailed as the immediate deliverer of the colony. The commencement of his administration was favourable ; the legislature granted him a salary of 250*l.* per annum, predicated upon the excise, and 250*l.* more, predicated upon the interest of a new loan of bills of credit, which they had then voted to issue. In addition to this, Governor Wentworth purchased of a Col. Dunbar, for the sum of 2000*l.* his commission as surveyor of the woods, which was worth about 800*l.* per annum. Thus seated in the chair, Gov. Wentworth was both popular and in easy circumstances. Gov. Wentworth maintained a good understand-

ing with Gov. Shirley, and their measures were pursued with general harmony.

The Spanish war continued, and in 1744, the French took part with Spain, and were involved in the contest. This French war brought on collisions between the French possessions in Novascotia and Cape Breton, and the eastern colonies, and involved them in the war.

The fishermen of New-England had been accustomed to resort to the Island of Canseau, on the north of Novascotia, since the peace of Utrecht, to dry their fish: this island was fortified with a block-house and a small garrison. The French governor at Cape Breton, fitted out an expedition, and destroyed this settlement at Canseau, and made a similar attempt upon Newfoundland, which failed; and the news of the war and the loss of Canseau arrived together in New-England.

The expedition against Canseau and Newfoundland, being joined by a party of Indians, commenced an attack upon Annapolis, but were repulsed with loss; and this opened the war with New-England, and called for a declaration of war from Massachusetts, with a premium upon scalps and prisoners, as in former wars. The northern and eastern frontier of New-England, were again laid open to the ravages of the enemy, and obliged to prepare for their general, as well as particular safety.

Duquesnel, the French governor of Cape Breton, died soon after this expedition, and was succeeded by Duchambon, and the parties went into a general preparation for the war.

The severity of the winter, together with the scarcity of provisions in Cape Breton, obliged the governor of Louisbourg to send the prisoners taken at Canseau and elsewhere, to Boston, and this source of intelligence became highly important to Gov. Shirley and the New-England colonies.

Louisburg, next to Quebec, had been once the strongest fortress in America, and was to France a strong-hold of more importance than even Quebec. A strong hold which protected the commerce and the fishery of France, both in peace and war, and which greatly annoyed both the fishery and commerce of New-England, and encouraged savage wars. It had become an object of the first importance, that the colonies should possess or destroy this Dunkirk of America. Gov. Shirley conceived the plan of reducing the city of Louisburg, and communicated his views to Gov. Wentworth, who approved of the measure.*

Before we pursue this important enterprise, it may not be uninteresting to give a sketch of the city of Louisburg, with its commanding position.

DESCRIPTION OF LOUISBURG.

The harbour of Louisburg lies in latitude $45^{\circ} 55'$; its entrance is about four hundred yards wide. The anchorage is uniformly safe, and ships may run ashore on a soft muddy bottom. The depth of water at the entrance is about 9, to 12 fathom. The harbour lies open to the south-east. Upon a neck of land upon the south side of the harbour, was built the town, two miles and a quarter in circumference; fortified in every accessible part, with a rampart of stone, from thirty to sixty feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. A space of about two hundred yards was left without a rampart, on the side next to the sea, it was enclosed with a simple dike, and a line of pickets; the sea was so shallow in this place that it made only a narrow channel, inaccessible from its numerous reefs, to any shipping whatever. The side-fire from the bastions secured

* The plan is said by some to have been originated by William Vaughan, son of the late lieutenant governor of New-Hampshire; a man of a bold and adventurous spirit, and who was largely concerned in the fisheries. The plan of Vaughan was to take Louisburg by surprise, and scale the walls in the winter, upon snow-shoes; the snow often drifting over the top of the walls.

this spot from attack. There were six bastions, and three batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon, of which sixty-five only were mounted, and sixteen mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbour was planted a battery of thirty cannon, carrying 28 pound shot; and at the bottom of the harbour, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand, or royal battery, of twenty-eight cannon, forty-two pounders, and two eighteen pounders. On a high cliff opposite to the island battery, stood a light-house; and within this point, at the north-east part of the harbour, was a careening wharf, secure from all winds, and a magazine of naval stores.

The town was regularly laid out in squares; the streets were broad, the houses mostly of wood, but some of stone. On the west side, near the rampart, was a spacious citadel, and a large parade; on the one side of which were the governor's apartments; under the rampart were casemates to receive the women and children, during a siege. The entrance of the town on the land side, was at the west gate, over a draw-bridge, near to which was a circular battery, mounting sixteen guns of 24 pound shot.

These works had been twenty-five years in building, and had cost the crown of France not less than thirty million of livres. The place was so strong as to be called the "Dunkirk of America." It was in peace a safe retreat for the ships of France, bound homeward from the East, or West-Indies; and in war a source of distress to the northern English Colonies; its situation being extremely favourable for privateers to ruin their fishery, and intercept their coasting, and foreign trade; for which reason the reduction of it was as desirable to them, as the reduction of Carthage was to the Romans.

Abbe Raynal.

MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Notwithstanding Governor Shirley found the state of the finances in the colony of Massachusetts, in great confusion, and notwithstanding the colony had lost several towns in settling the contested boundary line with Rhode-Island, which were formerly considered as belonging to the colony of Plymouth, and by her united to Massachusetts, yet such was his popularity, that he took the land-bank into favour, obtained a grant of 1000*l.* sterling per ann. for his salary, obtained just and equitable debts for sundry old creditors, and finally signed a bill, which provided for the equitable redemption of the land-bank stock; all which acts fixed his popularity, and rendered his administration easy.

Governor Shirley next turned his attention to the defence, and security of the colony, by strengthening the castle that guards the entrance of Boston harbour, together with all the military posts on the frontier, and obtained from the general court a grant of 200 men, to strengthen the fortress at Annapolis, in Novascotia.

Thus having secured the peace and tranquillity of the colony, he next turned his attention to the protection of her commerce and fisheries; to effect this, it became absolutely necessary to reduce the strong city of Louisburg. Governor Shirley opened his plan to the ministry, and requested a naval armament to co-operate with a provincial armament, in an expedition against Louisburg. Governor Shirley next opened his plan to the general court at their session in January, under the solemnity of an oath of secrecy. The boldness of the measure astonished the general court, and it was generally considered as the offspring of a great mind, highly interesting and important to the trade, as well as the peace of New-England; but an enterprise too great to be even attempted, and it was negatived by the court; but upon sundry petitions from mer-

chants, and others; of the first character and distinction, the question was renewed, and after much address and management, it was finally carried by a majority of one.

All parties united at once, and entered into the measures of the governor, with zeal and spirit. Governor Shirley laid a general embargo throughout the colony, and sent dispatches to the governors of all the other colonies, as far south as Pennsylvania, requesting an embargo, and a cordial co-operation in an expedition against Louisburg. New-York, and the colonies to the south, felt but little interest in the enterprise and therefore declined the invitation; but Connecticut agreed to furnish 500 men, Rhode-Island 300, and New-Hampshire 300, and the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island agreed to furnish transports for their troops, and all the armed marine force they could command, as cruizers to protect the transports.

The plan of this expedition thus being settled, a Colonel Pepperell of New-Hampshire was selected as the most popular man, and invested with the chief command. Colonel Pepperell was an officer of modest worth, and merit; but a merchant of extensive business, and engaged with great reluctance, as well as diffidence, in the enterprise. All New-England was now engaged in the greatest enterprise that had ever been attempted in the New World; men, money, transports, a naval force, arms, ammunition, camp utensils, and military stores of all kinds were all collected, as if by the power of magic, and in three months the expedition was ready. The general with about 4000 troops embarked, and the fleet sailed from Nantasket, the 24th of March, and arrived at Canso the 4th of April, 1745. Roger Wolcott, Esq. Deputy Governor of Connecticut, appeared at the head of the Connecticut troops, and held the second command in the expedition.

Governor Shirley had sent an express to commodore Warren, upon the West-India station, to support the ex-

pedition with his squadron ; but he declined to engage without orders ; the commodore however received orders from the admiralty in a few days, and on the last of April joined the expedition with his squadron, which gave renewed strength, confidence, and spirits to the enterprise. The troops were all landed at the bay of Chapeaugogue the 30th of April and the fleet took their station off the harbour, and Louisburg was invested before they had any knowledge of the expedition ; the general surprise rendered all opposition to the landing of the troops, faint and ineffectual, and the troops without further resistance, destroyed all the houses and stores that lay without the walls, and took the grand battery without exchanging a single shot.

Thus having entered upon the arduous duties before them, their next object was to bring their artillery to bear upon the town ; to effect this, it became necessary to draw their cannon through a deep morass, up to their knees in mud ; this task, arduous, and difficult as it was, they soon accomplished, assisted by the fire of the main battery, which they had taken from the enemy ; this fire became very alarming, and destructive to the town. Having surmounted the difficulties of the morass, and constructed batteries for their cannon, they were now prepared to cooperate with the fleet in one general assault upon the town. At this critical moment a store ship from France, for the relief of the garrison, appeared off the harbour, and was taken by the fleet ; this was a valuable acquisition to the besiegers, and a severe blow to the besieged. The general next ordered a detachment of 400 men, to attack and carry the island battery ; this attack failed with the loss of 60 men killed and 116 taken prisoners, which occasioned an express to Boston for a reinforcement. Massachusetts sent on 400 men, and Connecticut 200, and at this critical moment, one 60 and one 40 gun ship arrived from England, and joined the fleet, May 22d ; and early in June, two 60

gun ships and one of 80 guns, arrived and joined the fleet, which now consisted of 11 sail besides the provincial fleet.

Elated with their prospects, the general pushed the siege, by a heavy cannonade from his batteries, which silenced the harbour battery, demolished the west gate, and greatly distressed the town; and at the same time prepared to enter the harbour with the fleet, and the town by a general assault; but the governor sent out a flag, requesting a parley, and proposed articles of capitulation, which were rejected; and others sent in by the general and commodore, which were accepted, and on the 17th of June, they entered the city in triumph, and the garrison were embarked for France.* The reinforcements from Massachusetts and Connecticut, had not then arrived, nor the 300 men from Rhode-Island; these were all safe for the next expedition. The news of this glorious event arrived in Boston the 3d of July, by express, and from thence spread like lightning through the country; a burst of universal joy beamed in every countenance, and glowed in every breast.

The French flag continued to wave upon the walls, which decoyed in several India ships, supposed to be worth 600,000*l.* sterling. Governor Shirley embarked immediately for Louisburg; persuaded most of the army to remain in garri-on through the winter, and took the command, until his majesty's pleasure could be known.

An armament of seven ships of war, had sailed from France early in July, 1746, destined for the conquest of Novascotia, with orders to touch at Louisburg; but upon intelligence at sea, of the fall of Louisburg, they returned to France.

The boldness of this enterprise, and the success with which it was crowned, astonished not only America, but

* The loss of the Provincials in the capture of Louisburg did not exceed 100 men.

Europe, and led to a system of measures highly interesting and advantageous, both to England and her colonies. England contemplated the reduction of Canada, and France the reduction of Louisburg and Novascotia, together with the whole American seaboard, from Georgia to Maine; and to effect this, fitted out the Brest fleet of 70 sail, 14 of which were of the line, destined for the American coast. This fleet left Rochelle the 22d of June, with a land force of 3 or 4000 men, destined for the reduction of Louisburg, and the conquest of Novascotia. Detachments of this fleet were seen in those seas, and spread a general alarm throughout the American coast; but that God who had planted his church in the wilderness, and given her such a signal conquest, over the strong hold of Louisburg, appeared in as signal a manner for the protection of this conquest, by sending storms, and adverse winds, which shattered the French fleet, and drove them off the American coast; some back to France, some to the West-Indies, whilst others were lost at sea, and the remnant, that arrived on the American coast, had to return to France with the melancholly tidings, that the whole expedition had failed; that one of their admirals had poisoned himself through grief, and another had run mad, and stabbed himself, through rage and disappointment, and that the remnant of the fleet were overtaken by a cold and terrible storm, off Cape Sables, on their return to France, where they suffered severely, as they bid a final adieu to the American coast.

Thus ended the French armada against the coast of America, and thus the church in the wilderness might say, with the illustrious Queen Elizabeth, "*Deus flavit dissipantur.*"

The general alarm which the French fleet had spread through the colonies, together with the failure of the fleet,

and armament from England,* had prevented the contemplated expedition against Canada, and no enterprise was attempted, except a detachment of 400 men, destined against Novascotia, which failed of their object, with the loss of 160 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; and the rest returned under the protection of a convention, not to serve against Novascotia for the term of one year.

The grand expedition against Louisburg had given a general alarm to the savages, and restrained them from those ravages upon the frontiers, which we have hitherto noticed in times of war, *excepting* the back parts of New-Hampshire, which will be noticed in their place. In November, 1747, the town of Boston was thrown into a high state of alarm and confusion, by a press-gang under orders from Commodore Knowles, which scowered the shipping and wharves, to obtain a supply of scamen, to replace such as had deserted from his fleet: the people, alarmed at this outrage, flew to arms, (such as sticks, clubs, and pitchmops, &c.) and repaired to the house of the governor, and demanded such officers of the fleet as were there; but they were prevailed upon to desist for the present, after having spent their rage upon a deputy sheriff, and put him into the stocks, &c. They then withdrew until evening, when they again assembled in greater numbers, and assaulted the town-house, where the general court were sitting, broke the windows, &c. and then seized on such officers of the squadron as could be found in town.

In the midst of this outrage the governor left the court, and retired to his house, and the next day ordered out the militia to keep the peace, and the next night withdrew to the castle. The general court passed acts of severe cen-

* The delay of this fleet was occasioned by the landing of the Pretender in Scotland, and the insurrection there which threatened the peace of England.

sure upon the riotors, and upon the press-gang ; but ordered all the officers who had been arrested by the mob, to be set at liberty ; and the militia gave the governor their protection, and escorted him back in triumph to his house. The commodore dismissed all the men that had been impressed ; order was again restored, and the squadron departed.

The people now began to feel the pressure of their affairs ; a flood of paper money had been issued to support the exigencies of the war, taxes had multiplied, and to crown all, a general depreciation had sunk the money almost to a cypher ; this opened the door for such a system of fraud, as threatened the ruin of trade and of morals. Great efforts were made to abolish the paper money, and to obtain a grant from parliament, to indemnify the expenses of the Louisburg expedition, and thus redeem the paper currency at 6s. the dollar. The grant was finally made, and the paper currency redeemed with gold and silver, and the currency of the Colony of Massachusetts thus became permanent. New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, finally fell in with the plan of Massachusetts, and abolished paper money, after a few years.*

The next season the French fitted out two fleets against the British settlements in India and America ; the latter under the command of M. De la Jonqueire, governor of Quebec. These fleets sailed from Rochelle early in the spring ; but they were overtaken on the 3d of May, by a British fleet, under the command of Admirals Anson and Warren ; a warm action commenced, the French were

* The trade of Connecticut, from her first settlement, had been carried on with Boston, where they obtained all their English goods ; but when the colony of Massachusetts had abolished their paper money, they rejected the paper bills of Connecticut, and turned the trade of that colony to New-York, where her bills were yet current, and thus by an artful policy, New-York obtained the trade of Connecticut, which she has never lost ; and Boston lost a trade she has never fully regained.

overpowered, De la Jonqueire, with four ships of the line and six Indiamen were taken, together with 4 or 5,000 men, and large sums of money and bullion, and the colonies were again preserved by the special interposition of Divine Providence.

The depredations of the Indians and French from Canada, were carried on through the war, and into the year 1749, upon the frontier towns; but principally against the western frontier bordering upon Connecticut River, where many persons were killed, wounded, or carried away captive to Canada; but the settlements were not burnt, not the people butchered nor tortured as in former wars; the ferocity of the savage had softened into a partial degree of humanity. Even this humanity the enemy turned to his own advantage, by extorting large sums of money, as the ransom for their captives, which rendered New-England tributary to Canada. This spirited the colonies to raise their full quotas of men, for the grand expedition against Canada, contemplated in the year 1746.

When the two grand armaments of France against New-England had failed, the rebellion in Scotland had been quelled, and the pretender driven back to France; all prospects of success in the war on the part of France, appeared to have failed, and from that time the war languished; until April 30th, 1748, when hostilities ceased, under the preliminaries of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and all conquests were restored and things remained in *statu quo*. In October following, peace was ratified and confirmed.

The Indian wars in New-England had proved a good military school, in which her sons were trained to arms, in defence of all that they held dear, and prepared the way for the grand expedition which gave them possession of the strong fortress of Louisburg. The expedition against Louisburg, gave strength and confidence, both in Europe and America, which opened the way for the future conquest of

Canada, in 1759, and next, the successes of this war, opened the way for the triumph of the colonies in the revolutionary war, and the glorious establishment of their national independence, 1783. Although these triumphs were the successes, and results of future wars, yet they depended very much upon the confidence which the successes of this war had inspired, and the measures which this war had taught them to adopt. The heroes of this war were enrolled in the ranks of their country, in the war of 1756; and many of them lived to enter the lists with Britain, in the revolutionary war of 1775. Thus the French war of 1745, became the military school of America, that trained up her sons to establish her national independence. At the close of this war, the colonies complained that they had sustained heavy losses, in men,* money, and property, from the ravages of the enemy, and that the indemnification from the British government for the expences of the capture of Louisburg, ought not to satisfy their claims, especially since Louisburg was restored to France at the close of the war. They also urged the losses they sustained from the depreciation of their paper money, which they were obliged to emit for the support of the war; but the governor could not be persuaded to exceed the grant they had made, and the colonies were obliged to rest satisfied.

REMARKS.

The same principles which formerly led to the confederacy of the Catholic League in France, and fitted out the armada in Spain, were revived in this war. France hoped to restore Great Britain to the Papal See, by restoring the

* New-England lost in the war 3 or 4000 of her sons; and the wars of the last century have occasioned to New-England the loss of about 200 000 souls. The loss was felt by New-York as well as New-England, though not in an equal ratio.—*Hutchinson's History.*

pretender, (who was a Papist,) to the British throne, and to spread the Papal religion in America, by a conquest of New-England, and thus at a blow, exterminate the reformation from the British dominions. To accomplish this great object, the powers of France and Spain were united; and they put forth all their efforts in the war; but the God of our fathers defeated all the machinations of the powers of darkness, and overruled all events to the glory of his great name, and the good of his church.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE CONTINUED.—MASON'S CLAIM REVIVED.

In our last chapter upon New-Hampshire, we left her with an independent government, under the administration of Governor Wentworth, and as was then supposed, free (by purchase) from the vexatious claims of the Masons; but to our astonishment, this devoted country, which had so long been harrassed with savage wars, and contested claims, was not yet prepared to enjoy her own privileges.

The long contested boundary with Massachusetts, had been happily settled, by the purchase of Mason's claim; but the assembly did not accept this purchase, which had been made in their favour; and during the period of their long and contentious delay, a company of speculators stepped in, purchased Mason's claim of the heir at law, and took his quitclaim; and the better to secure their purchase, they filed in the recorder's office, a quitclaim of all the townships that had been settled and granted, within the limits of their purchase, reserving to themselves all their own claims, which they previously possessed, in common, or severalty, to all such lands, or buildings, and improvements thereunto belonging, 1746. This act threw the colony into a new ferment; the assembly appointed a committee to wait on the purchasers, and buy out their claims, and a negotiation ensued, which was spun out until it became certain that the parties could not agree; and then in 1748, the speculators began to grant townships, and settle their lands, quietly. They required of the grantees, within a limited time, to erect mills, build meeting-houses, clear out roads, and settle ministers; reserving one right in each township for the first settled minister, a second for a parsonage, and a third for a school;

also fifteen rights for themselves, and two for their attornies, all free from taxes until sold, or occupied. Upon this plan the settlements progressed rapidly, and the colony became more tranquil, and supported the measure.

The heirs of Allen took alarm at the measures of the speculators, and revived their claim, and by their advertisements and threats, obstructed the settlements in some measure. In addition to these claims, a new embarrassment sprang up at this time, between the crown and the speculators, in locating these lands. The grant to Mason, was an extent of sixty miles from the sea, upon the east and west, and sixty miles upon the north and south lines, and the speculators claimed an extent of sixty miles from the sea to the centre of the cross line, which should unite the other two lines; this would make the cross line a curve, and the running out this line, opened a new controversy, which continued down to the close of the Revolution.

In the midst of these controversies, sprang up a contention with Massachusetts, about the support of Fort Dummer, which, although upon the west side of Connecticut River, was claimed as within the limits of New-Hampshire, after the boundary line was run out. Massachusetts had built and supported this fort to this time, and New-Hampshire claimed that she should continue to support it, or throw it upon the crown. Here they were at issue. To prevent the adoption of Fort Dummer, several new members who had been elected to the assembly, were rejected by the house, upon a suspicion that they might favour the adoption; which opened a new controversy, that became sharp between the governor and the house; but the pressing exigencies of the war, obliged the governor to comply.

As soon as the war was closed, the governor dissolved this assembly, and ordered new writs of election to be issued, particularly to the rejected towns, and a new assembly was chosen, and the old controversy revived. When

the assembly were convened, and had chosen their speaker, the governor negatived their choice. This opened a controversy which was prolonged three years by adjournments monthly, and prorogations, to the suppression of all the ordinary business of the colony: both parties had taken their ground, and both were firm. This threw the affairs of the colony into confusion; their paper money had depreciated down to fifty for one, this reduced the governor's salary; and all other salaries, one half. The affairs of the treasury were at a stand—the soldiers remained unpaid, the recorder's office had closed, from the failure of his reappointment, and all the business of the assembly was at a stand, because the governor had negatived their speaker. This threw a reproach upon the colony, both in England and America, and they were considered as in a state of actual rebellion.

In the mid-t of this confusion, Massachusetts urged her claims, for the repayment of the charges of maintaining Fort Dummer, and threatened in case of refusal or delay, to indemnify herself, by sequestering a large district of the adjoining wild lands. Parliament, at the same time, claimed that New-Hampshire should redeem her paper money, with the specie paid her by the crown, for the charges of the expedition to Louisburg; but she was not ready, and her agent deposited the money in the Bank of England, where it lay with a loss of interest of nine hundred pounds per annum. The odium of this measure fell on the governor, and on the agent; all which widened the breach; and at the same time the Board of Trade summoned Thomlinson, the agent of the colony in London, to attend the Board, when, upon a full enquiry, they justified the governor, as acting agreeable to his instructions, and condemned the house of assembly, and the agent sent out their decision to the governor, with advice to comply with the decision. This advice was not well received; the house sent

out a complaint to his majesty against the governor, with an intent to remove him, and obtain a man more to their choice for a successor ; but the absurdity of the measure defeated itself, and the complaint was never presented.

In 1752, the time of this assembly expired by law, and a new one was chosen in the same manner ; they met, with a conciliatory disposition ; elected a speaker, who was accepted, and the whole affairs of the deranged colony, were soon restored to their former order, and the money taken from the Bank in England, and vested in the public funds. The controversy about Fort Dummer was settled, and the adjacent lands were granted in townships, upon both sides of Connecticut River, to their former claimants, when under Massachusetts, 1752.

Peace had been restored in 1748, and the settlements were now progressing rapidly : a plan was projected to extend the settlements upon Connecticut River, as far up as the Cohos ; and a party sent out to explore the country, and lay out the townships ; but the Indians refused to sell the land, and remonstrated against the settlement, and it failed for this time. The jealousy of the Indians was however so much alarmed, that they began their ravages upon the frontier settlements, and killed and carried off several settlers, which caused a retaliation, and several Indians were killed ;—blood was spilt, and war was renewed ; but the government of Massachusetts interfered, and held a conference with the eastern Indians, and sent a present to the contending tribe ; which they accepted, and ratified the peace of 1749 ; and harmony was again restored, 1753.

REMARKS.

Thus we have seen how the corruptions of the human heart, could not suffer the spirit of man to be at rest, even in this favoured land, of civil and religious liberty. God had given to his church in the wilderness, a goodly land ;

had driven out the heathen from before them, had prospered, and multiplied them greatly, had enlarged their borders, and multiplied his churches; and above all, had poured out his holy spirit upon this people in copious showers of divine grace, and given them all things richly to enjoy: yet we have seen how unmindful they were of the blessings received. In the colony of Connecticut the churches had lifted up a standard of persecution; and christians of the same denomination, of the same family, and even of the same church and communion, were persecuting each other with all bitterness, wrath, and even malice; and were turning away, and even grieving the holy spirit, by their hard speeches, and contentious lives. In Massachusetts the same corruptions of the human heart have been witnessed, but not to the same degree, in the churches, as in Connecticut; here their contentions were turned more to their secular affairs, and generally spent themselves upon their governors. In New-Hampshire the affairs of state engrossed all their hearts: involved in a labyrinth of claims and controversies, they found no time to attend to the affairs of the church; God was not in all their thoughts, and he had bestowed upon them no part of that shower of his divine grace, with which he had so plentifully watered the rest of his garden. This contentious spirit in New-England, had hitherto been controuled by the Indian wars, so far as to prevent their drawing the sword upon each other, and destroying the peace of the church and the liberty of the state, by a civil war, which must have ended in a tyrannical usurpation; but even these had become ineffectual, and nothing short of the war, which God was about to bring upon them, could have united these discordant interests, and have opened the way for one general co-operation.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.—SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTESTED CLAIMS BETWEEN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT.

ONE of the conditions stipulated between Massachusetts and Connecticut, when they settled their boundary line, was that whatever town might fall within the colony of Connecticut, which had been settled by Massachusetts, should be held under their former jurisdiction; but when the towns of Woodstock, Somers, Enfield, and Suffield, which had belonged to Massachusetts, found themselves included within the Colony of Connecticut, they soon felt the difference between a crown governor and a colonial governor, *a man of their choice*; and expressed their feelings, and their uneasiness, by a memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut, May 1747, praying to be admitted to their just share of the charter of the colony, and to all the liberties and privileges thereunto belonging. This memorial was favourably received, and commissioners were appointed by the assembly to confer with commissioners of Massachusetts, upon the prayer of the memorial. The colonies entered into a negotiation which spun out two years, without shewing any prospect of accomplishing the object desired; when the memorialists again urged their claims and demands, upon their chartered rights, with so much warmth, that that the colony set aside the conditions stipulated with Massachusetts, with the following resolve—"That as it did not appear that ever the said agreement had received, so it never ought to receive the royal confirmation; and that as the respective governments could not give, exchange, or alter their jurisdiction; so that the said agreement, so far as it respects jurisdiction, is void: and therefore this assembly do declare that

all the said inhabitants, who live south of the line fixed by the Massachusetts Charter, are within, and have a right to the privileges of this government, the aforesaid agreement notwithstanding." The same grant was extended by the assembly two or three years afterwards, to the ecclesiastical societies of said towns, according to the constitution, and laws of the colony. Massachusetts met this resolve of Connecticut by a petition to the crown. Connecticut met this petition with a fair statement of facts, and the resolve of the assembly was confirmed by the crown, 1755.

As soon as this controversy was settled, the colony was thrown into a high state of agitation, upon a new and interesting scene. A Spanish ship had put into New-London in distress, and it became necessary to unlade her, to repair damages done to the hull, and the cargo was delivered into the custody of the collector of the port of New-London. When the ship had been condemned as unfit for sea, and another obtained, and had got ready to take in her cargo, it was found that the most valuable part of the cargo, had been embezzled and lost, which induced the supercargo, Don Joseph Miguel, to reland what he had taken on board, and petition to the general assembly, at their October session, for redress and satisfaction, and also to receive the residue of the cargo into their custody, and discharge the crew. The assembly met this petition with a resolve—"That whatever losses he might have sustained, it was by means either to them unknown, or which they were by no means able to prevent, &c. and declared that the prayer of the petition was unreasonable, and therefore could not be granted." The assembly next empowered the governor to enquire into the affair, and grant due search to be made, if requested; and afford the said Don Miguel all due protection and relief, according to the laws of trade, nature, and nations.

The state felt their honor wounded, and were alarmed, lest they should be called upon to repair the loss, or provoke a war; and such was the blame attached to Governor Wolcott, for not doing his duty in this affair, that it surmounted his popularity, and the next election fell on Governor Fitch, who succeeded to the chair May, 1753. Whatever efforts might have been made to recover the lost goods; they were never found, and here the affair ended.

YALE COLLEGE CONTINUED.

After the contested claims to the unlocated lands in the north western section of the colony were settled, and the townships located; the trustees came into possession of a donation of 628 acres of land, in the town of Salisbury, deeded by Messrs. Fisk and Leavins, 1730, and in the year 1732, the general assembly, made a grant of 1500 acres in several townships of the same section of lands; and in 1741, they confirmed their grant by patent. The same year, Dean Berkeley made sundry valuable donations to the college; the first consisted of his private library, which he had brought out with him to America, (where he resided two years upon his estate at Newport,) together with the rent of that estate, after his return to England. This donation was the basis of that premium, known by the name of the Dean's Bounty, which has since been conferred upon the three best classical scholars, who should reside three years at the college after they became graduates. The next donation of this illustrious benefactor, consisted of about 1000 volumes of valuable books, to the amount of 400*l.* sterling.

