

# ETHAN ALLEN

BY

CHARLES WALTER BROWN





# ETHAN ALLEN



OF GREEN MOUNTAIN FAME

A HERO OF THE REVOLUTION

By Charles Walter Brown, A. M.

Author of "Nathan Hale," "John Paul Jones," "La Fayette," "Paul  
Revere," "Pulaski," Etc., Etc.

*"The cause I was engaged in, I ever viewed worth  
hazarding my life for, nor was I, in the most critical  
moments of trouble, sorry that I engaged in it."*

—ETHAN ALLEN.

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**THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED**

**To**

**MY MOTHER.**

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## ETHAN ALLEN.

Hurra for old Ethan,  
The hero of Ti!  
Whose heart was most dauntless  
When danger was nigh.  
His sword was an army,  
His presence a host,—  
Who bolder and braver  
Can chivalry boast!

The lyre of the poet,  
The pen of the sage,  
May quicken the spirit,  
Enlighten the age.  
Still the sword of the hero,  
When drawn for the truth,  
Is the pride of the aged,  
The glory of youth.

Old Ethan, we love thee,  
Thou valiant and bold;  
Thy name shall be spoken  
Where brave deeds are told.  
While bright skies bend o'er us,  
And pure waters flow,  
In the name of old Ethan  
We'll to victory go.

Then let every freeman,  
Remember with joy,  
The deeds of old Ethan,  
The Green Mountain Boy.  
From mountain and valley  
Let patriots cry,—  
“Hurra for old Ethan,  
The hero of Ti!”

## INTRODUCTION.

The American Revolution called forth the latent energies of many individuals who, in a more peaceable state of political affairs, would have slumbered in obscurity and gone down to the grave unhonored and unknown. The very nature of the policy of Great Britain toward the Colonies—a policy every way tyrannical and oppressive—was calculated to call into action the efforts of every friend of liberty. It was an attempt to strip the people of their rights and manacle them with the fetters of slavery; but, thanks to the spirit which prevailed among our fathers—thanks to the patriotism which then warmed the hearts of the people—the mercenaries of a foreign power were unequal to the task of accomplishing the designs of their masters.

True-hearted volunteers rallied to the calls of the brave and wise men of our country—Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Lee, Patrick Henry—all imbued with a spirit worthy of the little band of Greeks which defended the pass of Thermopylæ and their national liberty. They fought and conquered, these doughty sons of Columbia, and their declining years were cheered with the knowledge that the country for which they had struggled so long and at such fearful sacrifices, was now free and her people prosperous and happy. That their deeds of heroism, privation and sufferings were gratefully



remembered by those who profited most in that hour of supreme national rejoicing, is best shown in the firm, unyielding spirit in which they flung defiance back upon the enemy in the immortal utterances of July 4, 1776.

Perhaps no individual of equal advantages, and in the station he occupied, contributed more toward establishing the independence of our country than Ethan Allen, of Vermont, unless it be the single exception of John Paul Jones. The mass of people among whom Allen resided were rude and uncultured, yet bold in spirit and insanely zealous in action. It consequently follows that no one but a man of strong, natural endowments—of much decision, energy and bravery—could control their prejudices and inclinations. Habit had rendered them familiar with danger and impatient of restraint; hence it followed that no policy, unless proceeding from a source in which they had confidence, ever gained their approbation.

Upon Ethan Allen whose courage was undoubted, and whose zealous devotion to their interests was universally acknowledged, they implicitly relied. They had known him in adversity and in prosperity; they had weighed him and found nothing lacking. To friend or foe, he was ever the same unyielding advocate of the rights of man and universal liberty, unconditionally and without reserve. Therefore the policy he upheld as beneficial to the common cause of American liberty, ever found strong and sufficient supporters among the friends with whom he associated and by whom he was best known. We see the same spirit manifested to a marked degree in

action as well as in all of the public utterances of Paul Jones, and it is even more manifest in the dying thoughts of Nathan Hale, who exclaimed, even with the noose about his neck: "If I had ten thousand lives I would lay them down one at a time for my injured, bleeding country."

From the commencement of our revolutionary struggle for liberty until victory crowned our efforts, Ethan Allen proved an ardent and strenuous supporter of the Cause. Whether in the field or council—whether at home, a freeman among the green hills of Vermont, or loaded with the manacles of despotism in a foreign country, his spirit never quailed beneath the sneer of the Tory, or the harsh threats of insolent authority. A stranger to fear, his opinions were ever given without disguise or hesitation; and, as an enemy to oppression, he sought every opportunity to redress the wrongs of the oppressed. It is not to be supposed, however, that he was faultless. Like other men he had his faults—sins; like other men, he had his foibles—his weaknesses; yet he was not willfully stubborn. When convinced of an erroneous position, he was ever willing to yield; but in theory, as in practice, he contested every inch of the ground and only yielded when inadequately supported or when he had no weapons left to meet his adversary. This trait in his character serves at least to prove that he was honest in his conclusions however erroneous the premises from which they were deduced.

Ethan Allen was ever the zealous friend of the section in which he resided. He was ever the champion of the

humble citizen contending for the rights of individual property and human justice. In these offices of friendship and duty he had the confidence and esteem of his neighbors. He had evinced a spirit of patriotism and a love of freedom which warmly recommended him to the notice and the admiration of the most determined and able advocates of American liberty. That he should have been selected as a leader in an enterprise of the highest moment to the cause of liberty, was alike due to his principles, his services, his position, and to a constitution more rugged than any of his compatriots of the plains and malaria-infested inlets of the South.

Fortunately, Colonel Allen took the precaution to furnish abundant material out of which an innumerable number of memoirs or biographical sketches could be evolved, and succeeding generations have the assurance that few writers who have attempted to portray the character of this eccentric mountaineer have dared to wander far from this hero's estimate of his own services or the part he played in defense of his country's liberty. No excuse is offered in the present instance for a liberal extraction from so authentic a source for the author believes a biographical work is materially strengthened by permitting the subject of his sketch to add a line here and there, thus giving color as well as realism to the whole. The memory of so eminent, so unselfish, so devoted a patriot and defender of his country's flag as Colonel Ethan Allen of Green Mountain fame should be held in veneration by every American.