These valuable donations were made in the time of the rectorship of Mr. Williams, with whom Dean Berkeley became acquainted, and held correspondence when in America, and for whom he entertained the highest esteem and regard. Soon after this the health of Rector Williams be-

gan to decline, and in 1739 he obtained permission to retire from office to his seat at Wethersfield, where his health was restored, and where new honors awaited him. He was first called to a seat in the house of assembly, and speaker of the house ; next to a seat on the bench of the Superior Court, and to the command of a regiment destined against Canada. When the regiment was disbanded, he went to England to receive their pay, where he was honored with the first, and most pious literary acquaintance, and where he married a lady of fortune, as well as of eminent piety, and literary worth ; and with her retired to Wethersfield, where he lived much respected, and died 1755, greatly lamented. The sum of the character of Rector Williams, is expressed in the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Doctor Doddridge.

“I look upon Col. Williams, to be one of the most valuable men upon earth : he has joined to an ardent sense of religion, solid learning, consummate prudence, great candor, and sweetness of temper, and a certain nobleness of soul, capable of contriving and acting the greatest things, without seeming to be conscious that he has done them.”

The Rev. Thomas Clap was called by the trustees from the pastoral charge of the first society in Windham, to succeed Rector Williams, and was installed, April, 1740. Rector Clap, amongst the first duties of his office, compiled a body of laws for the college, which was accepted by the trustees, and which continue in force to this day, and the orders of the college were reduced to system. In the year 1744, the General Assembly provided for the support of three tutors, by enlarging their annual grant, which greatly relieved the burthens and promoted the interest of the college.

In 1743, a sum of twenty-seven pounds sterling was bequeathed to the college, by Anthony Nougier, of Fairfield, the interest of which was to be applied to the support of the faculty of the college.

The college at this time flourished and became numerous; the classes averaged, generally, about twenty, and in May, 1745, the General Assembly granted a new charter to the college, in which the faculty were stiled, "The President and Fellows of Yale College, in New-Haven."—A copy of this charter may be seen in Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Vol. II. page 306.—In 1746, a donation was made to the college by the Hon. Philip Livingston, Esq. of the colony of New-York, to the amount of twenty-eight pounds ten shillings sterling, the interest of which was to be applied towards the support of a Professor of Divinity, or otherwise, as the faculty might direct. In 1747, the number of students amounted to one hundred and twenty, which rendered it necessary to erect a new college-house, and President Clap obtained a Lottery, to raise 500*l.* sterling, 1749, with which he entered upon the work of the new brick college, and in 1752, the General Assembly made a further grant of 863*l.* more to carry on the work, and in 1754, they made a further grant of 280*l.* with which the president was enabled to complete the work. During this period of erecting the new college, died Dean, then Bishop Berkeley, aged 73, and in one of his last letters to President Clap, he thus expressed himself—"The daily increase of religion and learning, in the seminary under your auspicious care and government, gives me a very sensible pleasure, and an ample recompence for all my donations."

The want of a regular Professor of Divinity had been long sensibly felt in the college, and now became an object of particular attention. In 1753, the legislature granted to the college a general contribution throughout the churches of the colony, to raise a support for a professor;

but the approaching French war, led them to change the plan, and substitute a general subscription, which answered the purpose. In 1753, the president, at the request of the corporation, entered upon the duties of Professor of Divinity, and the religious exercises on Lord's day, (which had hitherto been held by the students, in the first society in New-Haven, under the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Noyes,) now began to be held in college-hall, under the ministry of President Clap. In November, of the same year, the president and fellows of the college met, and established a complete system of orthodox faith, for the college, in order to promote the great object for which the institution was founded. This opened a field of controversy that continued many years, with some warmth, and even bitterness.

In 1755, the Rev. Naphtali Dagget was invited by the president and fellows, to the important office of Professor of Divinity; he accepted the invitation, and in September, 1756, he was regularly installed as Professor of Divinity in Yale College. In 1757, a subscription was opened amongst the first characters in the colony, for the purpose of building a house for the professor; the money was raised, and the house built in the year 1757, and the professor entered into possession under a public and formal delivery by the president—The same year the corporation examined the president's accounts for monies which he had expended upon the new college, and passed them with the following vote.

“Whereas the Rev. President Clap hath had the care, and oversight of building the new College, called Connecticut Hall, and laying out the sum of 1660*l.* sterling, which appears to have been done with great prudence and frugality; and the College built in a very elegant and handsome manner, by means of his extraordinary care, diligence, and labour, through a course of several years; all

which the said President has generously given for the service of the College ; and the said President hath also, of his own proper estate, purchased a lot for the Professor of Divinity, which cost 5*l.* lawful money, and given it to the College, for the said use for ever : this Corporation think themselves bound, and do accordingly render their hearty and sincere thanks to the Rev. President Clap, for these extraordinary instances of his generosity ; and as a standing testimony thereof, Voted, that this be entered upon the records."

Upon application of the tutors, and many of the students, a church was gathered at the same time in the college, who enjoyed, and continue to enjoy, all the ordinances of the gospel. All this high prosperity of the college, alarmed the jealousy, and excited the bitterness of many of the reverend clergy, and a paper war against the corporation was opened, 1758.

In 1763, nine of the disaffected gentlemen, carried their complaints before the General Assembly, by way of memorial, praying the Assembly to become the guardians of the college, and appoint a select number of visiters to inspect, and regulate the affairs of the college, or report to the next Assembly. This controversy had now become serious. The memorialists employed the most able counsel in the colony, to support their memorial before the General Assembly ; and President Clap, entered the lists alone, in defence of the college : the learned and luminous display of talents exhibited by the president in his defence, together with the justice of his cause, set aside the prayer of the memorial, and established the rights of the college upon a firm and lasting basis.

Pending this controversy, a donation of seven pounds ten shillings was given by the Rev. Jared Elliot, of Killingworth, the interest of which was to be applied to the use of the library. The library had also become so

large, as to require a more convenient accommodation ; and the number of students had increased so as to render the old college hall inconvenient for public worship ; a new chapel became absolutely necessary, which might afford a room for the library, and another for the philosophical apparatus. To accomplish this object, another subscription was opened, and with such success, that in 1761, the present chapel of 50 feet by 40, was erected ; and in 1763, it was dedicated to its sacred use ; and in 1764, the steeple was erected, and the building completed. One hundred pounds were given by Richard Jackson, Esquire, to forward the work, and the citizens of New-Haven were very liberal in their subscriptions to finish the steeple.* All this was effected in the midst of the most distressing war the country had ever witnessed ; a war known by the name of the seven years' war in Europe, and the old French war, in America. Such was the virtue, patriotism, and religious zeal, as well as literary spirit of the founders of this college, and the fathers of Connecticut— and such the characters of those men, who deserve the tribute of perpetual remembrance, and the unfeigned gratitude of posterity to the latest generation.

* £183 was raised by subscription,
286,10, were paid out of the College Treasury, and
245,13,9, were paid out of the Treasury of the Colony.

£615,03,9.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN EUROPE,
AND OPENED THE OLD FRENCH WAR IN AMERICA, IN THE
YEARS 1754-5.

WE have witnessed in the last war, the unsuccessful attempts of England, to seize on the most valuable islands of Spain, as well as her most valuable possessions in America; we have also witnessed the unsuccessful efforts of France, to seize on the British Colonies in America and India, and the return of things in *statu quo*, by the restoration of all conquests, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. We are now about to witness a renewal of the same plans, and for the same ends, which commenced their operations with the war of 1754-5. We have noticed the extensive views of France in the war of 1745, to possess herself of all the British Colonies in North America; these views were no less extensive in India. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored again the conquests of Britain in America, and the conquests of France in India, lulled the two nations into that state of peace, which was employed by France through a labyrinth of intrigues, to carry her ambitious plans into effect upon a more extended scale, if possible, both in India, and America, and to unite Spain in her views by a family compact. Although a state of dissipation sprang up in the two nations of France and England, in the midst of these intrigues, that threatened a subversion of their governments, by civil wars; yet even this gave no check to the plans of the parties. Spain rejected at this time, the overtures of France for a family compact, as being repugnant to the great principles of the true balance of power in Europe, and therefore the cause of general war. This gave no check to the ambition of Lewis XV. The governor of France in India, Monsieur

Dupleix, had never lost sight of his first plan of extending the power of France on the Peninsula of Hindostan; and now he had conceived of the vast plan of making himself master of the whole Peninsula, and giving law to India Proper. England at this time, had established valuable settlements at Calcutta, Madras, &c. and France held a valuable settlement at Pondicherry; but the whole interior of this extensive country belonged to the Mogul's Empire, as descendants of Tamerlain, until the conquest of Kouli Khan, the Persian, (in 1738,) who had broken the power of the Mogul Tartars, and left the country under the dominion of numerous petty princes, Nabobs or Soubahs, who now became the subjects of the intrigues of France, under Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Dupleix attempted to carry his vast plans into effect, by exciting dissensions, and civil wars amongst the Nabobs, and thus, by putting down some, and raising up others, and even becoming a Nabob himself, to seize on the whole of Hindostan. This civil war in India, involved the English in the quarrel, in defence of their own rights, and they became parties in the war in the east, 1757. In the midst of these scenes appeared a Captain Clive, who from the office of accountant to the English East-India Company, and commissary in their army, was raised up to become the deliverer of India, in the character of the famous Colonel Clive. Dupleix had opened a scene of distress, which laid waste some of the finest provinces, and drenched India with blood, down to the year 1754; when Dupleix was recalled to France, and a cessation of arms ensued, under the preliminaries of a peace between the contending powers in India; but this peace was never confirmed.

Pending these intrigues and distresses in India, France was, by her intrigues, maturing the other parts of her great plan, and sowing the seeds of war in America. By the treaty of Utrecht, it will be remembered, France had ce-

ded to England, the whole country of Novascotia, in America; but the boundaries of this country had never been defined; the inhabitants were mostly French, and at the peace had sworn allegiance to Great Britain, and now bore the name of *neutrals*. These neutrals had often violated their neutrality, in the war of 1745 to '48, and excited a jealousy, that rendered it necessary to strengthen Novascotia by English settlements; accordingly the English built the town of Halifax, in a commanding position, and sent out a colony of about 3000 families; this step kindled the fire about boundaries.

France had conceived a plan no less bold and extensive in America, than in India, and now contemplated the subversion of the power of Britain in the West, as well as in the east, and rising upon her ruins to universal empire. To effect this vast plan in America, she had connected her settlements in Canada, with her settlements in Louisiana, by an extensive line of military posts, extending through the interior, from Quebec to New-Orleans; with these she expected to awe the savages into alliance, and thus use them as instruments of accomplishing her great object. Both parties covered their preparations for the war, by spinning out the conferences of their commissioners, appointed to settle the boundaries of Novascotia, now *Le Acadia*. As the preparations of the parties progressed, in America, collisions ensued, until the French neutrals, together with the Indians in Novascotia, rose in arms, and began their ravages; and an armed force from Canada, at the same time surprised a fortress on the Ohio, erected by Virginia for the protection of trade, and thus opened the war in America, by murdering the inhabitants, and carrying off the plunder: they next reduced another British post, at the forks of the Monongahela. When tidings of these events were sent out to England; they were met

with orders to repel force by force, and the scene was opened.

We have witnessed the distracted state of the colonies, arising from their civil and religious controversies, and are now called to witness the advantages the governor of New-France has already taken, and was about to take, of their divided situation.

The French erected a strong and regular fort, at the forks of the Monongahela, and called it Fort Duquesne, which greatly alarmed Virginia. Orders next came out from the British minister, that the colonies should assist Virginia, and repel the French; and South Carolina sent out one company to join Major, now Colonel Washington, and New-York, at the same time, sent out two companies, which formed a party of about 400 men. Colonel Washington fell in with, and defeated a party of French and Indians from fort Duquesne, and the next day De Villier, the commander of the fort, surprised Colonel Washington with a strong party, consisting of 900 French and Indians; Colonel Washington had thrown up a breastwork for his security, which enabled him to maintain such a desperate resistance, as to obtain an honourable capitulation, and thus brought off his party in safety, by delivering up his temporary fortress, 1754.

Struck with these successes of the French, and alarmed for the safety of the colonies, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, recommended that commissioners be immediately appointed, to effect a union between the colonies, and a league of friendship with the neighbouring Indians. The colonies readily complied with this recommendation, not only to effect a general union, but a mutual support, to enable them to prosecute the war.

A convention of the governors and the principal gentlemen from all the colonies, met at Albany in the summer of 1754, and proposed the following plan,—“That a grand

council should be formed, of members chosen from all the assemblies, and sent from all the colonies; which council, with a governor-general, appointed by the crown, should be empowered to make general laws, and to raise money in all the colonies, for the defence of the whole." The commissioners from Connecticut opposed the plan in toto, as inadequate to the great object for which it was designed, and as dangerous to the future liberties of the colonies. When the commissioners of Connecticut reported the plan to the general assembly, at their October session, it was again rejected in toto, with their reasons offered at large, by a special resolve. They next resolved to send out instructions to their agent in London, to lay their objections to the plan, before Parliament, and if possible, prevent its being carried into effect. All this became unnecessary, for the plan was not approved in England; they had become jealous of the rising strength of the colonies, and durst not trust them with such an union, under a governor-general, with such extensive powers.

The British ministry proposed the following plan, viz. — "That the governors of the colonies, with one or more of their councils, should form a convention, to concert measures for the general defence, erect forts, and raise such numbers of men as they should judge necessary; and that they should draw on the British treasury, for such sums as should be requisite to reimburse their expences; Parliament to reimburse the whole by taxes on the colonies, after the war. This was a deep plot, worthy of the character of the cabinet of St. James.

The colonies who had lost their charters, now felt the benefit they had derived from their disputes with the crown governors, and the wisdom they had learnt from experience; they rejected this plan; and the colonies who held their charters were not prepared to resign their purse

and their liberties, to such a proposal, ; it was accordingly rejected.

In 1755, the campaign opened with the plan of four grand expeditions ; the first against Fort Duquesne, the second against Novascotia, the third against Crown-Point, and the fourth against Niagara. The British minister sent out an expedition, with a small squadron, and about 1500 troops, under Gen. Braddoc, who embarked at Cork, January 1755, and arrived in Virginia about the first of March.

The French fitted out a strong armament for the American service, early in the spring ; consisting of twenty ships of the line, with frigates ; and transports for 4000 men, and military stores for the campaign ; under the command of Admiral Bors de la Mothe : the land forces were under the command of the Baron Dieskau. The British minister dispatched a fleet of seventeen ships of the line, and seven frigates, with a land force of 6000 men, under the command of Admirals Boscawin and Holbourn, to watch the motions of the enemy upon the American station. Both fleets appeared off the coast of Newfoundland at the same time ; but they were so enveloped in the fogs of that coast, that they did not discover each other, until all the French fleet had entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, excepting two sixty gun ships, which fell in with the British fleet, and were taken ; this action opened the war upon the water, and the contest now had become serious.*

The spring opened in America, especially in New-England, with an active and vigorous preparation for the war ; the legislatures of the several colonies met, and communicated with each other, by special messages, to unite and co-operate, with all possible efforts, in raising men,

* The English commenced a general attack upon the French commerce, and more than three hundred trading vessels fell into their hands, with about eight thousand seamen, in the course of a year.

agreeable to the pleasure of his majesty, to unite with the and forces sent out from England, and prosecute the war. The result of this legislative correspondence was, that Massachusetts should raise 1200 men, New-Hampshire 600, Rhode-Island 400, and Connecticut 1000, which added to Governor Shirley's regiment, amounted to 5000 men. This force was promptly raised, and Connecticut voted by her assembly, to raise 500 more, as a corps de-reserve, and recommended the same to the other colonies, in the ratio of the troops already raised: at the same time they emitted a new emission of bills of credit, to the amount of 7500*l.* to meet the exigencies of the war.

The command of the northern army was given to William Johnson, Esq. of New-York, and Phineas Lyman, Esq. of Connecticut, was appointed Major-General, and the troops destined against Crown-Point, assembled at Albany, about the first of June, to the amount of about 6000 men, besides a large body of Mohawk-Indians, under Hendrick their chief. Massachusetts had sent on a strong detachment to Novascotia, to join Col. Moncton, who commanded a body of regulars, and who began his operations about the first of May. By the first of July, Col. Moncton had taken all the fortresses in Novascotia; driven out the French, disarmed the Acadians, and sent great numbers of them into New-England. This expedition was crowned with universal success. Not so the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

General Braddoc had arrived in Virginia in March; but the expedition was not ready until June; when General Braddoc passed the Alleghany mountains, at the head of about 2000 men, regulars and provincials. Unskilled in the arts of American war, and flushed with the military pride of his nation, he detached the flower of his army, and attempted by forced marches to surprise the fortress, before an expected reinforcement should arrive from Can-

ada. Blind to the dangers of an Indian warfare, and driving at his object, without regarding the cautions and admonitions of his officers, he fell into an Indian ambuscade, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Braddoc was slain, with his principal officers, and about seven hundred of his troops, when the command devolved upon Col. Washington of Virginia, who conducted the retreat, and led off the remains of the army, with the loss of all their artillery, baggage, military stores, &c. into Virginia; and the regulars repaired to Albany, by order of General Shirley, to join the northern army.

When the news of Braddoc's defeat reached Albany, it spread a general gloom through the army; first, because great expectations had been placed upon that expedition, to cut off that division of the French forces, and overawe the Indians; and next, because their contemplated enterprise was of the same kind of service, against the same kind of enemy, (now elated with this victory,) and through a like wild and uncultivated country, where the same dangers would await them. This general alarm, caused a general desertion from the army under General Shirley, on their march to Niagara, which obliged him to defer the contemplated attack upon Niagara, and content himself with reinforcing and fortifying Oswego, and returning to Albany with the remnant of his army. Gen. Johnson advanced at the same time with the northern army, as far as Lake George, and encamped on a rising ground, and secured his position with a breastwork, until the cannon, batteaux, &c. could come up, and enable him to cross the lake.

The Baron Dieskau, who then commanded at Ticonderoga, put himself at the head of his troops, and took up his march to surprise and take Fort Edward, and thus defeat the expedition under General Johnson. Upon intelligence that the enemy were near to Fort Edward, General Johnson detached a party of one thousand men, under

Colonels Williams and Whiting, with the Sachem Hendrick and his Indians, to intercept their march. Dieskau discovered this detachment, and drew them into an ambush; and overwhelmed them with a sudden explosion; Col. Williams fell—Hendrick fell, and many other brave officers and soldiers strewed the field of death, and the remnant fled to the camp. The enemy pursued, and a warm action commenced; the fugitives rallied under cover of the breastworks, and the main army under Gen. Johnson, mowed down the ranks of the enemy with cannon and musquetry; Dieskau manouvered, and advanced to the attack with great skill and bravery; but all in vain: the fire was so severe he was obliged to beat a retreat; General Johnson ordered the charge, the troops leapt over the breastworks, and pursued the victory; the enemy fled in disorder; the carnage was great,* and the Baron Dieskau, (mortally wounded,) fell into the hands of the English. This victory was complete, and opened the way for an easy access to Crown-Point; yet the season was so far advanced, and the enemy in such force, that Gen. Johnson abandoned the expedition, and spent the remainder of the campaign in strengthening the military posts on Lake George.

This action, added to the defeat of Gen. Braddoc, and the failure of the enterprise against Niagara, under Gen. Shirley, gave a general alarm throughout the country. Reinforcements were called for by the generals, and the colonies met the call promptly. Connecticut sent on two regiments, consisting of 1400 men, to join Gen. Johnson, which were equipped, and marched in one week. Gen. Johnson opened a road through the wilderness to Lake George, built two forts, and furnished them with cannon and military stores, besides constructing numerous boats and

* About one fourth of the French were killed and taken prisoners.

huffians, &c. and in November he disbanded the levies, and retired to Albany.

... Such was the general success of this expedition, that his majesty, created the general a Baronet, and Parliament rewarded him with a present of 5000*l.* sterling, and the troops received the applause of the nation.

1. The Indians kept up their ravages upon the back settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, with great boldness, as well as destruction, through the summer and even winter, of 1755-6, and those colonies made a resistance too feeble to be named.

Such was the termination of the first campaign in America; the parties were nearly balanced, and retired from the scene, to spend the winter in maturing their plans, and collecting materials, to begin the work of death the ensuing season. The war in America, and the British capture of the French commerce, filled all Europe with alarm and intrigue, which led England to enter into a treaty with the king of Prussia, in order to cover Hanover from a threatened French invasion; and a subsidiary treaty with the Empress of Russia for the supply of 50,000 men, to be held in readiness in Lithuania, to act as occasion might require. This confederacy brought the powers of Europe to a decisive coalition. France remembered the treaty of Breslaw, 1742, by which the king of Prussia deserted the confederacy, and left the French army to be sacrificed in Prague. The court of Vienna remembered the same treaty by which the empress ceded to the king of Prussia, the Duchy of Silesia, to detach him from the confederacy against her. Under these impressions, these powers confederated against the king of Prussia, with a secret treaty to divide up his dominions, as well as to seize on Hanover, the hereditary dominions of the king of England, and thus find employment for his resources in Europe, whilst France carried on war against his colonies in India and America. Rus-

sia, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain, were finally brought into the league against the king of Prussia, and the war became general throughout Europe.

England at this time had lost her military spirit, and given up the sword to a standing army, for the protection and defence of the nation; whilst her militia, who had been the glory of the crown, had fallen into neglect, and become engrossed in commerce and the arts. In this degraded state of the nation, the minister suffered a military force, to be brought over from the German dominions, to protect the nation against a threatened French invasion, in 1756. Things being thus balanced in Europe, all parties prepared for action with the opening of the spring.

CAMPAIGN OF 1756, IN AMERICA.

The war had now raged in America two years, and upon the ocean one; yet England and France, still kept up their negotiations, and war had not been declared by either, until Great Britain made her declaration in May, and France in June.

General Abercrombie was appointed to succeed General Shirley in the command; and Lord Loudon was appointed commander in chief, and governor of Virginia. New-England, together with New-York and New-Jersey, were zealous and active, in raising, equipping, and forwarding their troops for the war; but the generals did not arrive in America until June and July. The plan of the campaign had been early formed by a council of war held at New-York, and the plan of the last campaign was renewed. The northern expeditions were assigned to the northern colonies, and the expedition against Fort Duquesne, to the southern colonies.

The colonies of New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey, assembled at Albany about 7000 men; these added to the regiments of regulars, amounted to an army of

ten thousand men, and Gen. Abercrombie arrived in June, and took the command. This fine army, well appointed, and in high spirits, lay idle waiting for the arrival of Lord Loudon from England. In July the general sent Colonel Bradstreet with a detachment, to convey provisions to the fort of Oswego; he executed his commission with fidelity and dispatch; but on his return he fell into an Indian ambush, as he ascended the river Onondaga; he flew to a small island, landed his men, and prepared for his defence; the Indians rose from their ambush, rushed into the water, and commenced a desperate attack. Col. Bradstreet met the attack with a firm, and well directed fire, which routed the enemy, and put them to flight; he next advanced with two hundred men against another division of the same party, and put them to flight, in a close, and desperate action; he then advanced to the attack of a third party, still higher up the river, put them to flight, and in the three actions destroyed about 150 of the enemy, with a loss of about 70 of his own men; which opened his way for a safe return to Albany. In this expedition Col. Bradstreet learnt that a formidable force of French and Indians, were on their way from Canada, against Fort Oswego, and gave notice to Gen. Abercrombie, who detached Gen. Webb with one regiment, for the relief of the fortress.

On the 29th, of July, Lord Loudon arrived at Albany, and took the command; at which time Gen. Winslow, with about 7000 provincials, had advanced to Lake George, and lay with impatience waiting for orders to advance against Crown-Point; but the general lay inactive at Albany, with about 3000 regular troops, until about the middle of August, when Gen. Webb began his march for the support of Oswego. At which time Gen. Montcalm had invested the fortress, with about three thousand Canadians and Indians, blocked up the river, and opened his trenches before Fort Ontario, (which stood upon an eminence that commanded

Fort Oswego,) on the 12th of August; the English made a firm resistance for one day, then spiked their cannon, abandoned the fort, and retired to Oswego. Gen. Montcalm, availed himself of this commanding position, and opened his fire upon Oswego with such success, that Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, was killed, and the fort surrendered on the 14th.

Thus fell Oswego the strong hold of America, defended by 121 pieces of cannon, 14 mortars, 2 frigates, 200 boats and batteaux, and a garrison of sixteen hundred men, well supplied with provisions, and all kinds of military stores. Gen. Montcalm dismantled the forts, and carried off the booty into Canada. With the fall of this fortress, the Lakes Erie and Ontario, together with the whole north-western frontier, were laid open to the enemy, and the finest settlements fell a prey to their ravages.

Gen. Webb heard of the fall of Oswego, when at the portage from the Mohawk to Wood-Creek; he first secured his position, and next his retreat, and returned in safety to Albany. Lord Loudon had remained safe at Albany, until September, when the provincials were disbanded, and the regulars went into winter quarters, and the campaign closed, 1756.

This campaign needs no comment. The southern department was equally successful with the northern; their frontier had been ravaged, their villages burnt, their settlers butchered, and Fort Greenville, on the borders of Pennsylvania, surprised and taken; terror, and distress, and even despair reigned in the south.

Great were the expectations of the minister from British troops, and British generals in America, and great were the exultations of the colonies, that a Peer of England had condescended to command their armies, and lead them to victory, conquest, and glory; but what was their mortification when their troops were disbanded in September, and

returned inglorious to their homes, with the tidings, that they had lost through the neglect of their general, the strong fortress of Oswego, had suffered a greater loss by disease and sickness, than was felt in the active campaign of 1756, and that their general, with his regulars, were snug in their quarters at Albany, ready for another campaign equally glorious. Dark and gloomy was the winter that followed.

CAMPAIGN OF 1757, IN AMERICA.

The spring of 1757, opened with new efforts on the part of Britain, for the defence of her American colonies. An armament of eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bombketch, and transports, with 6 or 7000 regular troops, sailed from Cork, in the month of May, under the command of Admiral Holbourn and Commodore Holmes, and Gen. Hopson, and arrived at Halifax on the 9th of July. To support this armament, and carry into effect the plans of the last campaign, the colonies had been equally active as before, in raising and equipping their quotas of men for the field.

The views of the colonies were directed against Crown-Point, and the reduction of Canada, to root out that nest of marauders who had so long, harassed their frontiers, butchered their sons and daughters, and spared neither the aged, the infant, nor the mother, and consumed their dwellings; but the views of the minister were directed against that Louisburg, which the colonies had once taken at their own expence, in the former war, and which had been restored to France at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Upon this division of sentiment, objects, and interest, the colonies made a stand, and refused to co-operate with their troops; their reasons were good. Oswego had fallen, and with it, the whole northern frontier was laid open to the renewed ravages of the enemy, and they feared to withdraw their troops, lest their sufferings, so fresh in their feel-

ings, should be increased with the increased power of the enemy ; but the commander in chief was Lord Loudon, and his commands were obeyed ; and the expedition to Louisburg became the first object of the campaign.

On the 9th of July, his lordship sailed from New-York, with six thousand men, and formed a junction with General Hopson at Halifax, which gave him the command of a land force of more than twelve thousand men, with a powerful fleet, destined against Louisburg ; but all this, like the relief of Oswego, was too late ; France had dispatched her Brest fleet of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates and transports, and a land force of nine thousand men, which had arrived at Louisburg ; thus the fortress was reinforced and deemed impregnable, and another expedition failed.

Lord Loudon returned to New-York with his accustomed moderation, and repaired to Albany. Not so with Montcalm ; he was not an idle spectator of the farce that the Peer of England was acting in America ; but like an able general, faithful to his king, his country, and his honor, he cut off Col. Parker, with a force detached against Fort Ticonderoga, and then advanced with a strong force to the borders of Lake George, crossed over the lake, and invested Fort William Henry, with a stronger force of Canadians, French, and Indians, than had ever taken the field before, (say 8000 men.) In six days the fort was taken by an honourable capitulation, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war ; but the savages under Montcalm, regardless of the capitulation, broke into the ranks of the defenceless garrison, stripped ; plundered, and butchered them, with a degree of savage cruelty and wanton barbarity, too shocking to relate ; and what is more impressive, unregarded by Gen. Montcalm.

With the fall of Fort William Henry, fell all that naval preparation, which had cost the colonies so much labour and expence, the last campaign, to cross over the lake, in

their contemplated expedition against Crown-Point and Ticonderoga. The fall of Oswego had excited great mortification and apprehension in the colonies ; but the fall of fort William Henry filled the country with distress, and alarm ; they already saw the enemy in Albany, the country ravaged and laid waste ; the inhabitants given up to indiscriminate savage butchery ; and the city in flames.

In the midst of all this loss and distress, great was their chagrin, when they learnt that Gen. Webb, who held the command of fort Edward, (at the distance of fourteen miles,) of 4000 troops, had not moved a man to the relief of Fort William Henry, nor alarmed the militia of the country for its relief ; but had actually written to Colonel Mouroe, the commander of Fort William Henry, with advice to capitulate, and give up the fort.

In the midst of this alarm and distress, the colonies were true to themselves ; they put forth a manly and dignified effort, to reinforce their northern army ; Connecticut raised, equipped, and sent on to Albany, about 5000 men, with great dispatch, and the other northern colonies were not less active ; but the enemy were elated with their successes ; ravaged the frontier, and laid waste with fire and sword, the fine settlements on the German Flats, on the Mohawk. At this time there were more than twenty thousand regular troops on the American station, besides the numerous troops of the colonies, and yet the strong holds of America were falling into the hands of the French, in regular succession, and the whole frontier, from Nova-scotia to the river Ohio, laid open to, and laid waste by the cruelties of savage war ; and the enemy rioted in their ravages, conquests, and spoils, without so much as a field-day opposition ; but I forbear ; the defence of America was devoted to the honourable service of British troops, and a *Peer of England had the honour to command.*

Early in the season the provincials were disbanded, the regulars went into winter quarters, and their gallant commanders were once more safe, and snug in their quarters at Albany.

This campaign, again, is above all comment; no commander could possibly have been more ably supported with a force, in all respects, adequate to all the purposes of defence, and conquest; and no commander could have been guilty of a greater waste of time, means, and expense; and no commander could have possibly, under all circumstances, *have done less.*

REMARKS.

We have noticed how the French and Indian wars, became the military school of the colonies, to train up their sons for the defence of their country—here let it be noticed that the dastardly conduct of a Loudon, had repeatedly taught the sons of America, to despise that British intrepidity and valour, they had formerly been accustomed to respect and revere; and the contempt which these two inglorious campaigns had taught them to feel, inspired them with that confidence in themselves, which they were called upon to display at a future day, when Britain stretched forth the rod of tyranny over America, drew the sword upon her colonies, and armed the nation against herself. In these two campaigns New-England felt her superiority, and when pressed by the tyrant, in 1775, she dared to display it.

Dark and mysterious are the ways of Providence to men, during their operations; but in their effects, the wisdom of the All-wise Governor of the Universe is always displayed.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SUCCESSES OF THE LAST CAMPAIGN IN INDIA.—CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND.—CAMPAIGN OF 1758, IN AMERICA.

The affairs of Britain in India had been as unsuccessful, and sunk as low in the campaign of 1757, as the affairs of America; until God in his providence raised up a captain, now Colonel Clive, to save British India from ruin, and lay the foundation of that empire in the east, which has proved the palladium of British power to this day. After triumphing over the enemies of the British in India, in a most successful campaign, he established his conquests upon the basis of the following treaty, with the then reigning Nabob.

“I engage that as soon as I shall be established in the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, I will maintain the treaty of peace concluded with the English by Surajah Dowlah; that the enemies of the English shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians, or Europeans; that all the effects and factories of the French in Bengal, the paradise of nations, or in Behar, and Orissa, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of the English; and I will never allow them to settle in either of these provinces: that in consideration of the losses the English have sustained in the capture and plunder of Calcutta, by the Nabob,* and the charges occasioned by maintaining forces to recover their factories, I will give one *crore* of rupees, (equal to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling;) and that for the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give fifty *lacks* of rupees;

* Surajah Dowlah, who had ravaged the English settlements in India, and whom Colonel Clive had deposed; and set up the contracting Nabob Meer Jaffer on his throne.

(equal to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling;) together with a donation of fifty *lacks* of rupees to the fleet and army, with other public and private donations," to the amount in all of nearly two million sterling; one third of which, was immediately paid.

In these illustrious successes in India, we shall have occasion to notice hereafter, the special display of the wisdom of the divine government, in giving support to the future cause of his church, both in Europe and America, and in opening the way for her future prosperity in India, and throughout the world.

Lord Walpole had been removed from the administration at the close of the last year, and Mr. Pitt, the man of the people, again restored to the helm of state. With the change of the minister, may be expected a change of men and measures; new energies commenced in the councils, and were diffused to the armies, and the nation. The colonies of New-England entered with renewed spirit into the measures of the minister, to prosecute the war. A special assembly was called in Connecticut, to receive the communications of Mr. Pitt, in which he announced the intentions of his majesty, to prosecute the war with vigour in America, to recover the losses and disgrace of the two former campaigns, and requested of New England, New-York, and New-Jersey, to furnish 20,000 men, to meet the exigencies of the war, and enter upon the conquest of Canada. The minister promised to recommend the colonies to Parliament for indemnification for all their expences, however active and vigorous may be their efforts.

Fired with the prospects before them, Connecticut, regardless of the extra services she had rendered in supporting the war hitherto, resolved to raise 5000 men, to be divided into four regiments, and each regiment to be under the command of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and a major, with one chaplain. To carry this resolve promptly into ef-

fect, the assembly issued bills of credit, to the amount of thirty thousand pound, at 5 per cent interest, to be redeemed in 1760, by a tax on the polls and ratable estate of the colony, with a proviso, that whenever the reimbursements for the expences of the war, promised by Mr. Pitt, should arrive from England, they should be applied to the redemption of the bills of credit.

The other colonies above named, shared the same promises, and entered with the same spirit into the measures of the minister, to prosecute the war. Commissioners of the colonies aforesaid, met at Hartford, by special appointment, in April 1758, to concert measures of mutual co-operation for the opening campaign.

Lord Loudon had been recalled, and Maj. Gen. Abercrombie succeeded to the command of the northern army, and the northern colonies forwarded to his command, a body of ten thousand men, well appointed, and well supplied for active service.

Alive to the war, and the interests of America, Mr. Pitt dispatched a fleet from England in February, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, for the American station, with a body of land forces on board, under the command General Amherst and Maj. Gen. Wolfe. This fleet and armament, when joined to the force at Halifax, amounted to one hundred and fifty vessels, and fourteen thousand men, destined for the reduction of Louisburg; and early in June the whole force appeared before this Dunkirk of America. This fortress was defended by a garrison of two thousand five hundred regulars, and about six hundred militia commanded by the Chevalier Drucourt, and the harbour was defended by a naval force of five ships of the line, one of fifty guns, and five frigates; three of which had been sunk at the mouth of the harbour, to obstruct the English fleet.

The troops were landed with great intrepidity, in face of a resisting foe, and the town was invested by sea and land ; and the operations of the siege were prosecuted with vigour, for about six weeks ; when one of the French ships of the line blew up, which communicated her flames with the same destruction to two others ; this opened the way for the English admiral to make a descent upon the harbour, by a detachment of six hundred marines in boats, who seized on the other two ships of war ; destroyed the one, and towed off the other ; and thus the harbour was cleared at a blow. This blow was followed up by a heavy cannonade from the land batteries, with a threatened assault, by Gen. Amherst, who resolved to carry the town by storm ; but the governor prevented the carnage, by a seasonable capitulation, and on the 26th of July, the city of Louisburg, St. Johns, and the whole coast from the St. Lawrence to Novascotia, was delivered up to the English.— This blow in the west, added to the successes in the east, gave new spirits and new energies to England, and to America, and opened the scene of future triumphs in the war.

During these operations against Louisburg, Gen. Abercrombie commenced his operations with the northern army, against Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. He advanced to Lake George early in July, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and on the 5th and 8th crossed the lake, and took up his march for Ticonderoga. In the midst of this dreary forest, the army fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of French and Indians, and a skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were put to flight ; but the victory was purchased too dear, by the fall of the gallant Lord Howe, a young and brilliant officer, whose interesting and engaging address, added to his splendid military talents, rendered him the idol of the army, and the promising hero of the future glories of his country. To repair this loss, and the panic of the British regulars from the

tremendous sounds of the Indian war-whoop, and the horrid yells of these savages of the forest, Gen. Abercrombie ordered a retrograde movement, to the borders of the lake, where they reposed for the day. From this position Col. Bradstreet was detached to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, who advanced near to the fortress of Ti, and near the close of the day the whole army moved forward to support the detachment.

Ticonderoga, situated upon a narrow point of land, between lakes George and Champlain, is surrounded on three sides by water, and on the fourth is protected by a morass; and at that time was strongly fortified, and defended by about 5000 men. This army was covered with an abatis, and a chevaux-de-frise, the first forming a breastwork of piled logs, and the last of whole trees drawn in, with their branches outward, and sharpened, so as to become almost impassable. Gen. Abercrombie, impatient for the attack, caused his engineer to reconnoitre the fortress, and report its strength; this he did but partially, and reported that it was weak, and might be carried without cannon. The general embraced the report, and without waiting for his cannon to arrive, put his army in motion, and commenced the attack. The troops advanced to the charge with great intrepidity; but the contest was unequal, the defence was firm, the conflict sharp and desperate, and the carnage great. The fortress was impregnable, and the general beat a retreat to save his army from ruin.

The flower of the English army, were engaged in this desperate contest for four hours, and more than two thousand of the best troops and officers, were either dangerously wounded, or strewed the field of death. The general felt the shock and the disgrace, and retired with the remnant of his army to his former position on the south side of Lake George; and detached Col. Bradstreet, with a

body of three thousand men, to reduce fort Frontenac,* to wipe out the disgrace. Col. Bradstreet solicited the service; and executed it promptly; he traversed the desert to Oswego, embarked his troops upon Lake Ontario, and by the 25th of August landed his troops, and summoned the fortress; which surrendered at discretion. Sixty pieces of cannon, nine armed sloops, and immense quantities of stores, provisions, and merchandise, were the trophies of this victory.

This success opened the way for another triumph under Gen. Forbes. The general took up his march from Philadelphia, about the first of July, and advanced into the wilderness, crossed the Alleghany mountains, then almost inaccessible to an army in time of peace, and passed rivers, morasses, and forests; harassed continually by numerous hostile savage foes. In the heart of an enemy's country, he secured his camp, protected his convoys, and supplies, and advanced near to the object of his destination; when he detached a strong party to reconnoitre the enemy; this party fell into an ambush, a desperate combat ensued, and a gallant resistance was made; but the English were overpowered by numbers, and beat a retreat, with the loss of three hundred men. Gen. Forbes advanced to the support of his detachment, resolved at all events to carry the object of his destination; but the assailing enemy had fled; the garrison had abandoned the fortress, and retired down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and Fort Duquesne fell an easy conquest to the victor. The name of this fortress was now changed in honor of the British Minister, and the English flag now waved upon the walls of Fort Pitt.

This was a strong and commanding position, which connected the western posts with the great chain of posts on the lakes, and was defended by about 50 pieces of cannon;

* This fort stands at the entrance of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence.

sixteen mortars, and contained a treasure in goods, provisions, and military stores, to the amount of 800,000 livres of France. Gen. Forbes repaired and garrisoned the fort, and entered into treaties with the neighbouring tribes of Indians, (which opened the way for a general treaty with all these tribes at Easton, in October,) and commenced his march for Philadelphia. On his way back, he erected several small fortresses for the defence of the frontiers, and arrived safe at Philadelphia, so exhausted with the fatigues of the enterprise, that he fell into a decline, and in a short time expired; greatly beloved, highly applauded, and universally lamented.

During this time, Gen. Amherst had arrived with his troops at Albany, and repaired to Lake George, to join the northern army; but the season was too far advanced to admit of further operations; the provincials were disbanded, and the regulars went into winter quarters as before.

The successes of this campaign had given a new face to the war. Louisburg had fallen, and the entire conquest of Cape Breton and Novascotia, had secured the fisheries, and covered the whole eastern frontier from the ravages of that enemy, whose cruelties we have had occasion so often to witness, and opened an easy access to the river St. Lawrence, the fortress of Quebec, and the heart of Canada. The fall of Frontenac and Duquesne, had broken the chain of that line of military posts, which had overawed the savages of the great lakes and the west; and armed the hatchet and the scalping-knife of all these tribes, against a defenceless frontier.

Thus guarded on the east, and on the west, the way was prepared, and already open, to prosecute the great plan, and carry future conquests into the north. Although Gen. Amherst had carried Louisburg, yet God in his providence, had given one more display of the weakness of a British general, and of British troops, in Abercrombie's retreat before the yells of the savages of the forest, and his subse-

quent defeat at Ticonderoga. All this had its use, and served as a part of the great effects that will hereafter appear to have arisen from this French war.

The fleet and remainder of the armament, which had triumphed over Louisburg, repaired in autumn to the West-Indies, and opened a new theatre of action, by their attacks upon the French West-India Islands. Martinico, the great sugar colony of France, became the first object of attack. This was soon abandoned as impracticable, and the fleet bore down upon Guadaloupe. The admiral brought his ships to bear upon the town of Basse-Terre, after he had landed his troops, and invested it by land; and such was the effect of a tremendous cannonade, that the garrison abandoned the town, and it fell into the hands of the victors about the first of February, 1758. The admiral garrisoned the town, and withdrew with his troops, to the other side of the island, commenced an attack upon Fort Lewis, the grand fortress of Grand-Terre; here the admiral again brought his ships to bear upon this fortress, and under a heavy cannonade, landed his marines and a detachment of Highlanders, who entered the fortress by assault, and carried it with the edge of the sword; but the land army gave such feeble support to these operations, that the fugitives fortified themselves in the mountains, and it became necessary for the admiral to lay waste the seaboard, before he could reduce the island.

With the fall of Guadaloupe, fell Mariagalante, and several other small islands, who all obtained honorable terms, and a quiet possession of their property, as well as of their civil and religious rights and privileges. These successes, however trifling, had their weight in the great scale of events, that opened the way for the successes of the next campaign, and inspired England and America, with that spirit and confidence, that led to their subsequent conquests and glory.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GENERAL OPERATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759, IN AMERICA.—CONQUEST OF CANADA.

THE successes of the last campaign, had raised the confidence of Mr. Pitt, and inspired him with those efforts that led to the conquest of all French America. Louisburg had fallen; Frontenac and Duquesne had fallen; and the successes in the West-Indies closed the campaign of 1758, gloriously.

The seaboard of America was thus cleared of French marauders, and the western frontier of savage depredations; the northern frontier was opened for an expedition into Canada, and the conquest of Quebec became the grand object of the approaching campaign. The minister communicated the plan of the campaign to the governors of the northern colonies, and called on them for their several quotas of men, to be raised as heretofore, to the amount of 20,000, and as many more as the state of the population would bear, and the exigencies of the war might require; the spirits of the colonies were high, their confidence in the minister was high, and they met the requisition promptly. Connecticut raised four regiments of 1000 men each, and passed a resolve of assembly, that 1000 more might enlist, and be added to the four regiments; and they emitted bills of credit, to the amount of forty thousand pounds, lawful money, at five per cent, to be redeemed in the year 1764, by a tax of ten pence upon the pound, then levied on the grand list of the colony, for the year 1762, and payable in 1763.

These efforts were common to New-England, and the requisite troops were raised, equipped, and early in the field; and the northern army under Gen. Amherst began their operations in June. In July the general passed

Lake George, and appeared again before *Ticonderoga*. The garrison, encouraged by the successes of the last year, shewed a bold resistance; but the formidable appearance of the army, and the regular movements of the general, soon discovered that the fortress would be stormed without delay, and that their only safety was in flight; they accordingly blew up their magazine on the 27th, abandoned the fort, and retired to *Crown-Point*; the garrison at *Crown-Point* caught the alarm, abandoned the fortress, and retired down the lake, to the *Isle Aux-Noix*. The general advanced, and took possession of these forts, in succession, without a gun; these keys of Canada were removed; yet the enemy were in force upon the lake, and their position at *Isle Aux-Noix* was supported by three thousand five hundred men, strongly fortified, and a naval force of four large vessels well manned and supplied, and their defence was formidable. To overcome this resistance, it became necessary for Gen. Amherst to construct a naval force equal to that of the enemy. This service was dispatched with alacrity and zeal, and the forts were repaired and strengthened, as future military stations.

During these operations, Gen. Prideaux, (who had been detached for that service,) in conjunction with Sir William Johnson, and the Indians of the Six Nations, advanced against *Niagara*: about the middle of July he invested the fort; the trenches were opened, and the siege was pushed with vigor; but in the midst of anxious hope, and active duty, the gallant Prideaux fell in the trenches, by the bursting of a cohorn. The shock was great; the army felt the loss of the man they loved, as well as the general who had their confidence, and whom they delighted to obey. The command now devolved on Gen. Johnson, an officer who had distinguished himself in the service of his country. The vigorous operations of the siege continued, and the French commander, dreading the horrors of a storm, deter-

mined, if possible, to overcome the assailants in the field, and raise the siege by a battle. To effect this, he marched out with his garrison, and numerous Indian allies, and commenced the attack : Gen. Johnson drew up his regulars, and posted his Indians with such alacrity and judgment, that the action soon became warm and desperate ; the explosion of musquetry, and the piercing yells of the savages, filled the scene with horror, and strewed the field with death ; the action was short, but decisive ; the enemy fled ; General Johnson pursued ; a general carnage marked the footsteps of the fugitives, for the distance of more than five miles ; De Aubry, their general was taken, and the fortress surrendered to the victors.

Thus fell Niagara, the strong-hold of France upon the great lakes, and the commanding key to those extensive military posts, that extend from Quebec to New-Orleans, and awed into submission, and savage alliance, those numerous tribes of Indians, that surround those great waters, and range through these vast forests of the west ; and at the nod of the governor of New-France, have so often kindled the torch of war throughout this extensive frontier, and drenched their fields in blood.

With the fall of Niagara, a way was opened to the heart of the enemy ; Canada was unmasked, and Quebec and Montreal, became the immediate objects of the war. To effect this object, a formidable naval armament from England, under the command of Admirals Saunders, Holmes, and Durel, arrived at Halifax on the last of April, destined against Quebec. The admiral sent a squadron into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept all supplies from France ; but the French had been on the alert, and passed before him, entered the river, and arrived safe at Quebec. Admiral Saunders, with an army of eight thousand men, under the command of General Wolfe, set sail for Quebec, and landed his troops on the Isle of Orleans, on the 26th of

June, and thus commenced the operations of the siege of Quebec.

Before we enter upon this memorable siege, it may not be uninteresting, to sketch the great outlines of that fortress, which had from its infancy been the scourge of the church in the wilderness, and now, as the Gibraltar of America, was destined to become the prize of the campaign, and the meed of the military glory of England, in America.

Quebec is situated upon the north side of the river St. Lawrence, about one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and possesses a harbour capable of containing one hundred and twenty ships of the line; and although the grand and majestic river St. Lawrence, is uniformly four or five leagues broad up to the Isle of Orleans, about one hundred and ten or twelve leagues from the sea; yet above this island, and opposite the city of Quebec, it does not exceed one mile: hence the name of the city, in the Algonquin language, signifies a streight, or narrow.

The city of Quebec is separated by a ledge of rocks almost perpendicular, that divides it into the upper and lower town, and the whole inclosed by a strong and high wall, upon the land sides, capable of a powerful resistance. In addition to these advantages of nature, Quebec is fortified like Gibraltar, with all the powers of art, which could possibly render her the strong-hold of French America, and the palladium of the Beast in the west. When Quebec was founded in 1608, the tide waters are said to have washed the foot of the rock; but they since have retired in regular succession, until the lower town has risen from its waters, and become the seat of trade and commerce for the city: * the upper town is considered as the military

* To corroborate this fact, that the tide-waters of the St. Lawrence have thus decreased, I will insert the following extract from Dr. Williamson's History of North-Carolina—Vol. II. page 186.

“The waters upon the coast are supposed to sink. We have no solid marks on our coast, by which we can estimate the

fortress, the Gibraltar of America. The extension of this rock along the margin of the river, forms above the town an abrupt elevation, called the Plains of Abraham.

From the north-west, comes down the river St. Charles, and washes the foot of the rock of Quebec; as it falls into the St. Lawrence, and at the same time forms a peninsula on which the city of Quebec stands.

Below the city lies the island of Orleans, about twenty miles long, and seventeen broad, extending up to the harbour of Quebec; covered with villages and plantations, highly cultivated, and abounding with all the essentials, as well as luxuries of life. Opposite to the western point

accidents of ocean water; but we allege the general subsidence of the ocean here, from what is observed in other countries. The inhabitants of West Bothnia, have observed, by marks on the rocks, that the sea decreases five lines every ten years, or forty-four inches and two lines every century. Dalen calculates, that the waters in Sweden sink thirty-seven inches in a hundred years. Ravenna, in Italy, is no longer a seaport. There seems to be good evidence that a direct communication, by water, formerly existed between the Baltic and the Euxine, or Black-Sea. Herodotus alleges, that great part of Poland and Russia, had been covered by water. And Orpheus, in his Argonauts, supposes that one might sail from the Euxine to the Baltic.* There must have been a tradition that such a passage had formerly been effected. Ptolemy speaks of Scandinavia as an island.† Homer describes the island of Pharos as a day's sail from Egypt; and we know that the present city of Alexandria, is built on the very spot that was the original harbour of the old city.‡

Dr Williamson pursues this subject with a summary of ingenious observations.

* Query—Whether this navigation was not performed through the large rivers, that water this country, and in such boats as were common to that age of which Herodotus speaks, and in the same manner that the natives of North America have ever been accustomed to navigate the vast interior of this continent.

† Query—Whether this opinion may not be founded in the imperfect knowledge of Geography, of those times. These northern regions were then very imperfectly known.

of this island, stands Point Levi, a commanding position, which overlooks both the city and harbour.

This fortress, thus situated, was defended with a force of ten thousand men, under the command of that gallant and intrepid commander, the Marquis de Montcalm; that Montcalm, whose successes we have witnessed at Oswego and Fort William Henry:

General Montcalm had posted his troops, strongly fortified, upon the banks of the St. Charles, at every accessible point, and the whole line was covered in rear by an inaccessible forest: thus posted, he presented an impenetrable barrier by land, and awaited the approach of the enemy.

When General Wolfe had strengthened his position upon the Island of Orleans, and taken possession of Point Levi, which opened to his view the fortress before him, and the position of the enemy; great as were the powers of his mind, ardent as was his zeal in the service of his country, and high, and animated as were his hopes of conquest and of glory, his heart was appalled at the object before him, and he was ready to shrink from the arduous undertaking; he paused and reflected; and from reflection, his ardent mind rose in the majesty of himself, and resolved to prosecute the work.

Supported by the genius and talents of a Moncton, a Townsend, and a Murray, those noble sons of Britain, full of youthful fire and military glory, and who had risen to the eminence of command, by their experience and merits; supported by the exertions of a Saunders, whose naval intrepidity and skill, as well as mutual and harmonious co-operations, gave energy, strength, and support to the whole enterprise; General Wolfe began his operations. He fortified the western extremity of the Isle of Orleans, and erected batteries upon the summit of Point Levi. Admiral Saunders took his station just below the town; to cover these batteries, and to divide the attention of the

enemy. Admiral Holmes took his station just above the town.

Thus posted, Gen. Wolfe opened a fire from his batteries upon the lower town, and at the same time landed his troops across the north channel of the river, and commenced an attack upon Gen. Montcalm, under the hopes of drawing him from his intrenched camp, into the open field; but when this failed, the general passed the town with a detachment, with a view to divert the enemy at the same time; but all to no effect; although the ships and batteries had greatly damaged the lower town, and the troops had made all their dispositions, with great order and firmness; yet the enemy were very vigilant and active; the ships were severely galled from the town; and rafts and fire-ships, set afloat by the enemy, threatened ruin and destruction to the English fleet: all the attempts failed; the ships and troops, were withdrawn, and Montcalm remained firm in his camp.

The next attempt of Gen. Wolfe, was to command by force, what could not be done by stratagem, and drive the gallant Montcalm from his strong-hold. To effect this, Gen. Wolfe landed a body of men, at the mouth of the river Montmorenci, determined to force the camp of Gen. Montcalm upon its left, which he considered as the most vulnerable; but although the dispositions of this enterprise, were planned, and executed with judgment and skill, the troops were repulsed, and thrown into disorder by a destructive fire from the enemy's batteries, and all efforts to carry the camp, became desperate; the troops were withdrawn; and this enterprise failed. More than five hundred men, besides distinguished officers, fell in this attempt.

Thus having failed in two attempts, to draw Gen. Montcalm from his fortified camp, Gen. Wolfe next detached Gen. Murray with 1200 men, to co-operate with Admiral

Holmes, in an attack upon the French shipping, which lay above the town, and if possible, distress the enemy along the shore.

The attempt upon the shipping failed; they were secure, and inaccessible; but the general succeeded so far as to destroy a valuable magazine of clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions, which, with the news of the successes under Gen. Amherst, gave some spirits, and even hopes to the army; but gave no relief to the anxious mind of Gen. Wolfe. The season was now far spent; all had been done that could be done, and yet the fortress before them was inaccessible. Under this impression, the indefatigable efforts of Gen. Wolfe wasted his strength; his health began to decline, and he wrote to the minister that he began to despair of success.

Stung with chagrin at his own disappointment, as well as the disappointment of his country, Gen. Wolfe called a council of war, resolved to make one more effort, if possible, and carry the war onto the Plains of Abraham. This plan met the unanimous voice of the council; the troops were immediately embarked on board the fleet; the post at Point Levi was strengthened, and a manouevring commenced for several days, up and down the river, to draw the attention of the enemy from the city. Montcalm, alive to his duty, sent a detachment of fifteen hundred men to guard every accessible point, and watch the motions of the English.

On the 13th of September, the troops were embarked in the silence of night, and proceeded undiscovered, to the place of destination; were landed undiscovered, crawled up a steep, and almost inaccessible precipice, by the assistance of rocks, and stumps, and bushes, and limbs of trees, in a narrow winding path, that could admit of only two abreast, and even this was secured by a captain's guard; but the Highlanders, those hardy sons of the

mountains of Scotland, dislodged the guard, and opened the way for the approach of the troops, and at the break of day the gallant Wolfe, with his intrepid band, were formed on the Plains of Abraham.

When the tidings of this astonishing event reached Montcalm, he saw himself out-generaled, immediately beat to arms, and marched out of his camp, resolved to take vengeance on the temerity of the foe. Wolfe, with his little phalanx, were soon in view; but under orders to reserve their fire, until the enemy had advanced within the distance of forty yards, and in this position they were assailed by the distant and scattering fire of the French, and the tremendous yells of the savages, which filled the whole plain with the horrors of a scene, unknown to British troops; yet true to themselves, to their general, and their country, they were faithful to their orders, and at the distance of forty yards, they opened a fire upon the enemy, which checked their career; they repeated their fire, this threw the enemy into disorder; Wolfe now received a wound on his wrist, which he disregarded—they opened the third fire upon the enemy; they gave way, and were thrown into confusion: in this critical moment fell great Wolfe, and with him General Moncton, (severely wounded,) and the command devolved upon General Townsend. He advanced to the charge, which threw the enemy into flight; the cry of *they run*, reached the ear of Wolfe, who exclaimed, "Who run?" the reply met his ear, "The enemy run;" then said he "I die in peace," and expired.

The gallant Townsend and Murray pursued the enemy with the broad sword and bayonet, to the gates of the city, which alone covered them from total destruction and ruin. General Montcalm fell mortally wounded, in the flight; but lived not to witness the fall of Quebec, which surrendered to the conquerors in five days.

Thus fell Montcalm, the hero of French America; and thus fell great Wolfe, the glory of his country and his country's arms; and thus fell Quebec, the Gibraltar of America, and the scourge of the church in the wilderness.

The fall of Quebec broke the chain of those savage depredations, that carried the torch of war into the dwellings of the pilgrims; laid waste their villages; drenched their fields in blood, and armed the tomahawk and scalping-knife, against the aged, the infant, and the mother, for nearly 150 years, and filled this whole modern Canaan with the horrors of savage cruelty and war.

The dispatches forwarded by General Wolfe to the minister, in which he despaired of success, prepared the way for such exultations in England, at the tidings of victory, as were violent in degree, and which nothing but the loss of Wolfe, the idol of the nation, could have prevented from running into extremes; but their exultations of joy were tempered with such sincere grief of heart, as kept the nation steady. Not so with New-England; here the religion of the church taught them to look to God, as the great disposer of events; to eye his hand in the minutest operations of the war, and ascribe to him the glory of this wonderful deliverance. Both England and America solemnised the event with public thanksgivings, and gave to God the praise.

Gen. Townsend left a garrison of 5000 men, to protect the city of Quebec, under the command of the gallant Gen. Murray, embarked about 1000 French officers and soldiers on board a number of English vessels, and sent them to France, and then embarked himself on board the fleet, and set sail for England.

The operations of the northern army, under Gen. Amherst, had been feeble during the great struggle at Quebec, and his shipping were not in readiness to commence his operations on the lake, until the 11th of October; at which time he embarked his whole army, and proceeded down

the lake, against the Isle Aux-Noix. On their passage they fell in with three French vessels, which, they drove into a bay, where they were run on shore, and abandoned; two were lost, and one was taken and brought off by the English. Thus the naval defence of the enemy was ruined at a blow; but the weather was so tempestuous, that Gen. Amherst was obliged to put into port, and land his troops, for their preservation; and when the tempest was over, he abandoned the enterprise against the Isle Aux-Noix, and returned to Crown-Point. Here he passed the rest of the season, in repairing the fortress and opening the roads, to communicate with Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Fort Ti; to facilitate the means of obtaining reinforcements and supplies, as well as mutual protection and defence; and in making the necessary accommodations for winter quarters.

Quebec had fallen, the palladium of Canada on the east; and Niagara, Frontenac, Ticonderoga, and Crown-Point on the south, and west, and the heart of Canada was now laid open to the English, without one solitary fortress of any strength, to shield her from the approach of an enemy. Monsieur Levi, now commander in chief, assembled his remaining forces at Montreal and Trois Riveres, with which, and the forces at Isle Aux-Noix, he prepared, through the winter, to commence the operations of the spring.

CAMPAIGN OF 1760.

With the opening of the spring, Monsieur Levi commenced his operations. He embarked his forces under the protection of six large frigates, and on the 26th of April, landed his whole army at Point-au-Tremble, consisting of five thousand regulars, six thousand Canadians, with a great body of Indians; all which were recruiting daily. With this force, De Levi had resolved to attempt to carry the city, by a *coup-de-main*; but the gallant Murray had other-

wise resolved ; accordingly he marched out onto the plain, and gave the enemy battle, with his intrepid garrison of three thousand men, the remains of the five thousand left him in Autumn ; the other two thousand had fallen a prey to sickness and the severity of the winter. The van of the enemy had advanced, and taken possession of an eminence ; but their main body were flushed with their great superiority of numbers, and regardless of the danger that awaited them.