# ETHAN ALLEN

OF

## GREEN MOUNTAIN FAME.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EARLY LIFE OF ETHAN ALLEN.

Little is known of the early life of Ethan Allen of Green Mountain fame—the hero of Ticonderoga. His father, Joseph Allen, was a native of Coventry, Tolland County, Connecticut, where the family had resided many years. It is indeed a singular coincidence that so small a village as Coventry, with scarcely a score of dwellings, should also have been the birthplace of Captain Nathan Hale, the martyr spy, as well as other members of these two illustrious families which the Revolution called from obscurity to imperishable fame.

Joseph Allen was a sober, industrious farmer, of kind and generous character. He was ready at all times to give liberally of his sustenance, which though not great was ample for his small but increasing family. After his marriage in 1736 to Mary Baker, the daughter of another Tolland County patriot, Allen removed to Litchfield, the county seat of a large and prosperous county of the same name, some hundred or more miles distant from his native village. He had bargained for the purchase of a large farm near Litchfield, but not finding

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things to his liking, Allen with his young wife took up their abode on a smaller farm a short distance from town. It was here on the tenth of January, 1737, that their first child was born, and they named him Ethan after his paternal great-grandfather.

Shortly after the birth of Ethan the family again moved farther west, settling near Cornwall on the west bank of the Housatonic river, not far from the present village of Ellsworth. Here other children were born, eight in all. Ethan, being the oldest, was followed in the order named by Heman, Lydia, Heber, Levi, Lucy, Zimri and Ira. All grew to maturity, for they were nature's children and had the good fortune to have been born where grass and flowers and trees grow untended; where waters gush from nature's own fountains and where the air is not polluted with gas from sewers and smoke from factory, mill and shop. The girls, marrying early, remained near the old homestead, while the boys, influenced by their elder brother Ethan, emigrated northward and settled in the hills west of the Green Mountains, then a wilderness in southern Vermont. They were as bold and fearless a lot of patriots as were those intrepid scouts of the plains—Custer, Cody, Boone, Carson, Crocket and others whose names are synonyms for bold and enterprising deeds.

About the year 1772 or '73 Ethan Allen, then about thirty-five years of age, moved to Bennington, a small but promising village in southwestern Vermont. Here he married his first wife who did not long survive. His second wife, after the death of Allen, married a Doctor

Penniman, a physician of prominence at Colchester, in upper Vermont.

Ethan's education, like that of a great majority of the people of that period and locality, was quite limited owing to the fact that few schools were then in operation and books were neither as plentiful nor as easy to procure as they are today even in localities farther removed from commercial centers than was Vermont when Boston and New York were without railroads, telegraphs or telephones. The necessity of a thorough education was not deemed as essential to a successful career then as it is today. More attention was given to the moral welfare of a sturdy manhood and womanhood than to the acquirements and spread of scientific information which is of little value unless applied for the betterment of the race. Notwithstanding the difficulties under which these sturdy pioneers labored, a vast fund of *practical* knowledge was possessed by the majority of settlers; knowing nothing of the ways of Dartmouth, Harvard or Yale—then in their prime—Ethan Allen possessed an abundance of rare common sense; he was a self-made man—a born leader of men. He was enterprising; he was ambitious; he sought fame—notoriety, and like Paul Jones, Lafayette and Casimir Pulaski, he early espoused the cause of the Colonies as the surest means of obtaining recognition for himself and freedom for the oppressed from all lands. He was endowed with rare observing faculties, which, on the clear and superior mind that he possessed, led him to explore every avenue that led toward his cherished goal.

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A warm attachment to liberty, freedom, independence—component parts of the elements, which, entering into the physical man and manifesting its assimilation in a frenzy, took on the aspect of a religion; the longing for these led Allen to freely and boldly express his contempt for the oppressive policy manifested by Great Britain toward her Colonies in America. "Ever since I arrived at the state of manhood, and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty. The history of nations, doomed to perpetual slavery, in consequence of yielding up to tyrants their natural born liberties, I read with a sort of philosophical horror."

To such sentiments as these, is to be attributed the zeal with which he sought on every occasion to instill into the minds of his associates an aversion for the political power by which the Colonies were controlled, and the people held in thralldom. Convinced that man was designed by nature to be the arbiter of his own actions, and that he was fitted to act for himself in matters concerning the affairs of the country in which he lived, he entertained, as he uniquely observes, a "philosophical horror" of every species of tyranny and oppression. It is not singular, therefore, that the friends of the American Revolution found in him an efficient leader ready for any emergency and any danger, and that wherever any evils existed affecting the interests of the community in which he lived, he was the first to apply the language of persuasion or the rod of correction.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS.

We hear little of Ethan Allen until we find him a resident in the New Hampshire Grants—now the State of Vermont. At the period of his removal to this territory, a controversy was pending between the authorities of New York and the settlers in relation to the validity of the original titles to their lands and other matters connected with their rights and property. The first settlements were made under grants from the Provincial Government of Massachusetts, but in the year 1740, by a recommendation of King George II., the father and immediate predecessor of George the Third, through whose insane belief in the divine right of kings the American colonies were lost to Great Britain, the territory was placed under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. A correspondence, however, was opened between the Governors of New Hampshire and New York in which the governor of the latter commonwealth claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the territory. Notwithstanding this claim, the New Hampshire governor proceeded to make further grants, and by advice of his Council in the year 1760, ordered a survey of all lands lying on both sides of the Connecticut river for sixty miles above the former survey made by the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The applications for lands being numerous, other



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surveys rapidly followed, and during the year 1761 about sixty townships were apportioned among the settlers. In return for these, the Governor was liberally paid by the settlers, receiving besides fees allowed by law, a reservation of five hundred acres in each township for himself. This state of affairs excited the jealousies of the New York authorities, who determined if possible to check the operations of the Governor of New Hampshire. In view of this result the Lieutenant-Governor of New York issued a proclamation in which he referred to the grants made by Charles II. to the Duke of York in 1664, which embraced "all the lands from the west side of the Connecticut river, on the east side of Delaware Bay to the most northerly parts below the St. Lawrence."