In this unguarded situation of the enemy, the gallant Murray, with his little band of heroes, rushed to the combat, and so violent was the charge, that the van of the French was dislodged from their position, and thrown into disorder, and thus fell back upon the main army : the English pursued, and the action became general, and was supported with great intrepidity and valour, for nearly two hours ; and the carnage had become so great, that the gallant Gen. Murray beat a retreat, and by his masterly address, led back his little band within the walls of Quebec, with the loss of one thousand men. The enemy elated with this dear bought victory, advanced to the gates, and commenced the most vigorous operations by land and water, resolved if possible, to carry the city by storm. This little garrison, now reduced to two thousand men, felt the inestimable value of the fortress committed to their charge, and their magnanimity and zeal, were equal to the height of the responsibility.

Monsieur de Levi saw the necessity of energy and dispatch, or all his prospects were soon to be defeated by the arrival of succour from England. Both parties entered upon the labours before them, with such unceasing energies, perseverance, and art, as displayed the masterly address and skill of both commanders ; all dangers and fatigues were lost in the magnitude of the object ; an object no less important than the key to all New-France.

During this arduous conflict of interest, ambition, and honour, the fate of Quebec hung suspended upon the arrival of the first fleet from Europe, whether French or English, and the feelings of both parties were alive to the event. In the midst of this interesting state of suspense, an English frigate arrived at Quebec, on the 9th of May, and announced the approach of an English squadron; and on the 15th of May this squadron arrived, under the command of Commodore Swanton, and anchored in the bason or harbour of Quebec. To attempt to express the joy of Gen. Murray and his gallant band of heroes, exceeds the limits of my pen: all was energy and heart-felt satisfaction. The next morning the enemy's frigates appeared in view, which was of itself a signal for an attack. The English commodore dispatched two frigates, early, to commence the attack: the French slipped their cables, and prepared for flight; the English pursued; one French frigate was driven upon the rocks, another ran ashore, and was burnt; the others were soon taken, and the river was cleared. Struck with astonishment at so sudden and so fatal an event, the French general waited with anxious impatience for the closing day; and under the first curtains of the night, Monsieur de Levi abandoned the camp, and fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving the whole preparations for the siege standing as they were, both cannon and stores; and even their baggage, without striking a tent: all which fell into the hands of the English, May 17th. Two days after this important event, Lord Colville arrived with the remainder of the fleet, and the English once more rode triumphant on the waters of the St. Lawrence; and the flag of Old England waved triumphant on the walls of Quebec.

The troops of the colonies were early in readiness, and in motion to join General Amherst; and in June the northern army was in motion, to co-operate with Genral Murray in

one grand expedition against Montreal; the only remaining strong-hold of the French in all New-France. This position had now become the rallying point of the enemy, where Monsieur de Levi had arrived, and reinforced Monsieur Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada; and which had become the last hope of France in America.

General Amherst directed one expedition by the way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; and another against the Isle Aux-Noix, by the way of Lake Champlain; with orders to general Murray to embark his troops at Quebec, and meet him on a given day before Montreal. These movements were made with great precision and dispatch; Generals Amherst and Murray arrived on the same day, and the detachment from the Isle Aux-Noix, joined the next day, and Montreal was completely invested.

The arduous labours that presented themselves to General Amherst, in opening a way for such an army, with military preparations, of artillery, military stores, baggage, &c. through such a vast forest as lay between Albany and Lake Ontario; to embark such an army on the lake, and convey them down the rapids of the St. Lawrence to Montreal, even in time of peace, would exceed the powers of my pen to describe; but when we remember that the enemy were in force at Isle Royal, upon Lake Ontario, and that this fortress was to be overcome, with numerous other perils common to an enemy's country, full of hostile Indians, as well as French; the least that can be said is, that General Amherst conducted the enterprise like an able and valiant general, and deserved, as he received, the applause of the nation.

On the 8th of September Monsieur Vaudreuil demanded a capitulation, which was immediately granted, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war. The French troops were conveyed to France; and Montreal,

with every French post, or depot in Canada, were delivered up to the English.

Thus fell New-France, the scourge of the church in the wilderness ; and thus fell that great military school, that taught our fathers the art of war ; and laid the foundation of that military strength, that enabled their sons to rise to national independence and glory.

Thus we have seen how the God of our fathers raised up instruments exactly fitted to accomplish his purposes, through this arduous struggle ; and rendered all events subservient to his great designs ; protected his church in the wilderness, and finally raised her triumphant over all her enemies.

When peace was established in the north, and Canada cleared, France saw herself stripped of all her vast possessions in America, excepting New-Orleans, on the Mississippi : this she retained as a solitary monument of all her greatness : from this her influence continued to extend into the wilds of the south, and by this influence she stimulated the Cherokees, to commence their ravages upon the defenceless frontiers of Virginia and Carolina. The governor of South-Carolina assembled a body of militia, which with the assistance of a body of regulars sent on by Gen. Amherst, and a force from Virginia, penetrated the enemy's country ; and after spinning out the war into midsummer, with various success, finally humbled the enemy, and brought them to terms ; and peace was restored in America, 1761.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

INDIAN WAR CONTINUED.

WE have witnessed the influence of those intrigues of French agents, in exciting the Cherokee war, that the colonies, (particularly New-England,) had experienced for the space of forty years; and we have witnessed the renewed success of the colonial arms, in suppressing the depredations of the savages, by humbling the Cherokees, and reducing them to proper terms of peace, and thus again defeating the machinations of France. The value of this peace was rightly estimated by both parties, and it was considered as the basis of a lasting peace, not only with the Cherokees, but with all the Indian tribes, throughout the whole western wilderness, from Canada to the Mississippi. To render this peace thus extensive and permanent, three of the Cherokee chiefs went over to England, and there confirmed the peace with the British Court; and Sir William Johnson made an excursion through the interior of the northern tribes, who dwelt about the great lakes, and endeavoured to avert that jealousy which the conquest of Canada had excited, and which the emissaries of France had kindled into a flame. At the same time the governors of several of the northern colonies held a conference with the Six Nations, (called Iroquois,) to strengthen the force of all former treaties, and of engaging their confidence, and fixing a permanent and lasting peace between them and the colonies. At this conference, a controversy sprang up concerning certain fraudulent claims to, and purchases of certain lands the English settlers had taken possession of, belonging to the Delawares; but this was more easily explained to their satisfaction, than the fortresses the English then held in the heart of their country, and which they considered as the instruments of their destruction. Im;

pressed with this belief, they covered their resentment under the mask of friendship; but secretly plotted war, and by their emissaries, united all the tribes of the interior, north of the Ohio, into one grand confederacy. The object of this war, was to surprise and destroy all the military posts, and butcher the garrisons, and at the same time, fall upon the defenceless frontier, lay waste their villages, and exterminate the settlers.

This vast plan was conducted with all the secrecy and art of an Indian confederacy, and to render the destruction the most effectual, they opened the war at all points, at the same time, and that in the month of harvest, 1763: a general attack commenced upon the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and they fell a defenceless prey to the ravages of an Indian war; their fields were laid waste, their inhabitants butchered, carried into captivity, or driven from their habitations, and their villages burnt. All the traders in the Indian country were murdered at the same time, and plundered, to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. The plunder thus obtained from the settlements and the traders, furnished supplies that enabled the Indians to collect, and support large bodies together, and thus prosecute the war with more force and energy, and with more alarming effects.

The forts of le Bœuf, Venango, and Presque-Isle, became the first objects of the war, as the more immediate keys of interior communication, upon the great waters; these with Michilimackinack, soon fell into their hands, by the most perfidious stratagem, and their garrisons were either butchered or carried into captivity; and Fort Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara, became the next objects of the war. The two first were immediately invested by numerous and powerful parties of Indians, and the garrisons shut up, within the forts. General Amherst, alarmed for the safety of these posts, after the fall of the others, dispatched Cap-

tain Dalyell, with a reinforcement to strengthen the garrison at Detroit. The captain executed his commission promptly, and with success, and after his arrival, made an attempt to surprise the Indian camp, and put an end to the siege ; but these savages were too vigilant, and in their turn surprised Captain Dalyell, by an ambuscade, on his way to their camp : the captain fell, and the command devolved upon Captain Grant ; who finding his party overwhelmed by an explosion of musquetry, on all sides, and the enemy concealed, charged home upon the enemy on his rear, and thus opened a way for his retreat back to the fort, through the darkness of the night, with the loss of about one hundred men, killed and wounded, which amounted to more than one third of the whole detachment, with their brave captain at their head. The Indians, even under this success, abandoned the siege, when they found the garrison had been strengthened by this reinforcement, and prosecuted other ravages, or retired to their homes.

During these operations at Detroit, Fort Pitt was closely invested, and all possible communication, with the settlements cut off ; here the enemy intrenched themselves under the banks of the river, and assailed the fort with incessant showers of musquetry, and fire-arrows, with the most undaunted resolution, and perseverance, determined to waste the garrison by their shot, and destroy their dwellings by their arrows, or compel them to surrender at discretion.

General Amherst, detached also another strong party, with provisions and military stores, to reinforce the garrison at Fort Pitt, under the command of Col. Bouquet. This detachment marched into the enemy's country with firmness and intrepidity, until they approached a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek : here the cautious colonel made a halt, to refresh his troops, and prepare to pass the defile, under cover of the darkness of the approaching night ; but the foe was too vigilant and alert, for even all this caution ;

he had abandoned the siege, and retired to meet the detachment, in this very defile, and at this critical moment opened the fire of an Indian ambush, upon the advance guard. Colonel Bouquet supported the advance guard with so much firmness, that the enemy were routed, and put to flight; but they fled only to return to the combat with renewed vigour and fury. At the same time a most formidable ambuscade, opened a tremendous fire upon the main body, and threatened by their daring intrepidity, to overwhelm the whole party. Colonel Bouquet ordered the charge from the whole line, and the enemy were instantly driven from their concealment, and put to flight; but they, in their turn, fled only to return with redoubled rage, and at once the whole detachment was surrounded; and in the midst of this desperate conflict, they attacked the convoy, and by their unparalleled intrepidity, put the whole object of the expedition into a state of the most imminent peril and hazard. Colonel Bouquet, with his gallant little band, protected their convoy at the point of the bayonet, and supported the desperate charges of the enemy for seven hours, until night closed the scene, and the enemy withdrew, to give them the comforts of repose. Colonel Bouquet collected the wounded and the convoy, in the centre, and posted his army in a circle, to protect the whole, and thus they sought such repose as the mind of man could enjoy, under the impression of the horrors of the day that had passed, and the conflicts which the defile before them opened to their view on the morrow, August 6th.

With the first opening dawn, the little encampment appeared to be surrounded by the foe, and the forest to be filled with his numbers, and the whole scene rendered horrid with the sound of the war-whoop, and the yells of the savages. In the midst of this terrific scene, the Indians commenced the attack; the English, unappalled, stood to their

arms, received the desperate assaults of the enemy at the point of the bayonet, foiled his attempts upon the convoy, and drove him into the forest. These attacks were renewed again and again, amidst the yells of the savage, and the incessant fire of his musquetry, and as often defeated ; but no decisive advantage could be gained. Col. Bouquet saw his troops wasting under the galling fire of the enemy, and his horses killed, and the drivers dispersed through fear, and the remnant of his little band in danger of a total overthrow, with the destruction of his convoy; resolved to bring the enemy to a close engagement, and under the mask of a retreat, to draw them within their lines, and thus close the action. The stratagem succeeded ; the colonel, by a masterly movement, opened his lines ; the enemy rushed into the centre with desperate fury, in pursuit of a detachment who fled before them, and here the English opened upon them a dreadful fire, which checked their mad career ; and this, when repeated, put them to flight ; a detachment of four companies followed up the victory, and pursued the enemy so closely, that the field was cleared, the woods were cleared, and Col. Bouquet left undisturbed to pursue his march to Fort Pitt.

This severe and bloody action, cost the Indians more than sixty men, with many of their chief warriors, who were left dead on the field, besides those that were wounded. The English lost fifty killed, and sixty wounded, together with so many of their horses, that they were obliged to destroy the greatest part of the convoy of provisions, and pursue their march with the remainder. Col. Bouquet retired about two miles, and encamped at Bushy Run; here he was again surrounded, and received another galling fire from the enemy ; but they did not wait to meet the English in another engagement ; they fled with precipitation, and left Col. Bouquet to pursue his march unmolested ; and in four days he reached Fort Pitt.

This action, when considered in point of duration, the numbers of the savages, the fierceness of their attacks, and their advantages of concealment, as well as of flying, and rallying again to the charge, at pleasure, compared with the intrepid valour of the English in supporting their position, in protecting their convoy, and finally by their masterly military movement, and defeating the enemy in close action, and thus clearing the field, and securing their advance, is rarely to be equalled in the history of battles, either in Europe or America, and crowned Col. Bouquet, his officers, and troops, with immortal honor.

Thus Fort Pitt was relieved, the enemy dispersed, and the fortress reinforced with a permanent support. The same year the Indians appeared in great force, and invested the fortress of Niagara, with a determination to avail themselves of its remote situation, and starve out the garrison, before they could obtain supplies. A detachment was sent forward, with supplies for the garrison, as before, for Detroit and Fort Pitt ; but this detachment fell into an ambush near to Niagara ; seventy were slain, and the whole detachment destroyed, Sept. 1763. The garrison surmounted this misfortune by other supplies of men, stores, and provisions, which enabled them to hold the enemy at bay, and bid defiance to their numbers. •

The savages next made an attack upon a schooner on Lake Erie, bound with supplies to the fortress of Detroit ; their canoes were numerous, well manned with about 400 Indians, and the assault was fierce and desperate ; but they were defeated with loss, abandoned the attack, and fled to the shore. Thus these important fortresses were preserved, and the enemy, despairing of all further success against them, turned their whole attention to the destruction of the defenceless settlements on the frontiers.

These depredations spread a general alarm through the colonies, and called for fresh supplies of troops to repel

the enemy, and cover the settlements. Gen. Gage, who had now succeeded Gen. Amherst, wrote to the governors of the colonies, requesting the necessary supply of men, &c. the colonies met this requisition promptly: Connecticut detached immediately, 260 men, with their officers, subject to the orders of the commander in chief; and this battalion was put under the command of Maj. Israel Putnam, (afterwards Gen. Putnam.) The other colonies, with Connecticut, forwarded their quotas of men, early in the season, and Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet, at the head of these new levies, carried the war into the enemy's country, with such success as compelled them to sue for peace; and in September they guaranteed to the English, by their treaty, all the forts then built in their country, with permission to build such others as they might hereafter judge necessary, and ceded to them, forever, all lands lying within cannon shot of such forts; which placed the forts in the centre of such tracts as have since been covered with flourishing settlements and villages. The English dictated the articles of this treaty with such severity, as they hoped would secure the peace of their frontiers, and guard against all future wars. Ten chiefs were detained from the council, as hostages, to guarantee the safe return of all prisoners taken in the war; all which was duly fulfilled, and the hostages released.

Thus we have seen the torch of war, which was kindled by the last expiring struggle of France in America, extinguished at a blow, and the arm of Almighty Power signally displayed in rescuing the defenceless frontiers of the colonies forever from the depredations of a cruel savage foe, acting under French influence and French intrigue.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE TO PROSECUTE THE WAR, WITH A VIEW TO OBTAIN AN EQUITABLE PEACE.

THE war still raged with violence in Europe, and in India. The stupendous conquests which the united forces of Britain and her colonies, had made in America, alarmed the court of Spain, and unfolded to her the perilous situation of her American colonies in the south, when Great-Britain should become master of the extensive continent on the north; and more particularly did she dread such a hardy enterprising population, who dared to attempt enterprises the most difficult, and whose valour and intrepidity accomplished whatever they attempted. To guard against the evils she so strongly apprehended, Spain commenced negotiations with France, to become a party in the war, under an alliance called the Family Compact. This roused the jealousy of England, and Mr. Pitt demanded an immediate declaration of war against Spain, but this was rejected, on the ground that France was actually negotiating for conditions of peace, and the Duke De Choiseul, Minister of France, had actually made overtures upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, or what places taken in the war at different periods, and different parts of the world, should be restored, and what places should be retained; but Mr. Pitt clearly saw that either Quebec, or Louisburg, or both, would be insisted on by France, and he therefore gave a diversion to the negociation, and determined to prosecute the war with vigour, and obtain some valuable possessions in the French West-Indies, which might serve as an exchange at the peace, and thus preserve America free. To meet the minister upon his own ground, the allies pushed the war in Europe, against the king of Prussia, with a view to divide up his dominions, and France particularly.

with a view to the conquest of Hanover, and at the same time the negotiations upon the plan of the family compact between France and Spain, went forward ; and France urged upon England the plan of *uti possidetis* ; but Mr. Pitt pushed the war, and sent a naval armament onto the coast of France, and took Bellisle, (a small island lying off the mouth of the Loir,) which filled England with spirit and hilarity.

France, at this time, felt the pressure of the war so severely, that she actually made a specific overture for peace, in which she yielded to Great-Britain all her conquests in America and India, and offered Minorca for Guadaloupe, and Mariagalante : she also actually proposed to relinquish all her conquests in Germany, provided England should make restitution for the commerce of France she had taken before the declaration of war. All these concessions the minister refused, and this refusal brought France and Spain into an immediate alliance, and the family compact was signed August 15th, 1761. The basis of this compact was a community of interest, and a mutual naturalization of the subjects of both kingdoms, as if they were one and the same, and its obligations were mutual, both offensive and defensive ; it also involved the rights and interests of the king of the two Sicilies, and rendered the engagements of the three monarchs mutual and reciprocal. This compact gave a shock to Europe, and revived all those passions and feelings, which had alarmed and distracted her councils, in the reign of Louis XIV. and threatened the subversion of her balance of power, in the accession of Philip V. to the crown of Spain.

Pending these negotiations, Mr. Pitt had put forth all those energies which we have seen so conspicuously displayed upon the whole vast theatre of the war in Europe, America, and the East and West-Indies ; and by his requisitions upon the American colonies for fresh troops, to co-

operate with a British armament, he determined to carry the war with vigour into the West-Indies, at the commencement of the spring. To effect this, he wrote to the governors of all the colonies, requesting them to furnish for the service, two thirds as many troops as they had raised the last season. Connecticut met this recommendation promptly, called a special assembly, voted to raise, clothe, support, and pay two thousand men; and ordered an emission of bills of credit to the amount of 45,000*l.* at five per cent interest, bottomed upon a tax of five pence on the pound, on the whole list of the colony for 1762, and payable in the year 1763, and of seven pence on the pound, upon the list of 1764, payable in 1765, provided the bills could not be redeemed by monies to be received from the crown, to defray the expences of the war. The other colonies all met the requisitions of the minister promptly, and the troops were raised early, and ready for active service.

To strengthen Canada throughout, by repairing, garrisoning, and victualing all her old fortifications, became an object of the first importance, and claimed the first attention of the year 1761, in America. In the height of these preparations, Mr. Pitt, indignant at the pusillanimity of the king and council, in refusing to him a declaration of war against Spain, resigned in disgust, and the Earl of Egremont was raised to the helm of state.

The resignation of Mr. Pitt was felt like the shock of an earthquake in England, in America, and throughout Europe. The world had witnessed what, under God, he had achieved, and great were their expectations of what he would continue to achieve in America; they viewed him as the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof; and his resignation spread a gloom over the nation.

The Earl of Egremont felt the high responsibility attached to the high station to which he was now advanced, and entered with spirit into the measures of Mr. Pitt, and deter-

mined to prosecute the war with vigour. He wrote to the governors of New-England, pressing them to raise the same number of men this year, they had furnished the last, and that they be in readiness with all possible dispatch to join Gen. Amherst, in securing the conquests in America. The requisition was as promptly met as that of Mr. Pitt had been, and the troops were raised. Connecticut raised two thousand three hundred men, in two regiments, by act of assembly, specially convened, in March, 1762, to act under his majesty's commander in chief in America, and at the same time, they voted that the sum of five thousand pounds be issued in bills of credit on the government, equal to lawful money, at 6 per cent interest, payable in March 1767, and bottomed upon a tax of six pence on the pound, to be laid upon the grand list of the colony, for 1763, and payable in 1764; also upon another tax of eight pence on the pound, to be laid upon the list of 1765, and payable in 1766; with the former proviso, that money from the crown does not arrive in season to redeem the bills of credit, to the amount of the tax of eight pence on the pound, on list 1765. Letters from the minister and Gen. Amherst, were also received and laid before the assembly, requesting the influence of the governor, to encourage and promote the filling up of his majesty's regiments in America, by enlistments during the war, or until the regiments should return to Europe; the general offered a bounty at the same time of six pound, York currency, per head, for an encouragement to the enlistment, and recommended to the colony to add to the bounty. This recommendation was met by the assembly of Connecticut, with a resolve that 575 able bodied men, between the ages of 18 and 45, should be raised, with an additional bounty of five pound to that given by the general.

To meet the exigencies of the approaching war with Spain, the minister had sent a powerful armament onto the

West-India station, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, &c. under the command of Admiral Rodney, with about nine thousand land forces, under the command of General Moncton; this armament was joined by an armament from America, consisting of about three thousand regulars and provincials, and on the 7th of January, the whole armament arrived off the island of Martinique, and on the 14th of February this island was given up by capitulation, to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and with the conquest of this island, succeeded the conquest of every French island and possession in the West-Indies, viz. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincents; and the arms of Great-Britain were triumphant.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CUBA.—PEACE.

WAR had now been declared between the courts of England and Spain, and the way was fairly opened to employ this victorious armament against Spanish West-India. To effect this, the minister sent out another armament from Portsmouth, (England,) under the command of Admiral Pocock, and Lord Albemarle as general of the land forces. This armament was destined against the city of Havannah, (capital of the Island of Cuba,) the great key of the Gulf of Mexico. This armament, when joined by a detachment from the fleet under Admiral Rodney, consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and one hundred, and fifty transports, with ten thousand land forces. A land force of from four to six thousand regulars and provincials, embarked at New-York, and joined this armament, and on the 17th day of June, the troops were landed, and commenced their operations against the city of Havannah. This city is walled, and strongly fortified, by nature and art; and protected by a fortress, called the Moro Castle, which was deemed impregnable, and cost the British armament a siege of two months. In this memorable siege, the troops experienced every possible hardship, from the nature and difficulty of the service, from the heat of the climate, and a wasting pestilential sickness, by which six or eight thousand soldiers and seamen were sick at one time. All this, in the presence of such a formidable fortress, and in anxious expectation of the hurricanes of the season, filled both officers and soldiers with anxiety, bordering on despair; but in the midst of this despondency, a body of New-England troops, who had been sent home sick from Martinico, recovered on their voyage, put about, and joined the armament in the siege of Havannah. This unexpected rein-

forcement, at this critical moment, inspired the desponding troops with fresh hopes, courage, and zeal ; the vigorous efforts of the siege were renewed, and on the 13th of Aug. the important city of Havannah, with twelve ships of the line, three frigates, and several merchantmen, in the harbour, together with a district of country, of about one hundred and eighty miles, were surrendered to the victorious arms of his Britannic Majesty.

This conquest, in its effects and consequences, was, of itself a campaign ; but the sweeping conquests in the West-Indies, struck at the vital interests of French and Spanish commerce, and led them to think seriously of putting an end to the war. Commissioners were appointed by the courts of England, France, and Spain, and the preliminaries of a peace were concluded upon, at Fontainebleau, upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, entered upon by Mr. Pitt, and on the 10th of February, the definitive treaty of Paris was ratified, and peace was restored, 1763.

By this treaty, all French America, including Novascotia, was ceded to Great-Britain, and all the conquests, in Europe, in India, and the West-Indies, were restored in *statu quo* ; but Spain ceded to Great-Britain the Floridas, in exchange for the Havannah ; and France agreed to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk, as a general acknowledgement for the indulgencies she had received in the treaty. With the treaty of Paris was soon united the treaty of Hubertsburg, which closed the war between Austria, and Prussia ; and all Christendom was once more hushed to repose.

REMARKS.

This peace, great as were its blessings and advantages to America, and high as it had elevated the arms and the nation of Great-Britain, in the scale of nations, had its sharp and strenuous opposers in England. Many contend-

ed that the possessions in India, and the city of Havannah, should have been retained ; and that whatever sacrifices it might have become necessary for Great-Britain to make, they should have been made in Canada and in Louisiana, and thus the commercial advantages of England might have been preserved. This, so far as it went to favour the avarice of man, was well ; but it was not considered that the war began upon the Canada and Novascotia claims, and that to carry this point, and secure the fishery, was an advantage equal to such a war, and removed a troublesome enemy from the borders of the colonies.

The cession of French America to Great-Britain, cost the colonies, an arduous and expensive eight years' war ; but it disarmed the Indians of the murderous hatchet and scalping-knife, extinguished the torch that had for so many years laid waste their frontier settlements, and laid the foundation for security, and lasting repose to the church in the wilderness. Herein the hand of God was most conspicuously displayed, both in Europe and America ; for the earth helped the Woman when the Dragon cast out waters as a flood, to overwhelm and drown her ; and the preservation of Prussia in Europe, as well as the preservation of the colonies in America, together with the conquest of Canada, placed the reformation upon a permanent foundation, and secured a durable triumph to the church in the wilderness.

Although the burthens of the war were heavy upon New-England, in supporting an army of ten thousand men annually, at a general average, through the war ;* in the loss of a great number of her sons, on her own borders, as well as in distant expeditions into Canada, Novascotia, and the

* Some years Massachusetts furnished 7 or 8000, and Connecticut 5 or 6000, exclusive of what they suffered to enlist into the royal regiments, and were impressed, or entered voluntarily into the navy, or were furnished to keep garrison, &c. Connecticut expended about 400 000*l.* in the war, exclusive of the sums that were reimbursed by the British government and the other colonies—Massachusetts nearly in the same ratio.

West-Indies ; and although her husbandry, commerce, and population, were greatly impaired, yet she viewed the hand of God in all the operations of the war, both in adversity, and prosperity, and gave to him the praise for the signal advantages that resulted to her, as well as to America and Britain at large, at the return of peace.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONNECTICUT CONTINUED.—SUSQUEHANNAH CLAIMS' CON-
TESTED WITH PENNSYLVANIA.

It will be recollected that the original grant of the Colony of Connecticut, was included in the grant made by King James I. of England, in the year 1620, to the Earl of Warwick and others, and that this patent conveyed all the lands in America, lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic ocean on the east, to the Pacific ocean on the west, and including those tracts of country, which afterwards became the colonies of Pennsylvania and New-York. It will also be recollected, that in 1631, the Earl of Warwick, President of the Council of Plymouth, granted by patent to Lords Say and Seal, and Brook, and associates—"All that part of New-England, in America, which lies, and extends itself from a river there called Naraganset River, for the space of forty leagues, upon a straight line, near the shore, towards the southwest, west and by south, as the coast runs, towards Virginia; accounting three English miles to the league, and all and singular, the lands, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying, and being the lands aforesaid, north and south, in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude; of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the main lands there, from the Western Ocean to the South Seas; and all lands, and grounds, soil, wood, and woods ground, havens, foyts, creeks, and rivers, waters, fishings, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the said space, and every part and parcel thereof; and also all islands lying in America aforesaid, in the said seas, or either of them, on the western or eastern coasts, or parts of the said tracts of land, by these presents to be given or granted."

This territory was again confirmed to Connecticut, as a Colony of England, by her charter granted by King Charles II. in 1662, as has been noticed; which confirmation under the great seal of England, was considered as divesting the crown of all possible legal claims to said lands, and vesting in the Colony of Connecticut, all possible legal rights to said lands. These grants were all made, as well as the charter of Charles II. and given, many years before any grants were made to William Penn; and the settlers of the Colony of Connecticut, had not the least doubt but the title to the lands was clear, and that they had good right to sell or settle all lands heretofore described. Accordingly in the year 1754, a company of gentlemen, (afterwards known by the name of the Susquehannah Company,) purchased of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, (when in council at the congress, held at Albany at that time,) a tract of land lying west of the Colony of New-York, and upon the waters of the Susquehannah, extending seventy miles north and south, and ten miles east of said river; being within the degrees of latitude described in the grant first made to the Earl of Warwick, and afterward conveyed by him to the Lords Say and Seal, and Brook, and confirmed by charter of King Charles II. to the Colony of Connecticut. These purchasers, with full confidence in their claim, petitioned the General Assembly, at their session in May, 1655, praying for act of incorporation, with permission to form a distinct commonwealth, if it should meet with his majesty's pleasure; which petition was granted, and the company were recommended to the favour of his majesty.

These lands, at the time this company extinguished the Indian claims at Albany, were uninhabited and unoccupied, and at the close of the war, in 1763, the company began the Wyoming settlement upon the river Susquehannah. At the same time the company sent out Col. Eliphalet Dyer, as their agent to the Court of Great-Britain, to man-

age the concerns of the company. The agent presented a petition to his majesty, praying, "that the company might become colonists on said lands, and that he would grant them such power, privileges, and authorities, as in his great wisdom he should think fit." His majesty took this petition into his most gracious consideration; but it had not been acted upon when the revolutionary war commenced, and the contested claims of Pennsylvania remained unsettled.

Pending this petition to the crown, the assembly of Connecticut, at their May session, 1770, passed a resolve to transmit a statement of the case in controversy, to a learned counsel in England, who gave their final answer in the following words. "In case the governor and company of Connecticut, shall in point of prudence, think it expedient to make this claim, and support it, it will be proper, either amicably, and in concurrence with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or in case of the refusal of these proprietaries, without them, to apply to the king in council, praying his majesty to appoint commissioners in America to decide the question, with the usual power of appeal;" signed by four of the first counsellors at law in England. This decision was received by the assembly at their October session, 1773, whereupon they resolved—"That this assembly, at this time will assert their claim, and in some proper way, support such claim to those lands, contained within the limits, and boundaries of the charter of this colony, which are westward of the colony of New-York." The assembly appointed Col. Dyer, Dr. Johnson, and J. Strong, to carry this resolve into effect, by treating with Governor Penn, concerning the lands in question. These commissioners accepted their appointment, and in December following, went to Philadelphia to confer with Gov. Penn, and if possible, to settle the controversy. They opened their commission to his excellency, and communicated the

acts of assembly, relative to the lands in question, and their appointment; but the governor declined all discussion upon the subject of the controversy, and the commissioners returned, and made their report to the assembly at their session in January.

Upon this report the general assembly proceeded to incorporate the town of Westmoreland, upon the river Susquehannah, with the same privileges as the other towns in the Colony of Connecticut. This act of the assembly gave a general alarm throughout the colony; many saw, or thought they saw, that the peace and interest of the colony were about to be committed, to gratify the avarice and ambition of a company of speculators; they accordingly assembled in large numbers at Middletown, and drew up a remonstrance to the general assembly, in which they stile themselves—"A meeting of the committees of twenty-three towns," and in which they state largely and extensively their grievances and fears, as well as their objections to the measure at large, and the more unjustifiable proceedings of the Susquehannah Company, &c. This petition was met by a petition to the assembly, from the Susquehannah Company, in which they state the legality of their claims, the great expence they have incurred in support of those claims, their prospects of success, and the good that will result to the public. Pamphlet writers entered largely into the merits of the question, pro and con; but the revolutionary war commenced in the midst of the controversy, and both parties went on to settle the lands; the Connecticut claims were finally overpowered by the violence of the Pennsylvania settlers, and her title was lost.

VERMONT.

This section of New-England, lying upon the northwestern frontier, between New-Hampshire on the east, New-

York on the west, Canada on the north, and Massachusetts on the south, was a portion of the wilderness indefinitely defined; and bounded in the original grants of the colonies of New-Hampshire, and New-York; and indefinitely claimed by both, which opened for Vermont, the same labyrinth of claims, that we have witnessed in New-Hampshire; claims more sharply contested, more serious in their effects, and more alarming in their consequences; claims which threatened not only the peace of New-York, and New-Hampshire; but of Vermont, and even the nation; and which called forth all the wisdom of congress, with the commanding influence and popularity of Washington himself, to manage and controul.

The settlement of the western boundary of New-Hampshire was left unfinished, and the colony was left upon that side indefinite.

The settlement of the Dutch at Manhadoes at the mouth of the Hudson River, and their settlement at Albany; together with the grant of the colony to the Duke of York, by King Charles II. have been noticed in the history of New-England; but the contested claims between these colonies, that led to the settlement of Vermont, now claim particular notice.

The Colony of New-Hampshire, after she had settled her southern boundary with Massachusetts, in 1741, claimed as far west into the wilderness, as the western line of Massachusetts; accordingly the then governor of the colony, Benning Wentworth, made a grant of a township six miles square, upon the southwestern corner of the claims, bounded south on Massachusetts, and west on New-York, and lying twenty miles east of Hudson's River, and called it after his own christian name, Benning-town. The same governor continued to make grants of these lands lying west of Connecticut River, until the war of 1754 commenced.

(called the old French war,) and from that time all grants ceased, until the close of the war in America, 1761.

During the operations of the war, a road had been cut from Charlestown, (No. 4,) across the wilderness to Crown-Point, and the frequent passing on this road, had led the people to become acquainted with the value of the lands. At the close of the war, upon the reduction of Canada, all further dread of savage wars on the frontier ceased, and the governor ordered a survey of Connecticut River to be taken, sixty miles north of the Massachusetts line, and three tier of townships to be located upon each side of the river. In 1761, about sixty townships had been located, and at the general peace of 1763, about 130 townships had been located, to the west of Connecticut River, extending to the boundary of New-York, viz. 20 miles east of the Hudson River; and above the source of that river, the grants extended to the eastern shore of Lake Champlain.

These grants gave a general alarm to the Colony of New-York, who claimed all these lands, west of Connecticut River, by virtue of the grant of King Charles II. (which has been noticed,) extending from the western border of Connecticut River, to the eastern border of Delaware Bay, which covered the charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut, west of said river, as well as the Colony of New-Jersey, and part of Pennsylvania, and was therefore treated as inconsistent and absurd; and was finally merged in the crown, upon the accession of the Duke of York, (James II.) to the throne, 1685.

This absurd grant of King Charles II. laid the foundation for a controversy, which, as has been noticed, threatened the peace of the nation. The lieutenant governor of the Colony of New-York, set the New-Hampshire grants at defiance by a proclamation, claiming the lands as far east as Connecticut River; asserting the right of jurisdiction, as belonging to the Colony of New-York by virtue of the

Duke of York's Patent, and ordering the sheriff of the county of Albany, to make due returns of the names of all the settlers who had taken possession under the title of the New-Hampshire grants. The governor of New-Hampshire met this proclamation with one of his own, in which he refuted the claims of the Colony of New-York; under the grant to the Duke of York; confirmed the claims and jurisdiction of New-Hampshire, and exhorted the settlers to be firm, and persevere. Here the parties were at issue, the Colony of New-York carried her claims to the crown by way of memorial, and obtained a decision in her favour, in the following words, viz. "July 20th, 1764.—His majesty orders and declares, the western banks of the Connecticut River, from where it enters the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the 45th degree of north latitude, to be the boundary line, between the said two Provinces of New-Hampshire and New-York." This decision, although from the crown, had no effect on the settlers, and they determined to hold their claims, and were now become party in the controversy with New-York.

The colony of New-York, next proceeded upon this decision, to lay out four counties, extending upon the eastern and western sides of the mountain, and covering the New-Hampshire grants; in the counties they erected courts of judicature, and summoned the settlers to surrender their grants. This kindled a new fire; some towns complied, and repurchased their lands under New-York grants, and others wholly refused: against these, actions of ejectment commenced, and new grants were issued by the colony of New-York to other settlers, and all was confusion. Both governors were enriching themselves with heavy fees upon the grants, and the settlers were left to fight out the quarrel.* When the sheriffs attempted to serve the writs of

* The governor of New-Hampshire received about one hundred dollars for each grant, but the governor of New-York took two or three thousand dollars per grant.

ejectment, the settlers were firm and united; they resisted the officer and compelled him to desist. This roused the energies and resentment of the governor of New-York, and he ordered out the militia, to support the sheriffs in the duties of their office. The settlers resisted, and appeared in arms; set the militia at defiance, and held them at bay; both attempts to dispossess the settlers were equally futile. The settlers took courage from this, and united in a common cause, determined to risk their lives, and their all in defence of their claims.

Bold and aspiring men had managed the affairs of the settlers behind the curtain, until the parties became firmly united, and then they came forward, and openly defended the rights of the people. At the head of these, appeared Ethan Allen, a man of a daring spirit, and of unbounded ambition, fixed, and determinate in his purposes; rough and severe in his manners, and a firm protector of the rights of the settlers. Allen, by his writings, unmasked the corrupt views of the New-York speculators, shewed the weakness, and absurdity of their claims; the futility of their grants, and urged to union, effort, and resistance. These writings were like the author, coarse; but full of energy, and perfectly conformable to the taste and feelings of the settlers; they were greedily received, and promptly obeyed, and Allen, by his popularity, had now become the chief of the party.

Next to Mr. Allen, appeared a Mr. Warner, who was a man of great coolness; but equally firm, and as decided a friend to the cause as Allen. When Mr. Warner was designated as a rioter, and an officer attempted to arrest him, he boldly defended himself, wounded the officer, disarmed him, and took him into custody until he was willing to desist.

Under this state of things, the settlers sent out their special agents to England, and laid their grievances before the

king; their complaints were graciously received, and his majesty, upon a full hearing, issued the following order to the governor of New-York, 1767.

“His majesty doth hereby strictly charge, require, and command, that the governor, or commander in chief of his majesty’s Province of New York, for the time being, do not, upon pain of his majesty’s highest displeasure, presume, to make any grant whatsoever, of any of the lands described in the said report, until his majesty’s further pleasure shall be known concerning the same.”

The settlers were ready to believe that their cause was gained, and that all future molestation would cease; but herein they were deceived; the governor of New-York continued his grants, the royal mandate notwithstanding, and in place of coercion, he attempted to cajole all the settlers into his measures, and thus entice them voluntarily under the jurisdiction of New-York, excepting Allen, Warren, and three others, 1772.

This measure opened a correspondence between the settlers and the governor of New-York, and a special deputation waited on his excellency, who received them kindly, and laid their cause before his council, when it was resolved to stay all further prosecutions, until the pleasure of his majesty could be further known; but even this was of no avail; the spirits of the parties were warm, their animosities continued to increase, and the state of the parties was that of open war; but blood had not yet been spilt.

In 1774, the governor of New-York attempted to coerce by the arm of the law, and published the following decree.

“Whereas, &c.—And in case the said offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves, pursuant to such orders of his excellency the governor, and commander in

chief, for the time being, to be made in council as aforesaid, he or they so neglecting, or refusing to surrender himself, or themselves, as aforesaid, (that is, within seventy days next after the first publication of the order,) shall, from the day to be appointed for his or their surrendry as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed, and (if indicted for a capital offence hereafter to be perpetrated,) to be convicted, and attainted of felony, and shall suffer death, as in cases of persons convicted, and attainted of felony, by verdict, and judgment, without benefit of clergy; and that it shall or may be lawful to, and for the Supreme Court of Judicature of this colony, or the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, or General Gaol Delivery, for the respective counties aforesaid, to award execution against such offender or offenders, so indicted for a capital offence, perpetrated after the passing of this act, in such manner as if he or they had been convicted, or attainted, in the Supreme Courts of Judicature, or before such Courts of Oyer and Terminer, or General Gaol Delivery, respectively."

This high stretch of despotic power was accompanied with a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds per head for Allen, Warren, and six others, who had taken the lead in support of the settlers. This step cut off all possible accommodation between the parties, and a general meeting was notified by the settlers on the west side of the Green Mountain, to be held by a representation of commissioners from each town. This meeting was convened without delay, and passed the following resolve, April 14th, 1774.

"That for the future every necessary preparation be made, and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minutes' warning, to aid and defend such friends of ours; who for their merit to the general cause, are falsely

denominated rioters ; but that we will not act any thing more nor less, but on the defensive, and always encourage due execution of law, in all civil causes, and also in criminal prosecutions, *that are so indeed* ; and that we will assist to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose."

Thus having obtained support, the persons proscribed, published the following clause, in an address to the people of the county of Albany, and others concerned. " We will *kill and destroy*, any person or persons, whomsoever, that shall *presume* to be accessory, aiding, or assisting in taking any of us." Here the parties were at issue, and war was thus declared.

The next step with the settlers was, to strengthen themselves by foreign aid : to effect this, they sent out Colonel Skeen, who held the command of one of the king's regiments upon Lake Champlain, (and held large possessions within the Hampshire Claims, upon the borders of the lake,) to England, to petition his majesty, that the settlers might be formed into a royal government, as a new province. Colonel Skeen was accordingly appointed governor of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, and wrote to the settlers that he should soon call upon them for an address, to shew their loyalty to their king, &c. March 1775.

At this time the controversy of the colonies with Great-Britain was far advanced ; a Congress had been convened at Philadelphia, in September 1774, who recommended to the people of the colonies, to maintain their liberties with firmness, which occasioned a general suppression of all courts, held under the authority of the crown. The court at Westminster was suppressed by the people of the town, March 1775, who took possession of the court-house, and excluded the judges. On the ensuing night the sheriff of the county, with an armed force, attempted to enter the court-house ; but was resisted as before, when the party fired into

the house, and killed one man, and wounded several others. The next day a coroner's inquest was held upon the body of the dead man, and a verdict rendered of wilful murder by the court-party. Here the war was opened in fact, and blood was spilt, and the whole settlements were in a rage. They first seized on the officers, and committed them to the gaol at Northampton, in Massachusetts, and next assembled a general convention of the settlers, (by their committees) at Westminster, April 11th, 1775, who passed the following resolve. "That it is the duty of the inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants, wholly to renounce, and resist the administration of the government of New-York, until such time as the lives and property of the inhabitants, may be secured by it; or until such time as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his most gracious majesty in council, together with a proper remonstrance against the unjustifiable conduct of that government; with a humble petition to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and either annexed to some other government, or erected, and incorporated into a new one, as may appear best for the inhabitants.

Thus the parties were at issue when the revolutionary war commenced, and the first blood was spilt upon the plains of Lexington and Concord, April 19th, 1775. This new and sanguinary scene gave a diversion to this party strife, and the magnitude of the object for which blood had been spilt, engrossed the attention of all parties, as well as all classes of men, throughout the country. Those hardy and daring sons of liberty, who had entered with so much warmth and zeal into the cause of the settlers, and who had become the proscribed champions of the New-Hampshire Grants, now turned their attention to the cause of their common country, and became as zealous defenders of the rights of the colonies in the revolutionary war. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, an expedition was planned to reduce the Forts Ticonderoga and Crown-Point,

and Colonel Arnold was sent from Connecticut into Vermont, to engage Colonel Allen with his *Green Mountain Boys*, (then so called,) to embark in the enterprise. Allen readily engaged, raised the troops, and at their head, marched with Colonel Arnold, and with great adroitness, surprised and took those posts, which had cost so much blood and treasure in former wars, and so much labour and expence to render them impregnable, at the peace of 1763. Allen joined General Montgomery in his expedition into Canada, and was taken prisoner at Montreal, and carried to England.

The proscribed Warner discovered the same zeal, and spirit for his common country, which he had manifested in behalf of the settlers, and was soon raised to the command of a regiment of *Green Mountain Boys*, by appointment from Congress, and was distinguished as a brave, active, judicious officer.

Vermont had as yet, no corporate powers; the settlers conducted all their affairs by towns, either separately, or jointly, in small sections, on both sides of the mountain, and devoted themselves to the defence of their claims, the settlement of their lands, and to such general arrangements in their affairs, as should enable them to unite with some neighbouring government, or establish one of their own, that should render them independent. In January 1776, the settlers met in convention at Dorset, and drew up the following petition, which they forwarded to Congress.

“The humble petition, address, and remonstrance, of that part of America lying south of Canada line, west of Connecticut River, and commonly called, and known by the name of the *New-Hampshire Grants*, &c.”

In this petition they tender their services to the Congress; but disclaim all jurisdiction of New-York, and request that all requisitions for their services in defence of their common country, may be made upon the inhabitants

of the New-Hampshire Grants. This petition was well received, and referred to a select committee, who recommended to the petitioners, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of New-York, for the present, considering the critical and alarming state of the nation, and defer all further controversy until peace should be restored. The advice was received, and the petition was withdrawn. In July following, Congress made their declaration of Independence, and the influence of the Crown of Great-Britain, was dissolved in America.

Vermont now began seriously to feel the embarrassments arising out of her disjointed situation, and began seriously to think of uniting under a regular and independent government. To effect this, they proceeded to call a general Convention of the inhabitants of the Hampshire Grants, by circular letters issued to every town. This Convention, consisting of one member from each town, met at Dorset, July 24th, 1776, and entered into a joint association for the defence of the liberties of their common country, and resolved that if any of the inhabitants of the Hampshire Grants should associate with either of the counties, or the Provincial Congress of New-York, they should be deemed enemies to the common cause. This Convention adjourned to the 25th of September, when they met again, and resolved unanimously, "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the Hampshire Grants a free and separate District." And the Convention dissolved.

In 1777, a general representation from all the towns on both sides of the mountain, met in convention at Westminster, and after serious and mature discussion and deliberation, they resolved and published the following declaration.

"This Convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns

in the New Hampshire Grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, do hereby proclaim, and publicly declare, that the district of territory, comprehending, and usually known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared, and forever hereafter, to be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction or state; to be forever hereafter called, known, or distinguished by the name of New-Connecticut, alias Vermont; and that the inhabitants that are at present, or that may hereafter become resident within said territory, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and enfranchisements, which are, or that may at any time hereafter be allowed, to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent states of America; and that such privileges and immunities shall be regulated in a bill of rights and by a form of government, to be established at the next session of this Convention."

A copy of this declaration was inserted in a petition to Congress, in which they declare their readiness to bear their full proportion of the expences of the war, in defence of their country, and country's rights; and praying that they may be owned and received, as a free and independent state, and that their delegates might be admitted to a seat in that honourable body. The petition was signed by Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, and two others, who were the leading men at that time.

This bold and manly act, raised Vermont from that state of nature into which she had fallen, by the oppression of New-York, and the neglect of New-Hampshire, and laid the foundation for her future dignity and consideration in the United States. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, not only favoured, but applauded this dignified measure of Vermont, and were ready to support her as far as might be consistent with the public peace, and public

safety. New-York retained the same bitterness she had continued to express, and determined to oppose the petition of Vermont, and continue to urge her claims. The New-York Convention, by direction of the Committee of Safety, gave the following notice to Congress, January 1777.

“ I am directed by the Committee of Safety of New-York, to inform Congress, that by the arts and influence of certain designing men, a part of this state hath been prevailed on to revolt, and disavow the authority of its legislature. The various evidences and informations we have received, would lead us to believe, that persons in some of our sister states, have fostered and fomented these divisions ; but as these informations tend to accuse some of the members of your honourable body of being concerned in this scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief. The Convention are sorry to observe, that by conferring a commission upon Col. Warner, with authority to name the officers of a regiment, to be raised independently of the legislature of this state, and in that part of it which hath lately declared an independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the insinuations of those who pretend that your honourable body, are determined to support these insurgents : especially as this Col. Warner hath been constantly and invariably, opposed to the legislature of this state, and hath been on that very account, proclaimed an outlaw by the government thereof. It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Col. Warner, and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us, and convince those deluded people, that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering that state, which of all others, has suffered the most in the common cause.”

This notice, memorial, or whatever it might be called, was backed by another, bearing date March the first, in which the Convention of New-York, appeal to the justice of Congress, and call upon that honourable body to suppress, as far as possible, the evils that were about to arise from the arts and intrigues, of a few designing and ambitious men, and assured them that many of the counties within the limits of Vermont, were firm in their allegiance to the State of New-York, and that Col. Warner could not possibly raise the number of men required.

Congress paid no attention to either of these papers ; but a new scene opened to the view of Vermont. In the month of April, 1777, an address to the inhabitants of Vermont, signed Thomas Young, was printed at Philadelphia, and circulated throughout Vermont, with a resolution of Congress prefixed, bearing date May 1776, in which Congress recommend to the assemblies, and conventions of the United Colonies, whose governments are not sufficient for the exigencies of their affairs, to adopt such governments as should best conduce to the happiness, and safety of the people. The author of the address goes on to observe, " I have taken the minds of several of the leading members of the honourable, the Continental Congress, and can assure you that you have nothing to do, but to send attested copies of the recommendation, to take up government, to every township in your district, and to invite all your freeholders and inhabitants, to meet in their respective townships, and choose members for a General Convention, to meet at an early day, to choose delegates for the General Congress, a committee of safety, and to form a Constitution for your state. Your friends here tell me, that some are in doubt, whether delegates from your state would be admitted into Congress. I tell you to organize fairly, and make the experiment, and I will insure you success, at the risk of my reputation, as a man of honor, or

common sense. Indeed they can by no means refuse you; you have as good a right to choose, how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had."

This publication gave a general alarm to the state of New-York, and on the 28th of May, the Council of Safety, through their president, called up the attention of Congress again; to the subject of the bold measures of Vermont, and laid before them the printed address, as a confirmation of the reports noticed in their former memorial; and called upon Congress to wipe off the aspersion, and vindicate their honour.

Congress now found themselves hard pressed; the influence of the state of New-York could not be trifled with, and they were constrained to inquire into the facts: Congress went into a committee of the whole, upon the subject of the printed address, the letters from the convention of New-York, and from the inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants, and after a lengthy discussion of the whole subject, they passed the following resolutions.

Resolved, That Congress is composed of delegates chosen by, and representing the communities respectively inhabiting the territories of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, as they respectively stood at the time of its first institution; that it was instituted for the purpose of securing and defending the communities aforesaid, against the usurpations, oppressions, and hostile invasions of Great-Britain; and therefore, it cannot be intended, that Congress, by any of its proceedings, would do, or recommend, or countenance, any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities which it represents.

Resolved, That the independent government attempted to be established by the people styling themselves inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants, can derive no countenance or justification, from the act of Congress, declaring the United States to be independent of the Crown of Great-Britain; nor from any other act, or resolution of Congress.

Resolved, That the petition of Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, and others, (see the petition above,) be dismissed.

Resolved, That Congress by raising and officering the regiment commanded by Col. Warner, never meant to give any encouragement to the claims of the people aforesaid, to be considered as an independent state; but that the reason that induced Congress to form that corps was, that many officers of different states, who had served in Canada, and alleged that they could raise a regiment, but were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the service of the United States."

This resolve closes with a denial, and total disavowal of favouring the sentiments contained in the address of Thomas Young, by the resolve of Congress therein recited, and charges the author with a design to deceive. The hardy, and valiant sons of Vermont, well understood the stile of these resolves, and charged the whole upon the influence of New-York; and went forward with firmness to maintain that independence they had declared.

Hitherto Vermont had retained the support of New-Hampshire, and when the enemy retook the fortress of Ticonderoga, in 1771, she applied to New-Hampshire for military support, to protect her western frontier against the ravages of the enemy, and prevent their being driven off from their habitations. New-Hampshire called a special assembly, and raised a large body of militia, under the

command of Gen. Stark, with orders to support the New-Hampshire Grants, and act in concert with the troops of that state, provided they would furnish him the necessary supplies. This support was announced to Ira Allen, secretary of state for Vermont, by Mr. Wear, president of New-Hampshire ; which was the first open acknowledgment of their independence they had received, and which inspired them with renewed confidence. Flattering as were the prospects of Vermont from this friendly aid, she soon saw herself involved in new, and un contemplated difficulties. The inhabitants in New-Hampshire, lying west of Mason's claims, and extending to Connecticut River, considered themselves as possessing Crown lands, and that when the power and influence of the Crown of England ceased in America, they were of course, and of right, free from the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire, and at liberty to form such connections as they chose ; accordingly sixteen towns, lying upon, and contiguous to Connecticut River, petitioned the state of Vermont, to be received into their union and confederation. Such a procedure was un contemplated by Vermont, and injurious to her interest, and distracted her councils. The people on the west of the mountain, opposed the petition, and the people on the east favoured it, and the state was filled with intrigue.

When the assembly were convened, they were persuaded to pass the petition, and receive the sixteen towns ; together with an additional resolve, " That any other towns on the east side of Connecticut River, might be admitted into the union, on producing a vote of the majority of the inhabitants, or on their sending a representative to the assembly of Vermont." The sixteen towns, announced their proceedings to the state of New-Hampshire, and requested an amicable separation, and a jurisdiction line. This overt act of separation opened a correspondence between President Wear and Governor Chittenden, gov-

ernor of Vermont.) The president claimed those towns as an original part of New-Hampshire, and forming an integral part of that state. He urged that the minority of those towns, acknowledged still their allegiance to New-Hampshire, and claimed her protection ; that they were united with New-Hampshire, in their delegation to Congress ; and pressed Governor Chittenden to use his influence with the assembly of Vermont, to dissolve the said union, to prevent the effusion of blood.

Vermont saw herself involved in new embarrassments; and her leading men felt the difficulty of directing the storm that was about to rise. They saw the difficulties that awaited them when entangled in a controversy with New-Hampshire and New-York together ; and the weight of influence the two states combined, would have in the Congress of the United States. To obviate these embarrassments, the governor and council of Vermont, sent Col. Ethan Allen to Philadelphia, in September, with special instructions, to learn what impressions this union had made upon that body. Col. Allen executed his commission, and soon learnt that the union of the New-Hampshire towns with Vermont, had made impressions upon Congress generally, unfavourable to the cause of Vermont, and advised that the union of the sixteen towns should be dissolved. At the session of the Vermont assembly in October, ten of the sixteen towns were represented, and a motion was introduced to form said towns into a county ; but the motion was negatived, and the representation from the ten towns withdrew, and returned home. This negative gave offence to the river towns on the Vermont side, and the representation of fifteen of these towns withdrew, together with the lieutenant-governor and two assistants, which left an exact constitutional number of the whole house, to make a quorum, who proceeded regularly with the business of the session. The seceding towns called a

convention, and invited the river towns in New-Hampshire, to unite with them in convention at Cornish, with a view of forming a government, that should concentrate upon Connecticut River. This convention met accordingly, December 9th, (eight of the ten seceding towns being represented,) and voted to form the union proposed, and to make the following conditions with New-Hampshire:—

- 1st. To agree upon a mutual division line, or submit the division to the decision of Congress, or an arbitration, mutually chosen. Or in case of refusal—
- 2dly. To consent to a union with New-Hampshire, including the whole grants, as the line stood before the decision of the crown, in 1764, provided the parties can agree in the form of government. Or in case this measure should fail—
- 3dly. To trust to Providence, defend themselves, and wait the events of more favourable times.

This bold measure disclosed the views of its advocates, and instead of distracting the measures of Vermont, brought them to a permanent decision, and the assembly at their February session, voted to dissolve the union with the 16 towns, and made immediate communication of this resolve to the state of New-Hampshire; this communication led the state of New-Hampshire to claim, in her turn, the jurisdiction of all her grants, as it stood before the royal decision of 1764; viz. up to the New-York line, and to Lake Champlain. New-York took advantage of this distracted, divided state, and renewed her claims to the whole grants, as far east as Connecticut River. These measures alarmed Vermont, and they already saw their state divided upon the east and west sides of the mountain, between New-Hampshire and New-York, and their assumed government annihilated, and that congress might be influenced by these states so far as to confirm the division, and thus settle the controversy.

To embarrass this business still further, Massachusetts put in her claims to a part of Vermont, and urged her plea upon the ground of unsettled lines. To distract the state of Vermont yet further, Governor Clinton (of New-York) urged his friends, in Vermont, by letter, July 1778, to resist the assumed government of Vermont in all military draughts, and raising taxes, &c. and even to enter into mutual combinations to support such resistance. Governor Clinton, at the same time, pressed Congress to decide the claims of New-York upon Vermont, and confirm her original jurisdiction, and urged the necessity of a speedy division, to prevent the violence of the parties from precipitating themselves into a civil war.

To add to the divisions and perplexities of this distracted state, the county of Cumberland, in the south-east section of Vermont, associated with the state of New-York, to oppose the government of Vermont; raised a body of militia, and the officers received commissions from Gov. Clinton, 1779. Vermont took the alarm at this procedure, and empowered Colonel Eathan Allen, to raise a body of militia, and suppress this combination; this led to an appeal to Governor Clinton, on the part of the insurgents, and he assured them of his support with the whole militia of the state, and urged them to firmness; but recommended prudence. Alarmed for the peace and safety of the state, Governor Clinton again wrote to Congress, May 18th, and pressed that honourable body to interpose, and prevent a civil war, by bringing the cotroversy to a speedy decision.

Colonel Allen, firm to his purpose, and prompt in execution, marched into the county of Cumberland, and made the insurgent colonel and his officers prisoners, and put them into confinement. Alarmed at this procedure, Governor Clinton again wrote to Congress, June 7th, stating the whole transaction. Congress resolved that the prisoners ought to be immediately set at liberty, and at the

same time, appointed five commissioners, with instructions to repair to Vermont, inquire into the causes of the controversy, and settle, if possible, the dispute, and report to Congress. Two of the commissioners repaired to Vermont, and held a conference with the parties at Bennington, and on their return, made their report to Congress; but no accommodation was effected. Congress now saw themselves involved in this controversy, and on the 24th of September, 1779, passed the following resolutions.

“ Resolved unanimously, That it is hereby most earnestly recommended, to the states of New-Hampshire, New-York and Massachusetts-Bay, forthwith to pass laws, expressly authorising Congress, to hear and determine all disputes between them, relative to their respective boundaries.

“ Resolved unanimously, That Congress will on the first day of February next, proceed without delay, and hear and examine into the disputes and differences, relative to the jurisdiction aforesaid, between the said three states respectively, or such of them as shall pass the laws beforementioned, on the one part, and the people of the aforesaid district, who claimed to be a separate jurisdiction, on the other; and after a full and fair hearing, will determine the same according to equity.

“ Resolved unanimously, That it is the duty of the people of the district aforesaid, who deny the jurisdiction of all the aforesaid states, to abstain in the mean time, from exercising any authority over any of the inhabitants of the district, who profess themselves to be citizens of, or to owe allegiance to any or either of the said states; but that none of the towns, either on the east or west side of Connecticut River, be considered as included in said district, except such as have hitherto actually joined in denying the jurisdiction of either of the aforesaid states, and have assumed a separate jurisdiction, which they call Vermont. And

further, that in the opinion of Congress, the three states aforesaid, ought in the mean time, to suspend executing any laws, over any of the inhabitants of said district, except such of them as shall profess allegiance to, and confess the jurisdiction of the same respectively.