Relying upon this title to the territory, he ordered the Sheriff of Albany County, New York, to furnish him with the names of all persons occupying lands on the west side of the Connecticut river under the New Hampshire Grants. In answer to this proclamation the Governor of New Hampshire issued a counter one in which the grant to the Duke of York was declared obsolete. The settlers were urged to be diligent and industrious, and not to fear the threats of the New York authorities. In this state of things, application was made by the Governor of New York, William Tryon, directly to the Crown, for a confirmation of New York's claims; and in consequence of this application, the king ordered that the "Western bank of the Connecticut river from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, be the boundary line between the said provinces of New

Hampshire and Vermont." This decision surprised and irritated the settlers on the grants, yet it produced no serious alarm. It was merely regarded as extending the jurisdiction of New York over the territory without affecting in any manner their title to the lands upon which they had settled, for they had paid for them and obtained deeds to the same under the Crown. The Governor of New Hampshire at first remonstrated against the decision of the king in relation to extending the jurisdiction of New York, but finally submitted to the change and issued a Proclamation to that effect.

The Governor of New York, immediately after the decision of the Crown, proceeded to extend his jurisdiction over the New Hampshire Grants, dividing the territory into four counties and establishing courts of justice in each. The settlers were imperatively commanded to surrender their charters and repurchase their lands under grants from New York. A few complied with this order, but a large majority peremptorily refused. The lands of the latter were granted to others in whose names writs of ejectment were issued and judgments obtained in the New York courts. A determined resistance was made by the settlers against these unjust and arbitrary measures, and for the purpose of rendering the resistance more effectual, a number of associations of the people were formed and a convention finally called composed of representatives from the different towns of the Green Mountain district. After much deliberation the convention appointed Samuel Robinson agent to go to London and represent to the king the grievances suffered by the settlers and to obtain a confirmation of the New Hamp-

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shire grants. The report of the agent was favorably received by the king: "His Majesty was pleased with the advice of his Private Council, to approve thereof, and 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 His Majesty's highest displeasure, presume to make any grant, whatsoever, of any part of the lands described in the said report, until His Majesty's further pleasure shall be known, concerning the same."

This explicit prohibition of the king, however, was of little or no avail. The Governor of New York continued to make grants, and writs of ejectment were issued as formerly. Thus, compelled to resort to more effective measures than mere argument, the people assembled in convention at Bennington and "Resolved to support their rights and property under the New Hampshire Grants, against the usurpation and unjust claims of the Governor and Council of New York by force, as law and justice were denied them."

The adoption of this resolution was followed by a resolute and spirited resistance to the Civil officers of New York. Many of them were siezed by the people and severely "chastised with twigs of the wilderness." A military association was also formed of which Ethan Allen was appointed Colonel-Commandant and Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Gideon Warner and others were appointed Captains. Committees of safety were likewise appointed in several towns west of the Green Mountains.

The authorities of New York directed the Sheriff of

Albany County to raise a *posse comitatus* to assist in the execution of his office and a proclamation was issued by the Governor of New York offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds (\$750) for the apprehension of Ethan Allen, and fifty pounds (\$250) each for the apprehension of Seth Warner, and five others named in the writ. Allen and the other proscribed persons, in turn, issued a Proclamation offering five pounds (\$25) for apprehending and delivering to any officer of the Green Mountain Boys, the Attorney-General of the Colony of New York.

At this crisis of the controversy, Governor Tryon of New York addressed a communication "To the Rev. Mr. Dewey [an ancestor of Admiral George Dewey] and the inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country on the east side of Hudson's River," in which he unequivocally pointed out what he termed the "illegal acts" committed by the settlers against the authority of New York. He also extended an invitation to Mr. Dewey to lay before the government the causes of the proceedings. "That there may be no obstruction to your laying before me, in Council, as soon as possible, a fair representation of your conduct, I do hereby engage full security and protection to all persons whom you shall choose to send on this business, to New York, from the time they leave their homes to the time of their return, except Robert Cochran, as also Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and William Sevil, mentioned in my Proclamation of the 9th of December last, and Seth Warner, whose audacious behavior to a Civil Magistrate, has subjected him to the penalties of the laws of his country." To this commu-

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nication a respectful but firm answer was returned, detailing the oppressions under which the settlers suffered, and beseeching his Excellency to be friendly disposed towards them and lend his assistance to quiet them in their possessions "until his Majesty, in his royal wisdom, should be graciously pleased to settle the controversy." In addition to this reply, the following special communication was made to the Governor at the same time:

BENNINGTON, June 5, 1772.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM TRYON, ESQ., ETC.