“ Resolved unanimously, That in the opinion of Congress, no unappropriated lands, or estates, which are, or may be adjudged forfeited, or confiscated, lying in said district ought, until the final decision of Congress on the premises, to be granted or sold.”

These Resolves are truly characteristic of the wisdom, firmness, integrity, and disinterested patriotism of that Congress, who, under God, held in their hands the destinies of United America. New-Hampshire and New-York, met the resolves of Congress with the acts therein recommended; but Massachusetts withheld the acts on her part, as her claims were altogether collateral, and her policy that of holding a balance between the contending states, and as far as possible, of securing the independence of Vermont. Vermont withheld her compliance from necessity, to secure her own internal union and peace; she had become a well organized state, under a regular constitution, with a regular code of laws, courts of justice, and powers of government. Vermont was firm, and true to herself; she rejected the recommendations of Congress; persevered in resisting the intrigues and jurisdictional encroachments of New-York, and persevered in a firm and steady support of her free and independent rights. The governor and council published an appeal to the world, in which they shewed the causes why they declined to comply with the resolves of Congress, declared their independence of the thirteen United States and of Congress, until they should be allowed a representation in that honourable body; they renewed their declaration, “that they were ready, as they ever had been, to bear their full proportion of the burthens

and expences of the war with Great-Britain ; but declared their determination never to submit their dearest rights to the arbitrament of an *ex-parte* tribunal." As Vermont, as well as Massachusetts, had rejected the recommendations of Congress, the subject was not resumed on the 1st of February, 1780, and on the 1st of March, it was by Congress postponed ; and again on the 2d of June, Congress passed a resolution that highly censured the conduct of Vermont, as endangering the peace and welfare of the United States, and on the 9th of June, they postponed all further consideration of the subject, until the 2nd Tuesday of September next.

These resolves of Congress called forth another appeal to the public, from the governor of Vermont, in which he declared the resolution of the state of Vermont, to maintain and defend her own unalienable rights and independence, and that if Congress did not acknowledge her independent rights, she felt herself at liberty to offer or accept terms of neutrality with Great-Britain, and to commence an immediate cessation of hostilities, without consulting any other man, or body of men : that it was no longer the intention of Vermont to maintain and defend an important frontier, for the benefit of the United States, for the ungrateful reward of being enslaved by them ; but before Vermont could consent to take this step, she once more tendered her services, and offered a union with the United States of America, under Congress, as the legal representative body. Congress resumed the consideration of the subject in September ; New-York and New-Hampshire renewed their claims ; the agents of Vermont were present ; but not acknowledged. They however requested, and obtained permission of Congress, to be present whenever the sovereignty, and independence of Vermont should be under discussion before that honourable body. Congress again resumed the subject, on the 11th of September, and the

agents of Vermont were duly notified, and attended accordingly. When the right of jurisdiction came into consideration, and Congress appeared ready to hear, and to act on that important point, without admitting Vermont as a party, the agents felt it their duty to protest against the whole procedure, and on the 22d of September, they declared that they could no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their own feelings. They remonstrated against such an *exparte* hearing, and declared that if the subject should be thus pursued, that they were ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be answerable for the consequences? Congress took the hearing of the parties into their serious, and deliberate consideration, and on the 27th, resolved—"That the further consideration of the subject should be postponed."

Vermont felt the high ground on which she stood, and was firmly determined to maintain it; she raised the standard of neutrality, and under this standard, she well knew that if she could not compel her enemies to acknowledge her independent sovereignty, that she could find protection against their united efforts to coerce her.

In January 1781, the old plan was renewed, of annexing the western part of New-Hampshire to Vermont, and a convention was called to meet at Charlestown, which convened accordingly on the 16th, and appointed a committee to confer with the government of Vermont, upon the terms of a union with that state. This committee, agreeable to their appointment, laid the doings of the convention before the assembly of Vermont, at their session at Windsor, on the 10th of February, and made their application in due form. The assembly received the application of the committee, and resolved, on the 14th of February, that "In order to quiet the present disturbances on the two sides of the river, (Connecticut,) and the better to enable the in-

habitants on the two sides of said river to defend their frontier, the legislature of this state, do lay a *jurisdictional claim* to all the lands whatever, east of Connecticut River, north of Massachusetts, and west of the Mason line, and south of latitude 45 degrees, and that they do not exercise jurisdiction for the time being." Articles of agreement between the parties were agreed upon by the convention, who had adjourned to meet at Cornish, and were then in session, February 22d. The Legislature of Vermont also, upon petition of sundry of the inhabitants in the north-eastern section of the state of New-York, praying for their protection against the enemy, resolved "That the legislature of this state, do lay a jurisdictional claim, to all the lands situate north of Massachusetts line, and extending the same to the Hudson River, the east of the centre of the deepest channel of said river, to the head thereof, from thence east of a north line, being extended to latitude 45 degrees, and south of said line, including all the lands, and waters, to the place where this state now exercises jurisdiction—and not to exercise jurisdiction for the time being."

This bold measure had the desired effect, and brought into a union with Vermont thirty-five towns in the western parts of New-Hampshire, and twelve districts in the northern parts of the state of New-York: ten of which districts were actually represented in the House of Assembly for Vermont, at their session in June. The motives that led to this union were, security against the depredations of the English, under cover of that neutrality which the leading characters in Vermont, were actually negotiating with the British government in Canada; not with hostile views towards the United States, but from motives of policy, to coerce the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, and even Congress, into an acknowledgment of their just rights, as a free and independent state. This artful policy of

Vermont, flattered the British government with strong hopes, and expectations; and the spirit extended to New-York, and produced the following letter from a Col. Robinson, (then in that city,) to Col. Ethan Allen.*

“Sir, I am now undertaking a business, which I hope you will receive with the same good intention, that inclines me to make it. I have often heard that you, and most of the inhabitants of Vermont, are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans, in attempting to separate this continent from Great-Britain, and to establish an independent state of their own, and that you would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great-Britain, and in restoring that happy constitution we have so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and intention, I beg you will communicate to me, without reserve, whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander in chief; and I hereby promise that I will faithfully lay them before him, according to your directions, and flatter myself, that I can do it to as good effect, as any other person whatever. I can make no proposals to you, until I know your sentiments; but think upon your taking an active part, and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont in favour of the crown of England, to act as the commander in chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government, under the king and constitution of England; and the men, formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, be on the same footing as all the provincial corps are. If you think proper to send a friend here with proposals to the general, he shall be protected, and well treated here, and allowed to return whenever he pleases.”

* This letter was delivered to Col. Allen, in the streets of Arlington, (Vermont,) by a British soldier in the garb of a farmer.

Colonel Allen disclosed this letter to those of the first characters in the state, who were his confidential friends; but no answer was returned. Colonel Robinson repeated his communications to Colonel Allen, in February, (inclosing a copy of the foregoing, which he suspected might have not been received,) and assured him that he might rely upon the terms, which in his former letter he could only recommend, and requested a plan of future correspondence and negociation. This letter also was kept confidentially with the governor, and others, and no answer was returned. In March, 1781, Colonel Allen enclosed these letters to Congress, with the following declaration.

“ I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of cessation of hostilities with Great-Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her union with them; for Vermont would be of all people the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the United States, and they at the same time at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded that Congress, when they consider the circumstances of this state, will be more surprised that I have transmitted to them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with the *Green Mountain Boys*, into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.”

Previous to this communication to Congress, an event had taken place on the side of Canada, which served greatly to give weight and strength to Colonel, now General

Allen's letter. Certain prisoners who had been taken, and carried into Canada in the spring of 1780, wrote to Governor Chittenden to negotiate an exchange; the governor complied, and in the month of July, opened a correspondence with General Haldimand upon the subject, who sent a flag to General Allen, with proposals for a cessation of hostilities, and a general exchange of prisoners; this proposal, at the request of General Allen, was extended to the districts in the state of New-York, then in union with Vermont, and commissioners were appointed to negotiate the exchange of prisoners. Under cover of this negotiation, the subject of the union of Vermont with the British government in Canada, was carried to such lengths, as flattered the British Commissioners that their object would soon be obtained. New-York at this time had withdrawn her troops from Skeensborough, and Congress had withdrawn all the continental troops from the territory of Vermont, and she was abandoned to her fate.

CHAPTER XL.

VERMONT CONTINUED.

VERMONT saw herself abandoned by America, and courted by Britain, and she had but one alternative, either to be compelled into an acquiescence with the demands of New-York, or unite herself with Canada.

Although the British were in great force upon Lake Champlain, yet Vermont, by her commissioners, effected an exchange of prisoners in July, and at the same time, effected a neutrality that secured her whole territory from depredations, through this memorable campaign.

The General Assembly of Vermont held their October session at Charlestown, and the enemy were in great force at Fort Ticonderoga; at the same time they sent on their agents to the assembly with proposals, that they might issue their printed Proclamations throughout Vermont, and announce the royal offers to unite them to the king's government. At this critical moment the capture of Lord Cornwallis was announced, which gave a diversion to the affairs of the agents at this time, and they returned with the whole armament into winter quarters in Canada, and Vermont escaped unmolested.

The winter and spring of 1782, were spent in negotiations upon this interesting subject, by the agents of the parties; the most flattering assurances, and the most extensive advantages were promised to Vermont by the British agents, even to guarantee her independent sovereignty over her own, and all her newly acquired territory, drawn from New-Hampshire and New-York. Gen. Haldimand pressed a secret treaty with Vermont, and at the same time made to Gov. Chittenden, by letter, the following assurances.

“ You may rest assured that I shall give such orders, as will effectually prevent hostilities of any kind being exercised in the district of Vermont, until such time as a breach on your part, or some general event, may make the contrary my duty; and you have my authority to promulgate, in such manner as you may think fit, this my intention, to the people of the said district, that they may without any apprehension, continue to encourage and promote the settlement of that new country; to the interest and happiness of themselves, and their posterity.”

At this time hostilities had ceased in America, and peace had become the great object of the contending parties; under this impression, the agents of Britain wrote the following letter to Governor Chittenden, dated March, 1783.

“ I am commanded to acquaint you, that actuated, from the beginning, by a sincere desire to serve you, and your people, as well as of promoting the royal cause, by reuniting you with the mother country, his excellency never lost sight of an opportunity of representing every circumstance that could be advanced in your favour, to the king's ministers, in the hopes of accomplishing a reconciliation. His excellency will continue to do all in his power to serve you; but what effect it may have at this late period, is very uncertain. While his excellency regrets sincerely, the happy moment, which it is much to be feared, cannot be recalled, of restoring to you the blessings of the British government; and views with concern, the fatal consequences approaching, which he has so long, and so frequently predicted, from your procrastination; he derives some satisfaction from a consciousness of not having omitted a circumstance, which could tend to your persuasion, and adoption, of his desired purpose. If the report of

peace, now prevailing, has any foundation, a very short time will determine the fate of Vermont. Should any thing favourable present, you may still depend upon his excellency's utmost endeavours for your salvation."

I have been particular in inserting this correspondence, to shew the correct stamp of the negotiation, and will now pursue it in its effects, and consequences. This interesting and important negociation, was known only to eight persons in Vermont, and those, by their early and steady attachment to the cause of their common country, as well as by their popularity, arising from their tried fidelity to the state of Vermont, were able to manage this deep intrigue, without loosing the confidence of their friends, or falling a sacrifice to the malice of their enemies; and thus they obtained that protection for their state, which Congress had denied them, and that security to their government, which New-York and New-Hampshire had endeavoured to destroy, together with an acquisition of territory hitherto un- contemplated.

Pending this negotiation and intrigue, Congress were not insensible of the perilous situation of Vermont, and used all their influence to reconcile her claims and contentions, with the neighbouring states. On the 20th of August, 1781, Congress passed the following resolve.

"Resolved, That it be an indispensable preliminary to the recognition of the independence of the people, inhabiting the territory called Vermont, and their admission into the Federal Union, that they explicitly relinquish all claims to lands, or jurisdiction, on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line, drawn from the northwest corner of Massachusetts; thence running twenty miles east of Hudson's River, so far as said river runs northeasterly, in its general course; thence by the west

bounds of the townships granted by the late government of New-Hampshire, to the river running from South Bay to Lake Champlain; thence along the said river to Lake Champlain; thence along the waters of said lake to the 45th degree of north latitude, excepting a neck of land between Misiskoy Bay, and the waters of said lake."

Although this resolve of Congress virtually granted to Vermont, as the basis of future negotiations to restore peace and order between the contending states, all that Vermont had at first demanded, or could in honour, or justice demand, yet, when the resolve was laid before her General Assembly, at their session at Charlestown, Oct. 1781, it was rejected, and they resolved that they would maintain their present boundaries as they then stood, until they should be admitted into the Federal Union, as a free and independent state, and that they would then submit the question of boundaries to be determined by commissioners, mutually chosen, between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Vermont.

The state of New-York protested against this resolve of Congress, at the session of her assembly in November, and denied the authority of Congress to admit any new state into the union, excepting Canada, as well as their power to intermeddle with the territorial jurisdiction of any of the states in the union, except in cases of dispute directly between them; and at the same time, they directed their delegates in Congress, to oppose the whole procedure.

In the midst of this controversy, Governor Chittenden wrote to General Washington, as commander in chief, stating the whole facts relative to the controversy, and soliciting advice. At this time, New-York and New-Hampshire commenced military preparations, to enforce their jurisdiction over those sections of their states that

had united with Vermont, and the governor of Vermont issued his orders to put the militia in readiness, to repel force by force; and this section of the nation was ready for a civil war.

At this critical, and eventful moment, General Washington wrote an answer to Governor Chittenden's letter, in the following conciliatory stile.

“It is not my business, neither do I think it necessary now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of the inhabitants, to that tract of country, formerly distinguished by the name of the New-Hampshire Grants, and now known by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good, because Congress, by their resolve of the 27th of August, imply it; and by that of the 21st are willing to confirm it, provided the new state is confined to certain described bounds. It appears to me therefore, that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists, and *that* being removed, all others would be removed also, and the matter terminated to the satisfaction of all parties. You have nothing to do, but to withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your old limits, and obtain an acknowledgment of independence and sovereignty, under the resolve of the 21st of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New-York, and New-Hampshire, and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behoves the delegates to do ample justice to a body of people, sufficiently respectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims, to be admitted into that confederation, it becomes them also to attend to the interests of their constituents, and see that under the appearance of justice to the one, they do not materially injure the rights of others. I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congress.”

The confidence reposed in the father of his country, gave a weight to this conciliatory reply, that bore down all opposition. The governor laid this letter before the assembly of Vermont at their session in February, and after a full, and impartial discussion of the subject, the assembly resolved to comply with the resolutions of Congress, in August last, and ordered authentic copies of their resolve to be transmitted to Congress, and to the states of New-York and New-Hampshire, respectively. Such was the confidence these resolves of Congress, aforesaid, supported by the letter of General Washington, had inspired; that they not only dissolved the new confederacy, or union with the disaffected towns of New-York and New-Hampshire, but proceeded to elect four agents to negotiate for their admission, and two of them as delegates to represent the state, in the Congress of the United States. They also requested the governor to vest them with plenary powers, to negotiate the confederation of Vermont with the general union; and directed that two of their delegates should take their seats in Congress accordingly. The agents were vested with full powers according to the above request, and on the 31st of March, they appeared, and laid the aforesaid resolution before Congress.* Congress received the communications of the delegates of Vermont, and referred the subject to a select committee; and on the 17th of April, the committee submitted the following report in favour of Vermont.

* Previous to the arrival of the delegates or agents, Congress had expressed their resentment, at the refusal of Vermont to comply with their resolves in August aforesaid, at their session in October, and had attempted to pass other resolves, in which they censure the conduct of Vermont, and declare that unless she shall comply with the resolves of August aforesaid, within one month from the time this resolve shall be communicated to Governor Chittenden, she shall be deemed an enemy to the United States, and that the whole force of the United State shall be employed against her, to dissolve her union, and annex the section east of the mountain, to New-Hampshire, and the section west of the mountain, to New-York; and ordered the commander in chief to carry this resolve into full execution, without further order. This attempt failed, and the warmth of the occasion subsided.

“That the territory called Vermont, as defined and limited in the resolutions of Congress, of the 20th and 21st of August, 1781, be, and it is hereby recognized, and acknowledged by the name of the state of Vermont, as free, sovereign, and independent, and that a committee be appointed, to treat and confer with the agents and delegates from said state, upon the terms, and mode of the admission of said state, into the Federal Union.”

When this report was read in Congress, the minds of the house were taken upon a motion, that the first Tuesday in October next be assigned for the consideration of the report, and the motion was negatived. It was then moved that the third Tuesday in June be assigned—negatived. Monday next was then named, and negatived.

These negatives upon the report of the committee, shewed to the delegates from Vermont, what they had to expect from Congress; they felt the embarrassments they had laid themselves under, by breaking off their connection with Canada, and abandoning their acquisitions on the part of New-Hampshire and New-York. They addressed a letter to the President of Congress; stated their disappointment; requested to be informed when their attendance would be necessary; and departed for Vermont. The indignation of Vermont was kindled at this disappointment; they appointed other agents at their October session of assembly, with full powers, to be ready to obey the call of Congress; at the same time resolved to make no further applications to Congress; but to maintain and defend their own independence.

This double game which Congress had played, served to strengthen that union in Vermont, which had hitherto been, in some measure, divided by the interests and intrigues of the parties. There had been some instances of internal disaffection to the government, and these instances had

been severely censured ; but the legislature, confident of their own strength, and desirous of promoting universal harmony, passed a general act of amnesty at their February session, 1781, which obliterated all remembrance of division, and united all parties in the common cause.

Vermont saw herself not only duped, but abandoned also by Congress, by the removal of all the continental troops ; and thus left to herself to guard her extensive frontier. This she resolved to do, and voted that troops should be raised from the several towns, directly, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, per order of the legislature, at their February session ; but this order was opposed by some of the southeasterly towns, who felt themselves secure from invasion : this opposition was encouraged, and supported by the governor of New-York, and several persons of influence defied the resolution of the assembly. The government of Vermont, firm to her purposes, and full of energy, sent a military force into this county, to enforce the laws, and protect the courts. This faction was suppressed, several were banished, others fined severely, and the laws were obeyed without the effusion of blood. The insurgents submitted to the laws, and at the same time preferred their complaints to Congress. Congress listened to their complaints, and referred them to a special committee ; this committee reported, "that the measures complained of, were probably occasioned by the state of New-York, having granted commissions, both civil and military, to persons resident in Vermont, and that it be recommended to New-York, to revoke all the commissions which they have issued since the month of May ; and that it be recommended to the inhabitants, to make full satisfaction to the persons who had suffered damages ; and that it be recommended to New-York, and to the people exercising government in Vermont, to adhere to the resolutions of Congress, of September 24th, until a decision should be made upon their affairs."

This report was lost; and on the 5th of December, Congress entered with spirit upon the subject of the complaint, and passed sundry resolves, in which they charge the people inhabiting the New-Hampshire Grants, with open violation of the acts of Congress, of the 24th of September, 1779; and June 2d, 1780, and with contempt to the government, and ordered them to recall the persons banished, and to make full, and ample restitution to the persons fined, and restore both, to the quiet possession of their liberty and property. They also threatened to enforce a compliance with this resolve, in case of resistance. The government of Vermont returned as spirited a remonstrance against these resolves, reminded Congress of their subtle, evasive, and contradictory policy; (as before stated;) asserted their own rights, as independent of Congress, and assured that honourable body, that the cause of America was the cause of Vermont, that the liberty and independence of both were equally dear; that both were equally determined to oppose all arbitrary power, from whatever source it may arise; that they were firm friends to the cause of the United States; and as firmly resolved to support the cause of Vermont.

In this state of controversy the parties continued to vibrate down to the peace of 1783. This peace guaranteed the liberty and independence of the United States; and with that, Vermont considered her own liberty and independence fully guaranteed; she now felt herself in full possession of her great object, without being burthened with any part of that heavy debt the United States had incurred in support of the war.

The government of Vermont had at all times evinced to the world, that their talents and integrity were equal to the high trust and responsibility reposed in them, and thus commanded the full strength and confidence of the people. Free from debt, free from the perplexing calls and

embarrassments of Congress, to raise money to discharge the public debt, and support the public credit; mild in her government, and equally mild in her taxes, Vermont offered an asylum to all the oppressed; and the cheapness, as well as the excellent quality of her lands, invited settlers from all the Northern States. Thus situated, with such a government and such a policy, Vermont increased in her wealth and population, in an unparalleled degree, and soon rose to a pitch of eminence, which was highly respected throughout the nation. In this state of eminence and respectability, she now shunned that connection with the Federal Government she had hitherto so anxiously sought, and became a spectator to those untried scenes, through which this feeble, this imbecile government of the nation had to pass. Disregarding the subject of a national impost; disregarding the Massachusetts insurrection under Shays, she rejoiced in the rapid increase of her population, which flowed from these troubles, and waited the issue.

These embarrassments of the nation, called up their attention to the subject of a more efficient government, and their united efforts, produced that distinguished monument of national wisdom and virtue, the present Federal Constitution. Early under this new government and even in the administration of the immortal Washington, a divided national interest, called for a firm and decided balance of national power, and this call was keenly felt when the question was agitated in Congress, whether it was expedient to remove the government from New-York to Philadelphia. New-York now saw the want of the votes of Vermont, to support her cause, and she felt herself constrained to yield to Vermont, from motives of interest, those claims she had hitherto refused upon principles of justice. 'New-York passed an act in July, 1789, appointing commissioners, with full powers, to settle all controversy with Vermont. The legislature of Vermont at their next October session.

met this overture of New-York, by appointing commissioners on her part, with equal powers: after several meetings of this joint commission, this unhappy controversy was amicably settled, and on the 7th of October, 1790, the commissioners of New-York, with proper authority, declared the consent of New-York, that Vermont should be admitted into the Federal Union, and that upon such admission, she would withdraw all her claims upon the territory, or jurisdiction of Vermont, as defined by resolve of Congress, August 21st, 1781; and that New-York will relinquish all right, claim, or title to such lands as she has heretofore granted, in Vermont, upon condition that the legislature of Vermont shall declare in 1792, that they will pay to New-York the sum of thirty thousand dollars, on or before the 1st day of January, 1794. The legislature of Vermont, on the 28th promptly met this demand, and voted that the treasurer be ordered to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars, out of the treasury of the state, at the time before specified. They also declared all grants, charters, or patents of lands lying within the limits of Vermont, made by order of the late colony of New-York, to be null and void, excepting such as had confirmed the New-Hampshire Grants.

The way being thus prepared, Vermont next called a convention to meet at Bennington, on the 6th of January, 1791, to take into consideration, the expediency of being connected in union with the thirteen United States. Peace was restored to the nation, and New-York had relinquished her claims; but the spirit of Vermont had not yet softened down to the standard of union: great was the opposition at first, in this convention; but after the united efforts and labours of her first statesmen and orators, for three days, the convention became convinced, that the honour, the interest, and happiness of Vermont, demanded the union;

and the question was carried in the affirmative, almost unanimously.

The legislature at their session in January, appointed Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris, Esqrs. as commissioners to negotiate the admission of Vermont into the union. They laid the acts of the legislature before Congress, at their session at Philadelphia, and Congress voted, unanimously, the admission of Vermont into the Federal Union, February 18th, 1791.

Thus ended a controversy that lasted twenty-six years, supported by a firmness, as well as bitterness of party, seldom exhibited; in the midst of the revolutionary war, subject to, and for a long time under the influence of the intrigues, as well as invasions of a powerful foreign enemy. A controversy in which the parties were, for the greater part of the time, in arms; and yet such was the prudence, as well as firmness of their leaders, that violence and bloodshed did not occur, except in the solitary instance with the mob at Westminster court-house, in March, 1775. This controversy proved a grand political Drama to the nation, as exhibited on the Theatre of Vermont; the title of this Drama, was liberty, equality, and independent rights. The principal characters were Governor Chittenden, Lieut. Gov. Payne, Gen. Ethan Allen, Col. Ira Allen, Maj. Joseph Fay, and others of the judiciary department, who all supported their characters with moderation, firmness, and dignity. These characters exhibited through the whole performance, the true and correct principles of liberty, *supporting*, rather than *supported by*, a feeble, nominal government, and yet full of energy, strength, and force; but free from anarchy, and licentiousness. In this Drama, were exhibited the true principles of that virtuous liberty, which prompted America to take up arms against Great-Britain; which supported her cause through the arduous struggle; raised her to national independence; and finally

consummated her greatness in the wisdom of that Federal Compact, which guaranteed her union, prosperity, and peace ; and is the palladium of all her future greatness and glory.

I have brought forward the history of Vermont to this late period, that a full portrait of the political character of this state, might be exhibited at one view, and the chain of her history be continued unbroken, down to the time of her acknowledged political existence, and her admission into the national union.

CHAPTER XLI.

CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF VERMONT.

THAT religion that prompted the pilgrims of New-England, to tear themselves from their dear native shores, and plant the first principles of civil and religious liberty in the wilds of New-England, formed no part of the motives that led the first settlers of the New-Hampshire Grants, to clear up the wilderness of Vermont. Worldly gain was the main-spring of action ; how to obtain good farms, in quiet possession, became the first object ; and to derive the greatest profit from those farms, with such a form of government, as should secure their possession and profits, became their next object ; and to derive the highest honours and advantages from such a government, became their third object. It is true they made such provision for religion and schools, as their habits led them to adopt, from their own early education ; but even in this, they gave as free toleration, as the passions of men were disposed to enjoy. They entered upon their settlements as their fathers had taught them ; they located their lands, cleared, fenced, and sowed them ; laid out high-ways ; built bridges, mills, meeting-houses, and school-houses, and as soon as their means would justify it, settled a minister of some denomination, and employed teachers in their schools. They enrolled their militia, and chose their officers, both civil and military, regularly, and as fast as their settlements would authorise it ; they formed regular counties, and appointed County Courts, and at last resolved themselves into a regular government, formed a regular constitution, chose their state officers, and organized their government. Thus situated, they went forward with their settlements ; agriculture, was their employment, liberty their standard, and

independence their object. Hardy, industrious, and enterprising, their agriculture flourished; the improvements, that facilitated their connection and intercourse, with each other, and with their neighbours, flourished; their schools flourished; and they early founded two colleges, the one at Middlebury, and the other at Burlington, which have both flourished; and to crown all, their government, under all its embarrassments, flourished, and finally became independent, and secured its respectability in the Federal Union.

Agriculture has hitherto been, and will continue to be the most honourable, as well as the most valuable employment in Vermont. Her agriculture opened a field for youthful enterprise, where every industrious and frugal young man, might save enough from his wages in a few years, to purchase one hundred acres of good land; to clear and cultivate this land, led him to seek a partner and set up a family; this encouraged early marriages, which in conformity to nature's laws, are always the most interesting, prosperous, and happy; this in its turn, promoted the settlement and population of the state, and raised up a succession of hardy, industrious, and virtuous freemen, who, born in the lap of rational liberty, knew its blessings, and were ever ready to give her a just, rational, and permanent support. Thus the blessings of Vermont, flowed spontaneously, in one regular channel, from that fountain of civil and religious habits, they had derived from the wise and virtuous civil and religious institutions of their forefathers, all which had their foundation in, and derived their support from the grand palladium of New-England—the church in the wilderness.

Manufactures. The same spirit of enterprise, industry, and virtue, which we have witnessed in Vermont, in her agriculture, extended to her manufactures. Abounding in iron, in various parts of the state, the spirit of en-

terprise soon began to draw forth this treasure from the earth, and convert it under various forms of manufacture, to the lucrative advantages of foreign and domestic commerce ; and it has now become both extensive and valuable. The manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, are still more extensive, and may be said to form the basis of the commercial wealth of Vermont. Her manufacture of maple sugar, is equal to her domestic consumption, and she can boast of several glass factories, that are extensive and valuable. Domestic manufactures are universal in Vermont, and might become equal to all her wants, if she could be brought rightly to distinguish between the useful and the fanciful ; between things of permanent value, and things that were made to please the eye ; or could she be brought to realise the true difference between those things, that promoted and encouraged virtuous industry and economy, and those that tended to promote idleness, pride, and dissipation : the first always produce contentment, and a heavy purse ; the latter a restless, anxious aching void, and a light purse.

Commerce. No inland section of the United States, or of the world, can boast such commercial advantages as Vermont. The River Connecticut washes the whole eastern border of the state, and conveys her surplus produce and manufactures, through the medium of its extensive boat navigation, to the rich and flourishing commercial city of Hartford ; and from thence to New-York, to Boston, the Southern States, and the West-Indies, or to Europe. The western section of the state, enjoys the water communication of Lake Champlain, into Canada, and from thence to all parts of the world ; or the waters of the majestic Hudson, to the rich and flourishing cities of Lansingburgh, Troy, and Albany ; and from thence to New-York, and throughout the world.

APPENDIX A.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.—
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.