May it please your Excellency—We, his Majesty's loyal subjects, whose names are to this piece affixed, inhabitants on that tract of land your Excellency describes by the name of Bennington, and the adjacent country, etc., and who were, by your Excellency's letter of the 19th of May last, prohibited the privilege of going to New York, and personally vindicate either ourselves or country, before your Excellency, and being put to the extremity of informing your Excellency by writing the reason of our discontent, and also of our behavior, which we shall more largely set forth, than is in the foregoing general answer to your Excellency's letter; and also exhibit more arguments deduced from reason and the nature of things; we hope your Excellency will be graciously pleased to view this our defence with that tenderness and candor, a gentleman in so elevated a station should do, and, therefore, beg leave to observe, that, as, on the one hand, no consideration whatever, shall induce us to remit, in the least, of our loyalty and gratitude to our most gracious Sovereign, nor of a reasonable subjection to your Excellency; so on the other

hand, no tyrannical exertions of the powers of the government can deter us from asserting and vindicating our undoubted rights and privileges as Englishmen. We expected an answer from your Excellency, to our humble petition to you delivered, soon after your Excellency's accession to the administration of the government; but for reasons to us unknown, your Excellency passed it by in silence. However, we cheerfully embrace this opportunity of laying before your Excellency in Council the true state of our controversy, which, we can no otherwise do but by absorbing our personal distinction into the community, and general cause, to which we have obtained the character of faithful. We assure your Excellency that we assent to your authority of jurisdiction, inasmuch as his Majesty's Proclamation assures us, it is his will and pleasure, we be under the jurisdiction of New York; and not only now assent to it, but have ever done the same, except in instances where such perverse use has been made thereof as would dispossess us of our property and country. We are truly desirous of petitioning his Majesty to re-annex us to the Province of New Hampshire. But this is not the ground of our discontent, or at least, is far from being the principal ground for it, though it was done *ex parte*, and we apprehend there were more or less wrong representations made to his Majesty, to obtain the jurisdiction. However, it is the unreasonable and unconstitutional exercise of it, that is the present bone of contention—our properties are all at stake; this we contend for, as the following known facts will demonstrate: A certain number of designing men in New York (and elsewhere) procured pat-

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ents under the great seal of that Province, and those grantees, being non-residents, brought writs of ejectment against the New Hampshire settlers on the same land, covered by both patents, as aforesaid, and obtained judgment against them, and proceeded further and took out writs of possession, and actually dispossessed several of them by order of Law of their houses and farms, leaving them to suffer the inclemency of the weather, bereaved of all the necessaries of life, their new masters having monopolized their earthly all to themselves. These indigent families, having in the first place expended their several fortunes, in bringing their farms out of a wilderness state, into that of fruitful fields, gardens and orchards, the whole country consisting of more than fifteen hundred families, was greatly alarmed at the event which had already begun to take place, and in the greatest consternation; each individual, from these instances, reading their own intolerable and universal destruction. Still the writs of ejectment came thicker and faster, and universal slavery, poverty and horror, emblematically appeared in every countenance.

Thus, things having come to this pass, the oppression was too great for human nature, under English Constitution, to grope under, for those unparalleled instances struck an infinitely more terrible idea, than that of the exertion of the Powers of Government.

Law and society compacts were made to protect and secure the subjects in their peaceable possessions and properties, and not to subvert them. No person or community of persons can be supposed to be under any particular compact of Law, except it presupposeth, that that

Law will protect such persons or community of persons in his or their properties; for otherwise, the subject would, by Law, be bound to be accessory to his own ruin and destruction, which is inconsistent with the Law of self-preservation; but this Law, being natural as well as eternal, can never be abrogated by the Law of men.

We would acquaint your Excellency, that since our misfortune in being annexed to the Province of New York, law has been rather used as a tool than a rule of equity, to cheat us out of the country we have made vastly valuable by labor and expense of our fortunes. We conclude these things are yet unknown, or in a great measure so to your Excellency, as your Excellency's commencement of the administration, hath not been long, and a set of artful, wicked men, concealing the truth from your Excellency, purposing to make a booty of us, characterizing us (speaking of our inhabitants in general) as so many rioters, if not rebels; and we being a poor people, at a great distance from your Excellency's place of residence, fatigued in settling a wilderness country, have little or no opportunity of acquainting your Excellency of our grievances, except by one short petition delivered to your Excellency, soon after your first taking the administration—and as our cause is represented before his Majesty and Council, we did not expect your Excellency to determine the controversy, nor do we yet expect it. We are sensible those men that seek our ruin, thereby, to enrich themselves, do, by stratagems of every kind, represent us to your Excellency as breakers of the peace, and enemies to the government; and under this pretense,



they hope to catch a number of the boldest of our inhabitants, and punish them in the New York Inquisition, with that severity that the residue may be frightened out of both liberty and property; for otherwise, they would soon be indicted rioters, and thus, under color of punishing rioters, and a zeal of loyalty and veneration for good government, rob the inhabitants of their country. If we do not oppose the Sheriff and his Posse, he takes immediate possession of our houses and farms; if we do, we are immediately indicted rioters; and when others oppose officers in taking such, their friends, so indicted, they are also indicted and so on, there being no end of indictments against us, so long as we act the bold and manly part, and stand by our liberty.

This is a short sketch of the disingenuous cunning of Messieurs Duane and Kemp, and their associates; and it comes to this, at last, that we must tamely be dispossessed, or oppose officers in taking possession; and as a next necessary step, oppose taking of rioters, so called, or run away like so many cowards, and quit the country to a number of cringing, polite gentlemen, who have, ideally, possessed themselves of it already.

As to sundry men, who have eloped lately from our grants, and fled to New York for protection, self-preservation necessitated us to treat some of them roughly; and others, viz., Ebenezer Cowl, and Jonathan Wheat, of Shaftesbury, fled to New York, on account of their own guilt, not being hurt or threatened. Would time permit, we could give a rational account for most, or all of our late conduct towards these men. The general reason is this, namely, they were a set of men that loved them-

selves, and not their country; they busied themselves in planning and assisting to take rioters, so called. In fine, they were the emissaries of that mercenary corps of Yorkers, and did more, in oppressing the people, than their preposterous benefactors.