WE have noticed the character of James I. the promise he made to the Kirk of Scotland at his accession to the throne of England—"That he would spend the last drop of his blood before he would change their religion, and charged them to stand to their purity, and gave public thanks to God that he had left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he intended not to alter in any ways, his subjects living in peace : and prayed that if any of his *issue* should maintain any *other religion* than this his own, that God would take them out of the world." We have witnessed the imperious and tyrannical character of James upon his accession to the throne of England, surrounded with an imperious Hierarchy, clothed with all the despotic powers of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission. We have witnessed the cruel and vindictive persecutions that he *tolerated*, (to say the least of it,) against the Puritan Church, both in England and Scotland, and his final attempt to subvert the Kirk of Scotland, by introducing the Church of England with all its Hierarchy, under a pretence of establishing a uniformity of worship in the two kingdoms. We have witnessed the sufferings of the Puritan Church, their voluntary banishment in support of the religion of their hearts, particularly that of the little colony under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Robinson, who removed first to Holland, and thence to New-England, in North America. We have witnessed the sufferings of this band of brothers in their passage to America, in the distresses of their first winter's residence, and in their intercourse with the savages of that howling wilderness. We

have witnessed the protecting hand of God towards this his little church in the wilderness, in all their wonderful preservations and deliverances. We have witnessed also, the great and powerful instruments God was pleased to raise up from time to time, to carry forward his great work of planting his true church in this modern Canaan, this wilderness of the west. We have fully surveyed the *causes* that led to this *glorious event*; we will now pursue the subject, and consider the same train of causes that God was pleased to continue, to carry forward his work, and build up his little church in the wilderness.

In 1625, Charles I. son of James I. succeeded to the throne of his father, and upon his first accession to the throne, he married Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry IV. king of France, who was a bigotted Catholic, and a splendid woman. Charles inherited the high prerogative principles of his father, and the same bitterness against the Puritans; these comported exactly with the principles of the queen, and their united influence fixed the destinies of this reign. Charles committed the primacy of his kingdom, first to the Duke of Buckingham, who was a splendid courtier, but no statesman; and upon his death he committed it to Bishop Laud, who was no courtier, but a vindictive ecclesiastical bigot, who favoured the high prerogative principles of the king, and hated the Puritans. Under this administration, the severities of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, (which were very much softened down, under the primacy of Arch-Bishop Abbot,) were again renewed, and became worse than the *Romish Inquisition*.

The following specimen of the character of Arch-Bishop Laud, (then Bishop of London,) may lead to clearer views of the character of this reign, and the trials of the Puritan Church.

When the Arch-Bishop Abbot, had closed the coronation of King Charles I. by placing the crown upon his head, Bishop Laud approached the king with this extraordinary address. "Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and

by the hands of us, and all the bishops, and servants of God. And as you see the clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man, may establish you in the kingly throne, to be a mediator between the clergy and laity, that you may reign forever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."

With this view of the character of this reign, let us pursue the history of the Puritan Church. At this time, a controversy sprang up between the Armenians and Calvinists, "upon the possibility of the elect's falling from grace," which occasioned some warmth, and bitterness; the king interfered and put down the controversy by the following proclamation. "That the king will admit no innovations in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the Church, and therefore charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain, in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions contrary to the received doctrine or discipline, established by law, assuring them that his Majesty will proceed against all offenders of this order, with all that severity their contempt shall deserve," &c. This order became a new instrument of oppression in the hands of Laud. Amidst these scenes of ecclesiastical persecution, a new rod of tyranny sprang up. Charles had dismissed his first parliament before they had granted him supplies to carry on the Spanish war, in which he was then engaged, and he had levied assessments by way of loan, upon the wealthy gentlemen of his kingdom, with promissory notes for the payment in 18 months; at the expiration of the time the notes were not paid, and the king was constrained to continue the loans; but they were not to be obtained. This opened the way for a stretch of arbitrary power, that was terrible to the subjects of a free government. Characters of the first distinction for wealth and respectability were torn from their families and friends, and imprisoned in remote parts of the kingdom, or on board the fleet, at the command of the king, in order to force from them the loans required. Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen, became the subjects of this moneyed persecu-

tion ; this joined to the religious persecution, opened a scene of distress in the nation, that drove out the best blood of the kingdom to join the pilgrims in America. Thus we see how God makes use of his own means to accomplish his own ends, and how the distresses in England were overruled for the promotion of the Puritan cause, to people this modern Canaan, and build up the little church in the wilderness.

At this time it became the intention of the king to call a Parliament, which gave rise to the following letter from a Jesuit in England, to his friend, the Rector of the College in Brussels.

“ Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous soul, in apprehending the unexpected call of a Parliament, we (the Papists) have not opposed ; but rather favoured it. You must acknowledge the council is engaged to assist the king by the way of prerogative, in case the Parliament fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the pelican, who takes pleasure with her beak, to dig out her own bowels.

“ The electors have been in such confusion, and apparent faction, as that we were wont to procure with much art and industry, when the Spanish match was in treaty.

“ We have now many strings to our bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more, for when King James lived, he was very violent against *Armenianism*. and interrupted our designs in *Holland*.—Now we have planted that sovereign drug *Armenianism*, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their heresy, and it flourishes and bears fruit in due season.

“ The materials that build up our bulwark, are the projectors, and beggars of all ranks and qualities ; however, both these factions co-operate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new species of government, which is *Oligarchy*. These serve as mediums and instruments to our end, which is the *Universal Catholic Church*, and *Monarchy* ; our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a *relaxation*.

“ We proceed now by counsel and mature deliberation, how and when to work upon the Duke's (Buckingham) jealousy and

revenge ; and in this, we give the honour to those who merit it, which are ~~the~~ *Catholics of the Church*. There is another matter of consequence which we must take much into our consideration, and tender care, which is to *stave the Puritans* off, that they may not hang in the Duke's ears. They are an impudent, subtle people, and it is to be feared lest they should negotiate a reconciliation between the Duke and the Parliament, at Oxford and Westminster ; but now we assure ourselves that we have so handled the matter, that both the Duke and Parliament are irreconcilable.

“ For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Armenians have already locked up the Duke's ears, and we have those of our own religion, (Catholics,) who stand continually at the Duke's chamber, to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect on this account, and I cannot but laugh to see how some of our own coat have accoutred themselves ; and 'tis admirable how in speech and gesture, they act the Puritans. The Cambridge scholars, to their woful experience shall see, that we can act the Puritans a little better than they have done the Jesuits. They have abused our sacred patron in jest ; but we will make them smart in earnest.

“ But to return to the main fabrick, our foundation is *Armenianism* ; the Armenians and Projectors affect *mutation*, this we second and enforce with all probable arguments. We shew how the king may free himself of his word, and raise a vast revenue, without being beholden to his subjects, *by way of excise*. Then our *church Catholics* shew the means how to settle the excise, which must be by a mercenary army of foreigners and Germans ; their horse will eat up the country when they come, though they be well paid, but much more if they be not paid. We hope to dissolve trade, to hinder the building of shipping, and to take away the merchant ships, &c. in short it is our design to work up the Protestants as well as the Catholics, to welcome a conqueror.”

Here is the key to the whole mystery ; the Puritans were the only bar to the restoration of Popery ; this part of the plan failed ; the conqueror appeared, but not according to the

plan, for he was Oliver Cromwell, who was a Protestant. This letter needs no further comment ; let every American read it with attention. At this time images, saints, angels, crucifixes, altars, and lighted candles, became so common in the Church of England, that they called forth the following speech in this Parliament.

“ I desire it may be considered, what new paintings have been laid upon the old face of the *Whore of Babylon*, to make her shew more lovely ; I desire it may be considered, how the *See of Rome* doth eat into the bowels of our religion, and fret into the very banks and walls of it, the laws and statutes of this realm. I desire we may consider the increase of Armenianism, an error that makes the *grace of God* lackey after the *will of man*. I desire we may look into the belly and bowels of this *Trojan Horse*, and see if there be not men in it, ready to open the gates to *Romish tyranny* ; for an Armenian is the spawn of a Papist ; and if the warmth of favour come upon him, you shall see him turn into one of those frogs that rose out of the bottomless pit ; these men having kindled a fire in our neighbouring country, are now endeavouring to set this into a flame.”

Mr. Secretary Cook said—“ The fathers of the church are asleep ; but a little to awaken their attention and zeal, it is fit that they take notice of that Hierarchy that is already established, in competition with their lordships, for they (the Papists) have a bishop consecrated by the Pope ; this bishop has his subaltern officers of all kinds, as vicars-general, arch-deacons, rural-deans, apparitors, &c. neither are these nominal, or titular officers only ; but they all execute their jurisdictions ; and make their ordinary institutions throughout the kingdom, keep courts, and determine ecclesiastical causes ; and which is an argument of more consequence, they keep ordinary intelligence by their *agents in Rome*, and hold correspondence with the Nuncios and Cardinals, both in Brussels and France ; and even at this time, they intend to hold a concurrent assembly with this Parliament.”

Freedom of speech had found its way into this Parliament, and called forth the following protestation or declaration, from the house.

“ We the commons, in Parliament assembled do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by Parliament, in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Armenians, and all others that differ from us.”

This fanned the fire ; but God made use of the same means to build up his Puritan Church in England, that were used to increase and strengthen the church of the pilgrims in the Canaan of the west ; they flourished and grew up together, in the midst of trials, persecutions, and sufferings, that their faith might be tried, and their hopes and strength, their confidence and love, might become strong, pure, and stedfast, through sufferings.

The king continued to raise money by arbitrary fines and imprisonments, and dissolved the Parliament.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.— HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

In the year 1629, the Puritan Lecturers became so free and so popular in England, that they excited the indignation of the spiritual courts, and they were very generally silenced, and persecuted by fines and imprisonment, which opened the way for the advancement of the church in the wilderness, by sending out a colony, at this time, of these persecuted Puritans, with a Higginson, and a Skelton at their head, who sailed from England May 11th, and arrived at Naumkeag, now Salem, in New-England, June 24th, of the same year. This colony, as has been noticed, consisted of about three hundred and fifty

souls, well furnished with a fleet of six transports, and supplied with stock of all kinds, necessary for a new plantation, together with cannon, fire arms, and military stores; for the protection and defence of the colony.

Religion was the sole object of this colony; and upon their landing, they appointed the 6th of August as an early day on which they might keep a solemn fast, form themselves into a religious society, and dedicate themselves to God as a part of the church in the wilderness; accordingly on that day thirty persons covenanted with each other, and formed themselves into a church, and this was their covenant.

COVENANT OF THE CHURCH OF SALEM.

“ We covenant with our Lord and one another, we bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed Word of Truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

“ We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship.

“ We promise to walk with our brethren in all tenderness and watchfulness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, provokings, and secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ; and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught. In public or in private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall require.

“ We will not in the congregation be forward, either to shew our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren; but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel and the profession of it slighted by our distempers, and weaknesses in public.

“ We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel, in all truth and peace, both in regard to those that are within, as well as those that are without ; no way slighting our sister churches ; but using their counsel as need may be ; not laying a stumbling block before any, no not even the Indians, whose good we desire to promote ; and so to converse as that we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

“ We do hereby promise to carry ourselves, in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in church or commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it is to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities.

“ We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning *idleness as the bane of society, and of the state* ; nor will we deal hardly or oppressively with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

“ Promising also to teach our children, and servants, the knowledge of the true God, and of his will, that they may serve him also. All this, not by any strength of our own ; but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name.”

Mr. Skelton was chosen their pastor, Mr. Higginson their teacher, and Mr. Houghton their ruling elder, and they were separated to the work, by the laying on of the hands of a select number of the brethren.

I have given this whole transaction at large, to shew the characters of the first churches of New-England, and the genius of their religion and church discipline. The history of these churches forms the highest encomium upon their sterling worth and virtue, that can be conveyed to the mind of man. The two worthy clergymen who were at the head of this church, were both men of a public education, and had been distinguished preachers in England, until they were deprived of their churches and their livings, by the Court of High Commission, and thus driven into a voluntary banishment, where they might

enjoy their religion in peace, and build up the church in the wilderness.

In 1630, the governor of Massachusetts embarked for New-England with two hundred ministers, gentlemen, and others, who fled from the persecutions of Bishop Laud, to seek a retreat in the wilds of America. When they took leave of the land of their fathers, they left in the hands of their brethren the following request.

“ The humble request of the Governor and Company, lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their brethren in, and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions.

“ We intreat you, Reverend Fathers and Brethren of the *Church of England*, that ye recommend us to the mercies of God, in your constant prayers, as a new church now sprung out of your own bowels ; for ye are not ignorant that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul, to make a continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony of Rome. Let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind that are the Lord’s remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing ; and what goodness you shall extend to us in this way, or any other christian kindness, we your brethren in Christ shall labour to repay in what duty we are, or shall be able to perform, promising, as far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts, may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether, nor we trust unprofitably, befall us.”

Here is a true sample of the religion which moved the hearts of the pilgrims to separate from the mother church, and flee into the wilderness, and God has crowned this spirit with his choicest blessings.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.—
HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

THE persecutions of the Puritans raged with its wonted violence, under the administration of Bishop Laud, against all non-conformists ; and in 1632, a standard was raised against all the conforming Puritans, for their hypocrisy. This persecution led, not only to the judgment of the life in overt acts, but to the judgment of the heart. The following examples may serve as specimens of the spirit of the times, and shew what instruments God was pleased to raise up, to carry forward the great work of planting his church in his modern Canaan, in the wilds of New-England.

Amongst the reverend divines, whose zeal led them to censure the images and paintings in the Church of England, was Mr. John Hayden, who was immediately obliged to abscond, to escape persecution ; but was apprehended in the diocese of *Norwich* by Bishop *Harsenet*, who stripped him of his horse, money, papers, &c. and caused him to be imprisoned for thirteen weeks, then sent him up to the Court of High Commission, who stripped him of his ministry and orders, and set a fine upon him, for preaching against decorations and images in churches. In 1634, Mr. Hayden, venturing to preach again without being restored, was apprehended again and sent to the gate house, by Arch-Bishop Laud, and from thence to *bridewell*, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour : here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon, for a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle of a room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food but bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie on. To obtain his release, he was obliged to take an oath, and give a bond that he would preach no more ; but depart the kingdom in thirty days, and never return. This needs no comment.

Henry Sheerfield, Esq. a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder for the city of Sarum, was tried in the Star-Chamber, May 20, 1632, for taking down some painted glass, out of one of the windows of St. Edmond's Church, in Salisbury, in which were seven pictures of *God the Father*, in form of a little old man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side. One represents him creating the sun and moon, with a pair of compasses, others as working on the six day's creation, and at last he sits in an elbow chair at rest. Many simple people, as they went in and out, did reverence to this window, (as they said,) because the Lord their God was there. This gave such offence to the recorder, who was a justice of the peace, that he moved the parish, at the vestry, to take down the window, and set up a new one of white glass, which was accordingly granted, six justices of the peace being present. An information was filed against him in the Court of Star-Chamber— "That being evil affected to the discipline of the church, he the said Henry Sheerfield, did with certain confederates, without the consent of the bishops, deface and pull down, a fair and costly window in the church, containing a history of the creation, which had stood there some hundreds of years," &c.

Mr. Sheerfield plead the facts, and supported them; but upon motion of Bishop Laud he was fined 1000*l.* which was afterward reduced to 500*l.* and removed from his office of recorder, and committed close prisoner to the *fleet*, until he should pay his fine. Hundreds, or even thousands of instances of the like persecutions might be cited, to shew how the little church in the wilderness was strengthened, and peopled by the persecutions of the mother church in England; one more instance shall suffice.

"Dr. Alexander Laughton, a Scots divine, and father of the famous prelate of that name, so highly commended by the Bishop Burnet, published a sermon during the last session of Parliament, entitled an Appeal to the Parliament, or Zion's Plea against prelacy. This was a warm sermon, for which the Doctor was indicted and tried in the Court of Star-Chamber, and sentenced to imprisonment for life on board the fleet, pay

ten thousand pounds, sit in the pillory at Westminster during the session of the court, be whipt, be set in the pillory again, and have one of his ears cut off, one of his nostrils slit, and be branded on the cheek with a double S S, for a sower of sedition; then be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried again, in Cheapside, and be then likewise whipt, have the other side of his nose slit, his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life. Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks."

Bishop Laud has entered in his diary that this sentence was faithfully executed. The Doctor was released from prison ten years afterward by the Long Parliament.

During the twelve first years of Bishop Laud, more than four thousand pilgrims were driven into the wilderness, by the persecutions of their suffering country. These carried with them about 200,000*l.* in money and valuables; this, added to what had gone before, amounted at this time, 1632, to about 500,000*l.* beside a weight of character and talents in the pilgrims, of incomparably greater value, either to the Church of England or the church in the wilderness. Never was another instance, since the days of Pharaoh, in which God had fitted an instrument more conspicuously adapted to his purposes, in carrying forward the great designs of providence, than the administration of Arch Bishop Laud. During this period of his administration, the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts-Bay, progressed rapidly in their settlements, and were strengthened by a host of the first worthies that ever blest a people. Men renowned for their piety, religion, and literature. Men who fled from the persecutions of a Bishop Laud, and others. Men who were the fit instruments of carrying forward his work, in planting his church in the wilderness, and planting his modern Gansan in the wilds of America. Could it have been possible, without a special miracle, the corruptions of England and her church, might have been reformed by these men; her tyrannical and depotic government corrected, and the liberties and the virtues of the church in the wilderness, might have been diffused and

enjoyed in England ; but this was not the purpose of the divine plan ; they had shed the blood of saints and prophets, and God had decreed that they should have blood to drink, before they should be prepared to drink of the cup of his blessings. which he had prepared for his faithful, who delight to do his will.

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND—
HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

UPON the death of Arch-Bishop Abbot, 1633, Bishop Laud was advanced to the See of Canterbury, and continued as primate, as well as persecutor of the Puritans.

The Puritans were ever noted for their strict observance of the sabbath ; to revenge upon them, Arch-Bishop Laud granted a free tolerance for the enjoyment of revels, games, and sports, of every description, on the Lord's day. The judges of the realm, with Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham at their head, attempted to suppress the wakes, and sports, and other excesses on the sabbath, but they were soon humbled by the primate, and taught to refrain from all interference in spiritual concerns. The clergy rendered these sports popular with the people, and the courts were constrained to desist ; the sports went on. This was one of the greatest griefs that befel the Puritans, and drove hundreds of them into a voluntary banishment, that they might no longer witness such impious profanation of the holy sabbath.

This year, 1635, the king went down into Scotland, and ordered the bishops to make out a book of canons and liturgy, and send them up to London, to be revised by Arch-Bishop Laud, and others, in order to bring the kirk into a uniformity of worship with the Church of England. This kindled a fire, as it had done in the reign of James I. which was not extinguished during this reign. Arch-Bishop Laud attempted to aggrandize the church, by a union of temporal with the spiritual power, and combine the business of Westminster-Hall with the ecclesiastical.

tical courts. This alarmed the civilians, and gave great offence. His Grace next prevailed with the king, to allow bishops to hold ecclesiastical courts in their own names, and by their own seals, without the king's patent, under the great seal. He obtained also of the king, the right to visit the two universities, Jure Metropolitico. And last of all, that the bishops should frame new articles of visitation in their own names, without the king's seal and authority, and administer the oath of enquiry into the church warden's concerning them. All these stretches of power, were contrary to special statutes, expressly made and provided, and which remained unrepealed. Such was the unbounded ambition of Arch-Bishop Laud, and such his influence over the king.

In 1638, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was declared Lord High-Treasurer of England, which is the next office in benefit, to that of Arch-Bishop,

The church was now in the zenith of her power; but the resentments of the nation were kindling fast into a flame, and the church in the wilderness was reaping a rich harvest of character and wealth, from this field of persecution. The injunction of St. Mathew, x. 23, was now literally complied with. "When they persecute you in one city flee ye into another." This stretch of ecclesiastical power, as above, increased the insolent despotism of the Courts of Star, Chamber and High Commission, and multiplied their bitter persecutions. The sentences of those courts to deprive clergymen of their livings, cut off their ears, whip, pillory, and brand them, together with enormous fines and imprisonment for life, became common and multiplied. In some cases, where the punishment of cutting off the ears had been executed at a former punishment, these courts decreed that the old stumps should be pared off, at the second punishment, and these severities were borne; but the day of vengeance was ripening in the nation—"Vengeance is mine, I will repay saith the Lord." The bishop of Lincoln, one of the Hierarchy, as well as one of Laud's best friends, for one unguarded expression, in which he said—"the Puritans were some of the king's best subjects, that they would

carry all at last, and that the king had told him he meant to treat them more mildly for the future," had an information lodged against him, by order of Laud, in the Court of Star-Chamber, was fined £1,000*l.* deprived of his bishopric in the High Court of Commission, and imprisoned in the tower during the pleasure of the king. Upon the discovery of an obscure letter amongst his papers, received 1633, from one of his friends, he had a new bill filed against him, was fined 8,000*l.* 5000 to the king and 3000 to Laud, and for non-payment, his confinement continued in the tower to the meeting of the Long Parliament. These persecutions multiplied emigrations so rapidly, that the king became alarmed, seeing he was about to lose all, or most of his best subjects, who fled to the continent of Europe, or to New England, for succour and for safety. To prevent this, his majesty ordered, "the officers of his ports, to suffer none to emigrate without license from the commissioners of plantations and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church." And to prevent the emigration of ministers, the following order of council was published.

"Whereas it is observed, that such ministers who are unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, do frequently transport themselves to the *plantations*, where they take the liberty to nourish their factious and schismatical humours, to the hindrance of the good conformity and unity of the church; We therefore expressly command you in his majesty's name, to suffer no clergyman to depart or transport himself, without a testimonial from the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London."

What if this order of council had been issued at the commencement of these troubles, say as early as 1600, or even 1608-12, or 20, what would have been the situation of New-England at this time? and what would have been the state of the Puritan Church, and who would have built up the church in the wilderness and peopled the modern Canaan of God? It would have been a wilderness still, and instead of becoming vocal

with the praises of the true God, it would have continued to resound with the sound of the war-whoop, and the yells of the savage. But it was now too late; the church was planted in the wilderness; the wilderness had become vocal with the praises of the true God, and the church was established in her modern Canaan. Let us remember that when Pharaoh said "Who is the Lord that I should obey him? I will not let the people go," then the plagues multiplied thick upon him, *hail, fire, blood, and death.*

CHAPTER V.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.— HISTORY OF THE PILGRIMS CONTINUED.

IN our last chapter, we noticed the attempt of the king to bring the Kirk of Scotland to the standard of the Church of England, by introducing the Liturgy and Book of Canons, and that this raised a storm in Scotland. We have also in a former chapter noticed that king James made the same attempt, which then failed; the Scots resisted with great indignation. This attempt of his father, was the very reason Charles assigned for his own attempt at this time. When the new Service Book was first read in the great church at Edinburgh, all was riot, tumult, and confusion; the bishop was pelted with stones, until the civil authority interfered and protected the clergy; the meeting was broken up, and the service suspended until further orders from England. The Kirk of Scotland claimed that she was a free, independent kirk, and therefore her own pastors were the best judges what was most for her interest. They abhorred this Romish, antichristian worship, and here the parties were at issue. The whole city of Edinburgh sent up a petition to the king against the liturgy and canons. This petition was answered by a proclamation from the king, published at Sterling, expressing his high displeasure against the petition,

as well as the proceedings in Scotland, and strictly forbade all assembling of the people to frame petitions hereafter. The nobles, barons, ministers, and burghers of Scotland, met, and entered a solemn protest against this proclamation, with firm and decisive reasons; and the fire was kindled. This year, 1638, they renewed their confession of faith, and their solemn league and covenant of 1580 and 1590. This covenant goes all lengths in protesting against the whole host of corruptions and abuses (which they enumerate) in the Romish Church, (most of which were then in use in the English Church, and about to be introduced into the Kirk of Scotland.) They go all lengths to pledge themselves to defend the king and the kirk against these corruptions and innovations. They then proceed to frame a new *bond of defence*, adapted to the spirit of the times, in which they pledge themselves to support and defend the king, and the authority of parliament, upon which the security of their lands, livings, rights, and properties depend, and without which neither any law nor lawful judicatory can be established. They concluded the whole, "with a solemn appeal to the *Searcher of hearts*, to witness to their sincerity, as they shall answer it to Christ in the day of account, and under pain of the loss of all honours and respect in this world, and of enduring God's everlasting wrath in the next." This protest and covenant were a manifesto, and a declaration of war, against Arch-Bishop Laud, and the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, as well as against the innovations in religion, and the scene was opened.

As soon as the king found this mass of force against him, he sent down the Marquis of Hamilton to assure them, that his majesty was willing to discharge the Canons and the Service Book, dissolve the Court of High Commission, and allow the kirk the use of her General Assembly, as often as necessary, &c. But it was now too late, they demanded the abolition of the order of bishops, (which was established 1618. by King James.) and maintained the independence of the general assemblies of the kirk. The Marquis of Hamilton attempted to dissolve the assembly; they remonstrated, and continued their sitting; this

inflamed the rage of Laud, who prepared to use military force ; but the assembly proceeded to disannul all the innovations King James had made, to abjure Episcopacy, the Service Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordination, the High Commission, &c. and to restore the Presbyteries, and General Assemblies of the kirk. They next deposed all the bishops, and they fled the country, and they concluded the whole with a petition to the king, and an address to the good people of England.

Here the war opened. Glorious was this war for New-England ; the colonies which had already formed, as has been noticed, were stocked abundantly with settlers of the first rank and character, who fled from the ravages of war, and the sufferings of their bleeding country, to take refuge in the bosom of the church in the wilderness. New towns were now laid out and settled in rapid succession in all the colonies, and this land of Canaan was filling up fast with the people of God.

In 1639, the king took the field in person, and marched against the Scots. The two armies met, but no blood was shed ; the king relented, a pacification took place, both parties disbanded their armies, and the Scots confirmed their covenant, with the establishment of their kirk, and the abolition of Episcopacy. Here opened a paper war upon the divine right of Episcopacy, which led to a second war with Scotland, and the king called a Parliament to provide for the exigencies of the times, and the people of England became mutinous and riotous, and the nation was convulsed. An ecclesiastical convention was called to consult and deliberate on the affairs of church and state, and to co-operate with the Parliament. Very little was done at this Parliament, they were dissolved, and both parties took the field ; the Scots entered England to meet the king, and took the town of Newcastle, and the king retired to York ; this opened the way for another parley, and the king appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon. In this treaty, the king granted to the Scots full pay for their army, whilst in service, and the commissioners adjourned to London, where a free Parliament was immediately to be called.

The conduct of the king through all this affair is below all comment, and deserves no other notice than what will appear from the proceedings of the Parliament.

We are now come to a development of those civil and religious principles, which commenced with Wickliffe, the reformer of the 14th century, and which God by his providence, has been cultivating in the Puritan Church in England, and from which he has been supplying the little church in the wilderness, and peopling and building up his modern Canaan, in the wilds of New-England.

Before we return to the particulars of the history of the pilgrims in the colonies of New-England, let us continue to examine the causes that promoted their settlements, and examine the proceedings of the approaching Parliament. The king and his court, as well as the judges of the realm, had lost the confidence of the nation, and of the world, and were now sunk below contempt, under the terms of accommodation dictated by the Scots.

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.—

CHARACTER OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

HERE opens a scene, at the commencement of this Parliament, November 3, 1640, which discloses the feelings of a people, borne down with the weight of civil and ecclesiastical oppression; a people who now appeared in this Parliament in the majesty of themselves, firm to their rights, and determined to be heard. They were firm friends to the Crown and Church of England, but haters of Popery and Popish rites and superstitions: and to confirm this they passed an order, "that none should sit in their houses, but such as would receive the communion according to the usage of the Church of England."—They went further; they passed a remonstrance against the free notions of the free congregations of the Puritans. The same principles prevailed in their fleets and armies, at the

head of which were the Earl of Warwick, high admiral, the Earls of Essex, of Bedford, and Lord Kimbolton, first generals in the parliament service.

The king, at the opening of Parliament, kindled the fire, by calling the Scots *rebels* in his speech, and afterwards declaring "that he could call them neither better nor worse." The king, at the request of the Parliament, appointed a fast, and upon their first entering upon business, they appointed four grand committees—the first to receive petitions about grievances of religion; this was afterwards subdivided into twenty or thirty others upon the same subject.—The second for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland.—The third for civil grievances, as ship-money, judges of courts, courts of justice, &c.—The fourth concerning Popery and Popish plots.

These were the great subjects that interested the deliberations of this Parliament. A convocation of the clergy was assembled in order to controul the proceedings of Parliament; but they found their influence could avail nothing, and they dispersed without even an adjournment. The most conspicuous feature of this Parliament, may be seen in their impeachment of Arch-Bishop Laud for high treason, and committing him to the tower, December 16, 1640. The next feature of importance, was their releasing from their imprisonment, such worthies as were now suffering under the rod of Laud's tyrannical government, and the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission.

When the tyrants fell, the people then felt their liberty, and began to express it by their excesses and violence against the trappings of the church. The Puritans took courage from this, and began to appear and hold their meetings openly; this opened a paper war in defence of Episcopacy, and the divine right of Episcopacy, and the primitive manner of worship, all which called forth the best talents of the nation. During this paper controversy, the Parliament were called to receive two petitions, the one called the Root and Branch Petition, for the abolition of the Hierarchy, and the other in support of it. These petitions occasioned great warmth of feeling and expression.

The Parliament granted the prayer of the Root and Branch Petition in full.