The assault, made upon Mr. Baker, at daybreak, of the night of the 22d of March last, by a number of ruffians, under the command of the infamous John Munro, Esq., was a notorious riot, and gave energy and motion, to the subsequent acts, your Excellency denominates illegal. This Munro, and his bloody party, by cutting, wounding and maiming, Mr. Baker, his wife and children, in such an inhuman and savage manner, was no less than proclaiming himself in a public manner, to be a malicious and bloody enemy, not only to Mr. Baker, but also to all those men on our grants who manfully adhere to maintaining liberty and property; and inasmuch as the murderous villain is alive, he has no cause of complaint—for, after his assault upon Mr. Baker, he made another assault upon Mr. Seth Warner; but not having so strong a party of ruffians with him, as in his other expedition, it was not attended with the like consequences, for Mr. Warner struck his head with a cutlass, and leveled him to the ground; but the blow proved not mortal; and after this, for his satisfaction for the wound, threatened the lives of a number of New Hampshire settlers. Your Excellency will undoubtedly consider, as our opponents have had the manufactory of the civil laws so much under their power, that this merciless man could not be brought to justice, nor could others among us be safe any other way, but by using him in his own play; he set

the example and enraged the people to mimic him from that natural principle in every man's own breast.

As to the perfidious and treacherous Bliss Willoughby, he always pretended to be a friend of the said Baker's, and Baker had ever been truly a friend of his—this hypocrite, two days before Baker was taken, made a frivolous excuse of business, went to said Baker's house, viewed the strength of it, perceived Baker was somewhat careless and secure, and made report to the said Munro. In fine, Willoughby was the planner and instigator of that savage cruelty, exercised to said Baker, which was perpetrated and brought into action by the detestable Munro. As to the history of our late transactions, whether they be all right or not, we, on our part, have a few arguments and considerations more to lay before your Excellency, as to the cause of our discontent, as well as to the cause of our late actions your Excellency denominates illegal.

The alteration of jurisdiction in 1764, could not affect private property. Surely his Majesty by this alteration, did not purpose to take away the personal property of a large number of his loyal subjects, and transfer it to other subjects; the English Constitutions will, by no means, admit of this, for the transferring or alienation of property is a sacred prerogative of the true owner. Kings and Governors cannot intermeddle therewith. Furthermore, your Excellency and Council must needs be informed that we have a petition lying before his Majesty and Council, for redress of grievances. That is an impartial board; pray why may it not be determined here? For the very identical matters in dispute are now, and for several years past have been lying before that Court,

except the accusations of riotousness, disorderly, etc., which is improved as a handle to subvert property, and that only.

Furthermore, in the time of Sir Henry Moore's administration, his Majesty was pleased to lay the government of New York under absolute prohibition not to grant or patent any of the lands antecedently granted under the great seal of the Province of New Hampshire; and furthermore forbade the government to disturb or molest the settlers. This rightly understood, amounts to a supersedeas over the authority of common law, and absolutely controls the cognizance thereof. As to the particular matters in the prohibition set forth, or matters lying before his Majesty by petition, the import of the prohibition must needs be thus, namely: that his Majesty by it informs the government of New York that he has taken the controversy, to him made known by petition, under his royal consideration, and that, after due information and evidence of the state of the case, determines to settle the controversy; consequently forbids the government taking cognizance thereof; and common sense teaches us that under such prohibition, if a judgment at common law be supposed to be valid, it would invalidate the authority of the Crown and subvert and overthrow the authority of the kingdom, as it would render the prohibitions of the crown perfectly impertinent. Therefore, common law in the case before us, is not clothed with cognizance of this case, much less with authority to dispossess us; consequently, every party of men, that have, with officers, or otherwise, come into these parts to dispossess us, came in open defiance and

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direct opposition to his Majesty's orders and authority; and though they style us rioters, for opposing them, and seek to catch and punish us as such; yet, in reality, themselves are the rioters, the tumultuous, disorderly, stimulating faction, or, in fine, the land-robbers; and every violent act they have done to compass their designs, though ever so much under pretence of law, is, in reality, a violation of law, and an insult on the constitution and authority of the Crown, as well as to many of us, in person who have been great sufferers from such inhuman exertions of pretended legality of law. Right and wrong are eternally the same, to all periods of time, places and nations; and coloring a crime with a specious pretence of law, only adds to the criminality of it; for, it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes. Can any man in the exercise of reason make himself believe that a number of attorneys and other gentlemen, with all their tackle of ornaments and compliments, and French *finesse*, together with their boasted legality of law—can these gentlemen have just right to the lands, labors and fortunes of the New Hampshire settlers? Certainly they cannot. Yet, this is the object they had in view—by mercenary fraternity.

We do not suppose, may it please your Excellency, we are making opposition to a government, as such; it is nothing more than a party, chiefly carried on by a number of gentlemen attorneys (if it be not abuse to gentlemen of merit to call them so), who manifest a surprising and enterprising thirst of avarice after our country; but, for a collection of such intriguers, to plan matters of influence of a party, so as eventually to become judges

in their own case, and, thereby cheat us out of our country, appears to us so audaciously unreasonable and tyrannical, that we view it with the utmost detestation and indignation, and our breasts glow with a martial fury to defend our persons and fortunes from the ravages of those that would destroy us; but not against your Excellency's person or government.

We are fully persuaded, your Excellency's ears have been much abused by subtle and designing men; for, we are informed, from credible authority, your Excellency has, lately, made application to your Assembly to raise an armed force to subdue us, but that the motion was negatived. We apprehend your Excellency views us as opposing your Excellency's jurisdiction, and that the violent acts by us done were in rebellion to his Majesty's authority, or your Excellency had never proposed the subduing of us; we are morally certain we can convince your Excellency that it is not so; but that on the other hand Messieurs Duane, Kemp and their associates, are the aggressors.

We have chosen two men from among us, viz., Capt. Stephen Fay and Mr. Joseph Fay, to treat with your Excellency in person; who, we hope, will answer such queries and give your Excellency the satisfaction you hope for.

We view your Excellency as our Governor and political father, and hope and expect, from the sincerity and candor of your Excellency's letter, you will be friendly and favorably disposed towards us, when your Excellency, by these lines, perceives the grounds of our discontent; for, we are conscious that our cause is good, and

that it was oppression which has been the ground of our discontent, and that self-preservation hath, hitherto urged us to the measure lately taken. And we now earnestly intreat your Excellency's aid and assistance to quiet us in our possessions and properties till his Majesty, in his royal wisdom, settle the controversy. If your Excellency should do this, there would be an end to riots, so called, and our tongues unable to express our gratitude to your Excellency for such protection.

Therefore, relying on your Excellency's great wisdom and goodness, as members of your Government, his Majesty's loyal and liege subjects, we subscribe ourselves your Excellency's ever faithful and humble servants,

ETHAN ALLEN.

SETH WARNER.

REMEMBER BAKER.

ROBERT COCHRAN.

Upon the receipt of the foregoing communications, Governor Tryon immediately laid them before his Council, who advised the Governor to afford the inhabitants of those townships all the relief in his power by suspending all prosecutions in behalf of the crown on account of the crimes alleged against them, until the pleasure of the King should be known.

It was further recommended that the owners of the contested lands, under grants from the Province of New York should not be disturbed and a stay be made in all civil suits then pending relative to the lands during the same period. This advice met the approbation of the Governor, who communicated it to the inhabitants of Bennington and the vicinity, in a lengthy proclamation issued June 12, 1772.



ETHAN ALLEN, TICONDEROGA.



## CHAPTER III.

### CONTROVERSY CONCERNING CLAIMS.

Pending these negotiations, the Green Mountain Boys, urged on by the numerous wrongs under which they suffered by the policy of the government of New York, through its governor Sir William Tryon, proceeded to eject a number of settlers on Otter Creek, a small stream in southwestern Vermont, who held their lands under titles from the Governor of New York. This aggression led Governor Tryon to issue a proclamation or "letter" to the inhabitants of Bennington and the country adjacent, in which he expressed his "high displeasure at the breach of faith and honor of some of the inhabitants in dispossessing the settlers on Otter Creek and its neighborhood, of their possessions, and required the assistance of the people in putting, forthwith, those families, who have been thus dispossessed, into re-possession of their lands and tenements."

In reply to this letter, the following lengthy communication from Ethan Allen was addressed to the Governor on behalf of a majority of the settlers on Otter Creek:

BENNINGTON, Aug. 25, 1772.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM TRYON, ESQ., ETC.

May it please your Excellency—We, his Majesty's liege and loyal subjects, inhabitants of Bennington, and the adjacent country, have received your Excellency's

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letter of the 11th of August inst., by which, we are informed of your Excellency's high displeasure towards us by reason of a body of our people's dispossessing several settlers on Otter Creek, and its neighborhood, of their possessions during the very time our messengers attended on your Excellency at New York and were waiting the determination of the government on our petition that we might remain unmolested in our possessions till the king's pleasure could be obtained. Your Excellency further informs us that you look on our late proceedings with great concern, viewing them as daring insults to the government, a violation of public faith and the conditions granted to our petition. We would, with proper submission, give your Excellency and Council a short narrative of facts, with a few reflections and reasons thereon. And,

First, we would observe that our messengers your Excellency styles Commissioners, were not authorized to establish and complete articles of public faith for their constituents. The business assigned them was to deliver the written petition and inform your Excellency and Council of the facts of the controversy subsisting, and further negotiate and forward the matter of our petition and return to us the determination of the government, reserving to ourselves the power of assenting to or dissenting therefrom; though true it is when the articles of amicable settlement or order of government was read at a public meeting held at Bennington on the 15th day of July ult. the said order and proposals were universally complied with by those present; from which time we reasonably compute the date of public faith and sacred

bond of friendship. But in the interim the conditions of faith were forming, and before a ratification thereof, Mr. Kockburn, a noted surveyor, unknown (as we suppose) to your Excellency and Council, by the contrivance, aid and employ of certain monopolizing adversaries of ours, took a tour to the northerly parts of the New Hampshire Grants to survey and make locations on our land. Such locating we view as a manifest plan and intention of invading our property—the same as intrenching round a city, portends a siege thereof.

Our people, having notice of Mr. Kockburn's intrusion on our borders, rallied a small party and pursued and overtook him and his party and in their pursuit passed the towns of Panton and New Haven, near the mouth of Otter Creek; dispossessed Col. Reed of a saw mill, in said Panton, which, by force, and without color or even pretence of recourse to law, he had taken from the original owners and builders, more than three years before, and did at the same time extend his force, terrors and threats into the town of New Haven; who, by the vicious and haughty aid of Mr. Benzell, the famed Engineer, with a number of assistants under their command, so terrified the inhabitants (which were about twelve in number) that they left their possessions and farms to the conquerors, and escaped with the skin of their teeth, although they had expended large sums of money in cutting roads to, and settling in that new country as well as fatigued and labored hard in cultivating their farms. Colonel Reed at the same time and with the same force did take possession of one hundred and thirty saw logs and fourteen thousand feet of pine boards, which boards were made

in the same mill and all lying thereby; all of which he converted to his own use. Not long after the original proprietor of the said saw mill did re-enter and take possession thereof but was a second time attacked by Colonel Reed's steward, with a number of armed men under his (supposed) instructions and by their superior force and threats, obliged to quit the premises again—all which tenements said Reed occupied and enjoyed until dispossessed as your Excellency's letter complains of.

But to return to Kockburn again. Our party having taken him as aforesaid, brought him to the town of Castleton, near South Bay, where, being first informed of your Excellency's clemency, as well as that of the honorable Council, in granting the prayer of our petition; and in conformity to the articles of settlement agreed on, dismissed him on honorable terms.

This is a short narrative of facts, for the proof of which, sufficient affidavits can be educed.

We are apprehensive, your Excellency has been hitherto unacquainted with these facts and have, therefore exhibited them in this letter; although it appears strange to us, according as your Excellency's own letter states the matter, that we should be suspected or taxed with violation of public faith, and that our disingenuous and dishonorable violation thereof, hath nullified and made void the late amicable settlement; for at the same time your Excellency charges us with breach of faith and settlement, the very preliminaries of this faith were not known on our part, and consequently could not have been complied with; the very stipulations and faith spoken of did not then exist; for it must be the meeting

of the minds of the contracting parties, which constitutes such faith and agreement and of course cannot be broken before its existence.