The Parliament next proceeded, with great severity, against Papists. The king appeared openly to defend, but was obliged to comply. They next proceeded to impeach the Earl of Strafford, for his arbitrary measures, and advice to the king, and brought him to the block :^e which struck a general terror into the hearts of the king and the court. The king made an effort to bring his army (which had been raised against the Scots) up to London, to suppress, or overawe this Parliament : this plot was discovered, and the Parliament declared their sittings permanent, until they should be prorogued, or dissolved by their own consent. The king was down, and the Parliament became the great organ of government in the nation. The Parliament next proceeded to establish, upon their oaths, the Protestant religion of the Church of England, freed from all Popish innovations, &c. The Commons originated a bill for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, which was debated with much talents and warmth, and took up much time ; but was finally lost. Great efforts were made in various shapes to change the Episcopal government of the church ; but the nation were not yet ripe. The Parliament next proceeded to abolish the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission ; the king at first withheld his assent, but finally yielded from necessity. This struck a mortal blow to the despotic power of the crown. The Parliament next impeached thirteen bishops, for compiling the late canons, contrary to the king's prerogative, with a view to drive them from their seats in the House of Lords, but it failed ; yet it brought upon the bishops the odium of the nation.

These proceedings alarmed the king, and he went down into Scotland, in order to strengthen himself with the Scots ; here he went all lengths in his concessions and promises ; but it only increased and hastened his own ruin.

The Parliament next proceeded to restore a due and solemn observance of the Sabbath, and provide for the free and extensive preaching of the word of God, together with the abolition

of all Popish rites and ceremonies which had crept into the church. This occasioned some excesses among the populace, and great liberties amongst the preachers.

1641. This year Arch-Bishop Laud was suspended from his jurisdiction; but his confinement in the tower continued.

1641. At this time a bloody insurrection of the Papists broke out in Ireland, consisting of a mob in arms, of 20 or 30,000, who commenced a general and indiscriminate butchery of the Protestants, and spread carnage and desolation throughout the northern counties. The alarm spread into England, and the Protestants and the Parliament were alive to their danger; and the Parliament provided themselves a guard of the military. This insurrection was traced to the privity of the king and queen, with a view to use their military force, to suppress the Parliament in England. The insurrection in Ireland were bound together by a solemn oath, and called themselves the *queen's army*. The Parliament proceeded with great severity against the Papists in England, and banished them from London, &c. This insurrection established the supremacy of the Parliament, and proved the king's ruin. The affairs of both church and state, from this time, progressed with renewed rapidity.

CHAPTER VII.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.—

CHARACTER OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT CONTINUED.—CIVIL WAR.

The petition against the thirteen bishops (mentioned before) failed, it was overruled by the House of Lords; this produced indignation and tumults amongst the populace in the city of London, which originated the terms of Cavalier and Round-Head.* The king attempted to suppress these tumults by proclamation; but to very little effect; it became dangerous for the bishops to appear abroad, even on their way to and from Parliament. They

* The king's party were called Cavaliers, and the mob Round-Heads, from their having their hair sheared off close, all round.

preferred a petition to the king for protection, accompanied with their protest against many resolutions of the commons in the king's absence, &c. The commons answered this by an impeachment of the bishops, as subverters of the rights of Parliaments. This led the king to go in person to the House of Commons, and attempt to seize five of its members, but he failed; the house protected their members; the city of London resented the outrage against the Parliament, and with great tumults protected the members, when out of Parliament, and the king feeling himself in danger, fled first to Hampton Court, thence to Windsor, and thence to York; but he never returned to London, until he returned as a criminal for execution. The impeachment against the bishops was next carried, and they were excluded from all further service in Parliament, 1642. This act was ratified by the king.

Petitions were presented to Parliament, to provide for the safety of the nation; and they accordingly voted that the kingdom be forthwith put into a state of defence, by authority of both Houses, and followed this resolution with an ordinance for that purpose. They petitioned the king to abandon his wicked counsellors, and return to White-Hall and join with the Parliament, and assured him of their protection and support; they also reminded him of the evils and dangers arising from his separation, (at so great a distance) from his Parliament. But the die was cast, the king had fled, and his haughty obstinate spirit could not yield, he chose to go forward.

The next step of the Parliament, was to take the militia of the kingdom into their own hands: this disarmed the king in a great measure, and left him to the mercy of the Parliament. At this time the Scots offered their mediation, which the king refused; but the Parliament accepted it, and published the following declaration.

Lord's Day, April 9th, 1642.

“The Lords and Commons declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the government, and discipline of the church, and to take away nothing in the one but what shall be

evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome; and for the better effecting thereof, speedily to have a consultation with godly and learned divines; and because this will never attain the ends, they will use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers, with a good and sufficient maintenance, throughout the whole kingdom, wherein many dark corners are miserably destitute of the means of salvation."

This declaration was ordered for publication.

The court of the king at York, became numerous and splendid, by the resort of the nobility and gentry, and he sent word to the Parliament, "that he would have nothing extorted from him, nor grant them any thing further than the law had put into his hands."

The next step of the king was to attempt to sieze upon an important magazine at Hull, with an armed force, which failed, by a resistance of the governor, Sir John Hotham. The king caused Sir John to be proclaimed as a traitor, and retired to York, full of indignation. Here was the crisis that opened the war.

The king and Parliament both went forward with their preparations for war; but the Parliament continued their system of reform in church and state. In June both parties commenced borrowing money to carry on the war, at eight per cent interest; the universities loaned the king their plate, and then he applied to the Papists for their aid by way of loans, as a friend to their cause. The Parliament at this time, confederated with the Scots, and secured that nation in their interest. The General Assembly of Scotland, sent a letter of congratulation to the Parliament, and the Parliament in a most friendly and obliging stile replied. To unite the Scots more firmly in their interest, the Parliament next proceeded to abolish Episcopacy in England; which left the door open for a union with the Kirk of Scotland. Both parties proceeded to collect their armies, and the king set up his standard at Nottingham, and the Earl of Essex set up the standard of the Par-

liament at St. Albans, at the head of 15,000 men. The armies soon became equal, and met at Edge-hill; a desperate battle ensued; more than four thousand stained with their blood this field of their suffering country; both sides claimed the victory; just one year after the *Irish massacre*.

The whole fabric of the Episcopal Church being removed, the Parliament proceeded to appoint a monthly fast, or rather to enforce a more strict observance of the monthly fast, which the king had appointed at their request, upon the news of the Irish massacre. This led to the appointment of morning prayers, on each day of the week, for one hour, and a general reformation of manners and morals was enjoined by the laws, both in the cities, the country, and in the Parliament army. The Puritans and Presbyterians, with all the moral, pious, and godly, resorted to the standard of the Parliament, and the Puritan clergy, now free from restraint, let out their eloquence against Arminianism; but these preachers were few; the persecutions of Laud had driven them from their country, to take refuge in the wilds of America, or upon the continent of Europe. Of the latter class, many returned to support the cause of their country: but from America not one returned; God had appointed them to their work, and they were faithful to their trust. The clergy upon the part of the king, were the whole Hierarchy, and his army was composed of the loose and the profligate, who for the want of pay subsisted generally upon plunder. This became so notorious, that the king attempted to suppress it by his royal proclamation; but their regular pay would have answered much better. The parties continued to criminate each other; but the Parliament pursued a steady course, to settle the peace of the nation, and declared the war to be a war of necessity, for the defence and protection of the just rights and priviledges of the Parliament and the people.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND,
CONTINUED.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND
CIVIL WAR, CONTINUED.

THE king took advantage of the security of the Earl of Essex; re-united his army, and took up his march for London, with a view to dissolve the Parliament, and restore his authority; but he was prevented by the vigilance of the Parliament and the army; and he retired again to Oxford. A conference was then opened between the Parliament and king, by a list of propositions sent by them, by twelve commissioners, to the king, as the grounds of a peace; to these the king replied by sending up to the Parliament a list of his own propositions, recommending that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of commissioners on both sides, to discuss the propositions, and settle the dispute. Pending this conference, a plot was discovered in Parliament, to bring the king to London, and deliver the Parliament into his hands, by means of the aid of the Papists and the royal forces, who were to be ready upon the occasion, to seize the tower, the magazines, &c. Upon the discovery of this plot, the Parliament renewed their covenant or vow, which was tendered first to the army, and next to the people, for their subscription; this led to a proclamation from the king, interdicting all intercourse with the city of London, &c. Great burthens now fell upon the people, to carry on the war.

This summer, 1643, the queen furnished the king with foreign money and troops, which greatly strengthened his cause. In the month of August the armies engaged near Newbury; the action was severe; and both sides claimed the victory, as before. The clergy, upon both sides, were considered as the champions of their cause, and suffered the severest persecutions and distresses.

The king next proceeded to dissolve the monthly fast, and appoint a new one; but the paper combat raged with such vi-

olence, that the Parliament published an order to correct the licentiousness of the press.

The Parliament next proceeded to call an assembly of divines, to advise in settling the affairs of the church. This was opposed by the king; but the assembly convened at Westminster, agreeable to order of Parliament, and was opened with a sermon, July 1, 1643. The first act of the assembly, after they were organized, was to petition the Parliament for a fast, which was granted, by appointing Friday of the 21st of July inst. Their next step was to enter upon the correction and amendment of the XXXIX. articles of the Church of England. This was a work of labour and time.

The pressure of affairs now led the Parliament and Assembly to petition the Scots for their aid in the war; and the assistance of their divines, to effect a uniformity of religious worship in the two kingdoms. The commissioners of the Parliament were favourably received in Edinburgh, and the assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, proposed as a preliminary, that the two nations should enter into a solemn covenant, for themselves and their posterity, that all things might be done in God's house according to His will. They then appointed some of their number to consult with the English commissioners upon a proper form; they chose delegates for the Westminster assembly, and recommended unanimously a convention of the States, to assist the Parliament in the war. This solemn league and covenant was drawn up in due form, under the following title:—

“ A solemn League and Covenant for the reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

“ WE, the noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, by the provi-

dence of God, living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included, and calling to mind the bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much the rage, power, and presumption, are of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable estate of the church, and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies. We have now, (at last.) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings for the preservation of our lives, and religion, from the utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved, and determined to enter into a solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the Most High God, do swear,"

I.

"That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in doctrine, discipline, *worship*, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction, and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, and form of church government, directory for worship, and catechisms, that we,

and our posterity after us, may live as brethren in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us."

II.

"That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (*that is church government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissioners, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy,*) superstition; heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, that the Lord may be one, and His name one in the three kingdoms."

III.

"We shall with the same reality, sincerity, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty, and that we may have no thoughts, or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness."

IV.

"We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, in hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from the other, or making any factious parties among the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial; and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences may require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others, having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient."

Articles V. and VI. go all length to give strength, solemnity, and mutual confidence, as well as perpetuity to this League and Covenant.

On the 25th of September, 1643, this solemn League and Covenant, (after the religious exercise of prayer and preaching were duly and solemnly attended,) was subscribed and sworn to by the Commons, and the Assembly of Divines, in presence of the Scots commissioners, and the whole was concluded with the solemnity of prayer. October 15, it was in like manner subscribed and sworn to by the House of Lords, and on the 29th it was ordered by the Committee of States in Scotland, to be subscribed all over the kingdom, under the severest penalties. All the Lords of the Council were summoned to sign the Covenant, under the severest penalties, and such as refused, forfeited their goods and estates, and fled to England. In February, the Covenant was ordered to be taken throughout England, in like manner, accompanied with a solemn exhortation from the Assembly.

This solemn League and Covenant, spread a general alarm through the king's party; in it they saw strength, firmness, and resolution, and in the 4th article they saw their doom. The king published a solemn protest and declaration against it; but to no effect, the die was cast, and *the nation were in arms.*

I have inserted this transaction at large, because it was the palladium of the reformation in England, and to shew the spirit of the times.

In order to meet this powerful combination, the king armed the Papists, caused a cessation of hostilities against the rebels in Ireland, and drew off his forces to England; even thousands of the Catholic rebels themselves came over into England, with their leaders at their head, and joined the king. But what was the worst of all, they brought with them the same principles, and practised the same cruelties in England they had done in Ireland, laying waste the country with fire and sword. These acts of the king struck the death-blow to his cause, and rendered him the odium of the nation.

The Parliament next proceeded to furnish themselves with a great seal, and to manage the affairs of the church and the nation. The hierarchy was from this time down. Both parties prepared to prosecute the war.

The next step of the king was to summon by proclamation all the disaffected members of Parliament, to meet in Parliament at Oxford; accordingly forty-nine peers, and one hundred and forty commons met the king in Parliament at Oxford, January 22, 1644, which had for its object the breaking up of the Parliament at Westminster; but it failed. The Parliament then consisted of about three hundred members; who, with their great seal, became the palladium of the nation.

On the 19th of January, the Scots army entered England, consisting of twenty-one thousand men. A committee of both Houses of Parliament were sent to meet them; this, when united to a committee of the Scots, became a Parliament in their camp. This committee continued after the English and Scots armies were united.

CHAPTER IX.

CAUSES THAT PROMOTED THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND.— CIVIL WAR CONTINUED.

THE campaign opened this season, 1644, with the triumph of the king over the army of the Parliament, under the command of the Earl of Essex, which gave rise to a series of excesses, cruelties, and barbarities, from the royal army, which displayed the licentiousness of the characters of their commanders, and roused up the nation for their common, as well as personal defence and safety.

In the midst of this scene, the king took up his march for London; but the army of the Parliament were soon re-united, and ready for action. Both armies met at Newbury; an action was fought; the king was beaten, and retired with the remains of his army to Oxford. The army of the Parliament enjoyed

their victory, not with the excesses and cruelties of the royal army, after the battle in Cornwall; but with a religious triumph, both in discipline and character, that shewed to the nation and the world, that they were fighting the battles of God and their country. The ravages and excesses of the king's army, continued to render him, and his cause, unpopular, and his union with the Papists, joined to the influence the Scots army had with the Parliament, gave a new turn to the affairs of the church; this was nothing less than the total extirpation of the Hierarchy, which was finally accomplished.

The old Liturgy and Hierarchy being laid aside, or destroyed, the formation of a new plan of worship and church discipline, now took up the attention of the assembly of divines, at Westminster, and an arduous task it was. Here were assembled, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Erastians,* and Independants, &c. all mingled in one mass, from whence was to be drawn a system of pure church worship and discipline. The assembly first determined that associations of ministers be formed in all the large towns, for the purpose of ordaining ministers to the gospel, and that their ordination be valid. The next step was to appoint a committee to form a *directory*, or mode of worship for the church; this amounted to the establishing the Presbyterian forms of the Kirk of Scotland, to the exclusion of the Liturgy and Common Prayer-book of the Church of England. This opened the way for the spread of the Anabaptists, who soon became numerous, and a strife sprang up in the church, sharp and bitter.

During these labours of the assembly, the Parliament had brought Arch-Bishop Laud to their bar, upon his indictment of high treason, on which he had been imprisoned, and passed sentence of death upon him, with a bill of attainder, and sent it up to the House of Lords, where the judgment of the Commons was confirmed in due form. His head was severed from his body agreeable to his sentence, 1644.

* These were the disciples of Erasmus, a German Divine, who taught that the power of ministers was only *persuasive*, not *coercive*.

Thus fell Arch-Bishop Laud, the author of all the present troubles of the king and nation; but the great instrument in the hand of God, in building up his Puritan Church in the wilderness, as well as establishing the pure principles of the reformation in Great Britain.

The charges supported against Arch-Bishop Laud, at his trial, his condemnation and execution, opened the eyes of the king, to a sense of his perilous situation, and filled him with alarm. A conference was opened at Uxbridge, for a treaty of reconciliation; but the warmth and imprudence of the partizans of the king, defeated the treaty, and the commissioners of the Parliament, after a twenty days' conference, returned in disgust.

The failure of this treaty, opened a new scene; an ordinance passed both Houses of Parliament, stiled the Self-Denying Ordinance, by which it was resolved, that no member of either House, should hold any civil or military office, during the present war. This ordinance removed from the army the Earls of Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh; the Lords Roberts, Willoughby, &c. with all others, except Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, who was soon after dispensed with, at the request of the new general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had succeeded the Earl of Essex. A new army was formed, a new and severe system of discipline established, and the officers, who were a set of religious enthusiasts, became their chaplains.

Under this new order of things, the campaign opened. The king took the town of Leister, where was much spoil and treasure, which gave him high hopes and expectations; but this triumph was momentary; the army of the Parliament pursued the king, and a battle commenced at Naseby, June 16th, 1645. The armies were equal, but the battle was fatal to the king; his army was routed and cut to pieces; he fled as a fugitive, and shut himself up in Oxford, where he was besieged through the winter.

At this time, the Parliament carried forward the regulation of the church, which after much controversy, settled the forms of worship and church discipline, upon the Presbyterian plan,

with *liberty of conscience for all denominations*. This opened a controversy about toleration, both in England and Scotland, with much warmth, and the king fanned the fire.

During the siege of the city of Oxford, the Parliament army destroyed the king's forces in all parts of the kingdom, and took all his arsenals and magazines, which reduced him to the alternative of surrendering himself a prisoner to the Scots; May 6th, 1646; which concluded the first civil war.

The divisions of the church now raged with renewed warmth, and continued. The king remained with the Scots about eight months, when a conference was opened between the king and a committee of Scots Divines, for a general accommodation in the affairs of the church, which was conducted by the Rector of the University of Edinburgh. The conference was lengthy, and managed with coolness; but the king finally appealed to the fathers for a decision of the controversy, and the conference closed.

During this conference, the Parliament prepared a set of propositions, as a basis of peace and accommodation with the king, which were agreed to by the Scots, and sent to his majesty for his acceptance. The amount of this treaty was, that the king should sign the League and Covenant, ratify all their doings, and exempt from a general pardon all Papists that had borne arms, both in England and Ireland; also such members as had deserted their posts and gone to Oxford, or such as had borne arms against the two Houses, together with about sixty others, &c. The king's friends pressed him to comply even with this; but he refused.

The king next made overtures and concessions to the Scots; but without effect. The English Parliament claimed the king, and the Scots Parliament delivered him up, upon the ground, that they could not retain the king, since he had refused to subscribe the League and Covenant. The English Commissioners received the king, and conveyed him to Holmby-House, in Northampton-Shire, because they durst not trust him in London. The king enjoyed his liberty, his friends, and amusements, (*under a strict guard*) at Holmby-House.

A fresh controversy was now opened in Parliament, by a petition of the Presbyterians against Sectaries, which was long and bitter.

In May 1647, the assembly finished their Confession of Faith, and transmitted it to the Parliament, who approved and published it under the title of "Articles of Religion, approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with an assembly of divines, called together for this purpose." This was sent down to Scotland, and immediately approved by their Parliament and General Assembly, as the established doctrine and discipline of their kirk, where it continues to this day. During the deliberations upon this Confession of Faith, a committee, according to appointment, reduced it to the forms of the Greater and Lesser Catechisms, as they now stand.

Here the business of this assembly fairly ended; and the Scots commissioners returned to Scotland; but the schisms in England continued to rage; to remedy this evil, the Parliament ordered letters to be sent from the speakers of both houses, to the several counties in England, immediately to divide themselves into distinct Presbyteries and classes, they then went on to appoint the elders and ministers of the several classes of the *Province of London*, to hold their Provincial Assembly in the convocation-house of St. Paul's in London, on the first Monday of May next, and to adjourn from time to time, as they may see fit. The powers of this assembly were definite. They met accordingly, and were organized and proceeded to business; the schism in the church engrossed the attention of this assembly.

The affairs of the nation, claim a more serious attention; the war was over, and the king at Holmby-House, and the Parliament attempted to disband the army upon full pay, and six weeks advance to all who would go over to Ireland, and an indemnity to all such as should be disbanded; but the army were not ready; they were determined to secure a toleration, that should prevent the king's making peace with the Presbyterians: they chose a *council of officers, and a committee of agitators, consisting of two inferior officers from*

each regiment ; these met in distinct bodies like a Parliament, and sent up their resolutions, by three of their number, to Westminster, in which they demanded full provision for *liberty of conscience*. These were threatened first with imprisonment in the tower ; but finally dismissed with a severe reprimand, for appearing in matters of state without their general : they then sent their general, who was rejected, and the army ordered to be disbanded : Parliament voted the petition *seditions*, and its promoters *traitors* ; ordered the general to remove the army further from London, and made overtures of peace to the king. This led to another crisis ; the army siezed the king at Holmby-House, by a detachment sent for the purpose, and carried him to New-Market, where he enjoyed more liberty than at Holmby-House. This struck a severe blow to the Parliament, and threw them and the nation into confusion : the Parliament remonstrated, and the army replied ; but were firm to their purpose. Impeachment and commotions ensued, and the army, 20,000 strong, marched up to London, and took a quiet possession ; but the whole odium fell on the intolerance of the Presbyterians, and they, in their turn, fixed it upon the Independants, where it stuck.

The king had no fixed residence ; but was removed from place to place as circumstances of safety might require. In this state of affairs, the king was courted by the Parliament, the Presbyterians, and the army ; and in his correspondence with the queen, he avowed, " that the party he should abandon must fall." At the same time he told Cromwell, " that the church must be established according to law." These, with other facts of the like kind, led the army to abandon the king, and watch and confine him more closely. This alarmed the king and he fled to the Isle of Wight, where he was confined in Carisbrook Castle, nearly one whole year.

During this time, a treaty of accommodation was entered upon, for settling the religion of the nation upon the Presbyterian plan, and restoring tranquillity to the state generally ; which was sent to the king for his concurrence. The king dissented, and the three parties all took their stand. The

king was firm ; but a prisoner. The Parliament were firm ; but could only legislate ; the army were firm, and held the sword. The Parliament and army united, and the king was put under close confinement, where he remained nearly a year.

The confinement of the king excited the feelings of the nation, many rose in arms, and an army of 20,000 Scots entered England, with a view to restore the king, upon the terms of the covenant. The army were again in the service of the Parliament, and bore down all before them ; all was discord and confusion.

In the midst of this distress, the Parliament by their commissioners opened again a conference or treaty with the king, in the Isle of Wight ; in which all their former demands were renewed, and so much of them rejected by the king as to break off the treaty. The army again expressed their resentment against the treaty, because all toleration and liberty of conscience were omitted, their leaders fanned the flame, by appointing fast days, and prayers, at their head quarters, until they were ripe for desperate measures ; they then resolved to assume the sovereign power, bring the king to justice, set aside the covenant, and establish the commonwealth ; all this was introduced with a remonstrance to Parliament against the treaty, the king's government, &c. and demanded that he be brought to justice, as the cause of all their troubles. They next seized the king and conveyed him to Windsor for his trial ; the Parliament and army were again at issue ; the army marched up to London, and entered the city. The Parliament resented all this outrage, and voted to conclude a peace with the king upon the basis of the treaty ; but the military disturbed their sittings, and prevented the treaty ; most of the commons fled to their homes, and the remainder conformed to the views of the army.

The commons passed a resolution to try the king, 1642. The kirk of Scotland, by their commissioners, with many foreign princes and states, remonstrated against the execution of the king ; but to no effect ; the army went right on, and obtained a vote of Parliament, *that all ceremonies due to crown-*

ed heads be laid aside, and passed the following resolutions.
 " 1st. That the people under God are the original of all power.
 2d. That the House of Commons are the supreme power of the nation. 3d. That whatever is declared for law by the Commons in Parliament, is valid, though the consent of the king and House of Peers be not had thereto."

Upon the strength of this resolve, the House of Commons proceeded to act alone, or separately, without the lords, and ordained a high court of justice for the king's trial, of 145 persons, twenty of whom might proceed to business. A process was served upon the king in due form, and he appeared before this tribunal, January 20th, 1648. The king denied the jurisdiction of the court, and persisted in his denial from day to day, for a whole week; the persistent pronounced sentence of death upon him as a traitor. He was accordingly executed in front of his palace, January 30, 1648, in the 49th year of his age.

Thus fell King Charles the 1st, and with him the monarchy, and the Hierarchy of England, and opened the way for the commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell.

I have given this civil and religious controversy in England in full length, because it was the hinge on which the reformation in England, as well as the civil and religious liberties of England and America turned. Who that examines the history of the reformation in England from the days of Wickliffe, can withhold his belief in the special agency of Divine Providence; in overruling all those events which opened the way for the rise of the Puritan Church, for her retreat to the wilderness of the west, in the wilds of New-England, for her prosperity there, which arose out of those very trials, God was in his wisdom using to suppress Popery, and bring forward the same Puritan Church in England? And finally, who can withhold his acquiescence in the divine government, in using such severity against those incorrigible enemies of his government and his church? Let us who have lived to see the happy effects that have resulted from this severity, by the united

efforts of the Puritan Churches of England and America, rejoice in the government of that God who doth all things according to his will, and whose causes shall stand.

CHAPTER X.

REMARKS.

I have now carried forward the history of the revolution in England, to the death of the king, for the purpose of shewing how God, in his all-wise providence, raised up a James I a Charles I. and a Bishop Laud, to open the eyes of that nation, by their tyrannical usurpations and persecutions, to see the corruptions of the Papal Church, and how he made use of those rods of tyranny and despotic power, *the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission*, to persecute his saints, and drive them out from the land of their fathers, to take refuge in the wilds of New-England, and build up the pure church of his modern Canaan in the wilderness of the west. The same hand of Divine Providence is as conspicuous in this, as it was in the despotic power and cruel oppressions of Pharaoh, in driving out God's ancient people from the land of Egypt, to take refuge in the wilds of Asia, and build up the pure church in his ancient Canaan, in the wilderness of the east. No two events, of equal magnitude, in the whole system of Divine Providence, ever compared in all their parts, with greater exactness than these ; and no two events were ever of greater magnitude and importance in their consequences to the world. The first opened the way for the diffusion of the knowledge of the one true God, and the first advent of his son Jesus Christ ; the second has opened the way for the spread of this knowledge, by the diffusion of the scriptures of truth throughout the world, and for the display of Jesus Christ at his second advent. How far the saints of the Most High. who were the actors in these scenes of distress, who became the immediate subjects of this bitter persecution, fled into voluntary banishment, and laid the foun-

dation of the Puritan Church in this howling wilderness, had a foretaste, or prescience of the glorious days the church in the wilderness has already enjoyed, and the still more glorious days she is destined to enjoy, is uncertain ; doubtless their faith and hopes were strong ; but even these must have fallen far short of the reality of what we at this day experience ; because no such instance of national, civil, and religious prosperity, had ever been recorded on the whole page of history ; a prosperity that approaches the nearest to the blessed millennial state, of any that it can be in the heart of man to conceive of ; and may well serve to give us a foretaste of the enjoyments of that glorious period. Perhaps the difference of the happiness and enjoyments of this modern Canaan, and the happiness and enjoyments of the millennial kingdom, will not be greater, than the happiness and enjoyments of this modern Canaan, are now greater than those of any one, or all the nations and kingdoms of the whole habitable earth.

With what gratitude and submission to the will of Divine Providence, ought we to look back upon these scenes of suffering, tyranny, and distress, that were the causes of promoting to such an extent, the glory of God, the happiness of America, and the good of the world ?

It is no part of my plan to enquire whether it was right, or best at that time, to take the life of the king, and abolish the civil and religious institutions of the nation ; nor who were the *immediate instruments*, amongst all the conflicting interests of party : it is sufficient for me, that the immediate agency of God, was as conspicuous in these great and important events, as in the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, in the Red Sea, and with equal resignation to both, I can say, the will of the Lord be done. Had the king and Arch-Bishop Laud prevailed, what would have been the state of the Protestant Church in England, and of the Puritan Church in the wilderness ? What would have been in the place of the united labours of these churches, in diffusing the Scriptures of Truth, and giving to an ignorant, dark, and benighted world, the light of the Gospel, and the knowledge of the one true God ? Let each one pause

and reflect for himself. I shall not attempt to enquire whether James I. Charles I. Arch-Bishop Laud. or even Oliver Cromwell, with any, or all of the host of blind instruments, who became the rods of their power, were honest, or conscientious in their principles or views, or whether they were all the creatures of pride and ambition; but with a steady eye to the glorious events they have accomplished, and were destined to accomplish, I can most fervently unite with my Divine Master, and say, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

I have thus far accomplished my design, in shewing the causes that led to, as well as the causes that promoted the settlement of New-England, and built up this little church in the wilderness. I will take a retrospective view of this subject, and shew, that the causes that led the first settlers of New-England, to lay the foundation of their civil and religious institutions in a commonwealth, and not in a monarchy, led the reformers in England to change their monarchy into a commonwealth.

1. Monarchy and Popery, with a religious Hierarchy, had been the government of England from the days of Alfred, and even from their origin; but more immediately so, from the time of the Norman conquest, under William the 1st, and they were considered as co-existent with each other, and inseparably connected.

2. From the time of Wickliffe, in the 14th century, men began to question whether this was consistent with the pure principles and doctrines of the Gospel; this led to that enquiry which opened the way for the rise of the Puritan Church, and through them, the accomplishing of all the successive prosperity of the Gospel.

3. This, under the existing state of things, (considering the habits of the nation, which had grown up with them from their infancy, or even their birth,) could not have been changed by any thing short of that revolution, which ended in a commonwealth.

4. This commonwealth strengthened and supported the rising commonwealths of the infant church in the wilderness ; the two nations at this time became joint co-operators in support of the reformation ; they flourished, and were prosperous and happy beyond all former example.

Thus we see how God in his all-wise providence, has brought light out of darkness, and order out of confusion ; has supported the pure principles of the reformation in England, which commenced with Wickliffe ; has raised up and established the Puritan Church, and through them, planted his modern Canaan in the wilderness of the west. Let us who have lived to witness the glorious accomplishment of so many glorious events, and have been permitted to share so largely in the blessings they have produced, bless God for his *distinguished favours to us* ; and at the same time, let us remember, "*that to whom much is given, of them much will be required.*"

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