Mr. Kockburn's locating our lands, in the mean time the preliminaries of public faith were forming, was at least as much a breach of that with which we are charged. Nay, according to our conception of the matter, more so; as he made the first movement towards the invasion of our property.

Soon after our messengers returned from New York, and read the Minutes of Council and your Excellency's letter of compliance therewith, to a large auditory, convened at Bennington for that purpose, composed of inhabitants of that place, the adjacent country, and sundry respectable gentlemen from the neighboring Provinces; your Excellency's gracious, wise and benevolent proposals for settling unity and concord in our part of the Province were by those present unanimously applauded and conceded to; and all possible public testimony of honor and respect paid to your Excellency and Council by sundry discharges of cannon and small arms; your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity, as well as that of the honorable Council's, was the toast; your name commanded reverence and esteem and your Excellency's person in particular, became precious in our eyes.

And we do humbly assure your Excellency we have no disposition of alienation of affections towards you, or knowingly break any article of public faith.

There are two propositions which are the objects of our attention:

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Firstly: The protection of and the maintaining of our property.

And secondly: To use the greatest care and prudence not to break the article of public faith, or insult governmental authority.

These two propositions, we mean strictly and religiously to adhere to. And for the more explicit knowledge of the preliminaries and conditions of public faith and trust, we would inform your Excellency and Council, that our acceptance of those conditions on the part of New York, is that they make no further settlements or locations on our lands, granted under the great seal of the Providence of New Hampshire, until his Majesty's pleasure be obtained, as to the validity of the grants. Although this was not so fully expressed, yet we suppose it was implied in the abstract of the Minutes of Council; if it was not, we pray your Excellency and Council would undeceive us in that particular, for if we are deceived in this, then on this hypothesis your Excellency and Council's lenient and friendly disposition towards us will not for the future (by us) be viewed as such; for such location and settlements on our lands would be incompatible with friendship and a manifest infringement upon our property, which has all along been the bone of contention.

The last part of your Excellency's letter to us contains a requirement of our immediate assistance in repossessing Col. Reed's tenants of said tenements. As to this particular, had your Excellency have known by what means Colonel Reed obtained possession of these lands and tenements, undoubtedly your Excellency

would not have required our assistance in repossessing him; or have viewed with concern our dispossessing him, as a daring insult to government; for the case rightly understood, it appears that his conduct was a daring insult to government and continued violation of more than three years of the laws, restrictions, regulations, and economy both of God and man; a notorious breach of the tenth commandment of the decalogue, which says, "Thou shalt not covet," etc. He, coveting, did take the saw-mill, logs, boards and also the lands, labors, possessions, farms, tenements, etc., etc., from the rightful owners, proprietors and first occupants thereof, without a process at law, as aforesaid, to the exclusion from the premises more than three years; all which time he has been enriching himself by the improvements of their estates; and should we repossess him of the premises again, we should become co-partners with him, in his wickedness. Such an act we could not reconcile to our own consciences; it being apparently immoral and most flagrantly cruel and unjust.

When your Excellency and Council view these facts and arguments, we humbly conceive we shall not be required to repossess Colonel Reed of the premises, nor do we expect your Excellency and Council will adjudge us to be violators of the late articles of public faith, all of which, with due submission, we refer to your Excellency and Council.

At a general meeting held at Manchester on the 27th day of August, 1772, by the Committee of the towns of Bennington, Sunderland, Manchester, Dorset, Rupert, Pawlet, Wells, Poultney, Castleton, Pittsford and Rut-

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land the foregoing answer to his Excellency's letter of the 11th inst. was read to the said committees, and the vote was called by Mr. Nathan Clark, Chairman, whether the said answer be approved of by the said Committees and it was voted in the affirmative.

And we do now, with due reverence, ask the favor of a few lines which may certify to us the determination of the government, relative to the particulars litigated in this paper, and remain your ever faithful and most obedient and humble servants.

ATTEST,

ETHAN ALLEN,  
Clerk of Said Committees.



## CHAPTER IV.

### REWARD FOR HIS APPREHENSION.

The settlers on the New Hampshire Grants were a brave, zealous and hardy body of men and the numerous wrongs to which they had been subjected by the New York authorities had led them to a firm resistance in defence of their rights. In view of the British act of prohibition heretofore referred to, the government of New York, urged on by its imperious governor, proceeded to convey lands occupied under grants from royal authority, while the Albany courts uniformly decided in favor of the grantees of New York. Writs of possession having been issued, and every means put in requisition to defraud the settlers of their just rights, they had no alternative left but open resistance. At their head stood Ethan Allen, who was chosen by common consent to become their leader; bold, even to desperation, he was fitted in every respect for the important character he sustained in the drama which enabled him, in stage parlance, to assume the role of "leading man" with productions ranging from farce-comedy to tragedy. The settlers confidently relied upon his skill, his zeal and his well-known reputation for bravery, for the successful termination of their difficulties; that their confidence in him was increased by the plans he originated and carried into effect was evident from the fact that he was chosen to command rather than

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to obey. He wrote and distributed several pamphlets, addressed more particularly to the feelings of the settlers, in which the injustice of the New York authorities was strongly depicted and the proceedings of the Green Mountain Boys triumphantly vindicated. He contributed much by voice and pen to inform the minds, arouse the zeal and unite the efforts of the settlers in an assault upon the enemies of liberty.

For the purpose of enforcing such measures as the exigency of the situation required, the inhabitants of Rutland and Bennington counties met at Bennington and formed an organization with accredited delegates, which was to meet only on extraordinary occasions. Among other measures adopted by this body, was, "that no person should take grants, or confirmation of grants, under the government of New York." Again "all the inhabitants in the district of the New Hampshire Grants, were forbidden to hold, take or accept any office of honor or profit under the Colony of New York, and all civil and military officers who had acted under the authority of the Governor or Legislature of New York, were required to suspend their functions on pain of being chastized."

These decrees were rigidly and severely enforced whenever an occasion necessitated action; the more common mode of punishment being an application of the "beach seal" on the naked back, and banishment from the settlements. A few instances, while they may serve to amuse, will also show the spirit which actuated the settlers in punishing their enemies. A certain Doctor of Arlington whose name is unknown to the author, was a warm partisan of New York and had often spoken in dis-

respectful terms of the settlers and the resolutions adopted by the Bennington Convention. He was frequently requested to desist, and, disregarding these requests, he was carried to the Green Mountain Tavern, in Bennington, where the Vigilance Committee heard his defence and then ordered him to be tied in an armed chair, and hoisted up to the sign of the Inn which was a catamount's skin stuffed. The sign was fastened upon a post twenty-five feet from the ground, looking towards the State of New York. The doctor sat there for two hours, in sight of the people facing the grinning catamount sign, "as a punishment merited by his enmity to the rights and liberties of the people of the New Hampshire Grants." The punishment was executed doubtless to the no small merriment of a large crowd of people. The Doctor was finally let down and dismissed by the Committee with an admonition "to go and sin no more."

A certain Benjamin Hough was also punished under one of the decrees of the Convention. He had accepted and officiated in the office of Justice of the Peace under the authority of New York, and being arrested, was brought before the Committee of Safety at Sunderland. He offered in plea the jurisdiction of New York, but was answered by the decree of the convention which forbade all persons holding any civil or military office under the authority of New York. The following judgment was pronounced against him before a large assemblage of people: "That the prisoner be taken from the bar of this Committee of Safety and tied to a tree, and there on his naked back to receive two hundred stripes; his back being dressed, he should depart out of the district; and on

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return to suffer death, unless by special leave of the Convention." He received the chastisement and departed a sadder but wiser man.

Notwithstanding these evidences that the Green Mountain Boys would not submit to the terms proposed by New York, the authorities of that state did not relax their exertions to make them submit to their authority. At a session of the General Assembly, held February 5, 1774, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That it appears to this Committee that there at present prevails in part of the county of Charlotte and in the northeastern district of the county of Albany, a dangerous and destructive spirit of riot and licentiousness, subversive of all order and good government; and that it has become an intolerable grievance, which requires immediate redress.

2. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee, that many acts of outrage, cruelty, and oppression have been there perpetrated by a number of lawless persons, calling themselves the Bennington Mob, who have seized, insulted and terrified several magistrates and other civil officers so that they dare not exercise their respective functions; rescued prisoners for debt, assumed to themselves military commands, and judicial power; burned and demolished the houses and property and beat and abused the persons of many of his Majesty's subjects; expelled them from their possessions, and put a period to the administration of its justice and spread terror and destruction through that part of the country which is exposed to their oppression.

3. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the Complainants before this house and others, who inhabit part of that colony and from respect to government will not countenance or be concerned in the said riotous proceedings, are exposed from the violence of the rioters to imminent danger, both in person and properties, and that they stand in need of immediate protection and succor.

4. Resolved, That it appears to this Committee that Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, Silvanus Brown, James Brackenridge and John Smith are principal ring-leaders of and actors in the riots and disturbances aforesaid, and that it is therefore the opinion of this Committee that an humble address be presented to his Excellency, desiring that he would be pleased to issue a Proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds for apprehending and securing any or either of the persons above named, in his Majesty's gaol in Albany; and commanding the magistrates and other civil officers of the counties of Albany and Charlotte to be active and vigilant in suppressing the said riots and preserving peace and good order, as well as in bringing to justice the perpetrators and authors of said riots.

5. Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Committee, that a bill be brought in more effectually to suppress the said riotous and disorderly proceedings, maintain the free course of justice and for bringing the offenders to condign punishment. Which report he read in his place and afterwards delivered it in at the table, where the said resolutions were severally read a second time and

it was resolved that this house doth agree with the Committee in their said resolutions.

Ordered. That a bill be brought in pursuant to the last resolution, and that Mr. Brush and Col. Ten Broeck, prepare and bring in the same. Ordered that Capt. Delancy and Mr. Walton, wait on his Excellency the Governor with the foregoing address and resolutions of the house.

These resolutions, as may be expected, created much excitement among the settlers and led them to the speedy adoption of counter-measures. A general meeting of all the Committees for the several townships on the west side of the range of Green Mountains, was held at Manchester on the first day of March, 1774, at which the grievances of the people were freely discussed as well as the extraordinary "proceedings of the New York Legislature." In the conclusion of the answer adopted by the meeting it was resolved "that as a county, we will stand by and defend our friends and neighbors indicted as rioters, at the expense of our lives and fortunes"; and "that for the future every necessary preparation be made and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness at a minute's warning to aid and defend such friends of our cause who for their merit to the great and general cause are falsely denominated rioters; but that we will not act anything more or less but on the defensive and always encourage due execution of law in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecution, that are so, indeed; and that we will assist to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose."

On the 9th of March, and previous to the time the proceedings of the Manchester Convention were received, the General Assembly of New York proceeded to carry into effect their resolutions of the 5th of February and enacted the following law:

An Act for preventing tumultuous and riotous Assemblies in the places therein mentioned, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of the rioters.

Whereas, a spirit of riot and licentiousness has of late prevailed in some parts of the counties of Charlotte and Albany, and many acts of outrage and cruelty have been perpetrated by a number of turbulent men who, assembling from time to time in arms, have seized, insulted and menaced several magistrates and other civil officers, so that they dare not execute their functions—rescued prisoners for debt—assumed to themselves military commands, and judicial powers—burned and demolished houses and property, and beat and abused the persons of many of his Majesty's subjects—expelled others from their possessions—and finally have put a period to the administration of justice within and spread terror and destruction throughout that part of the country which is exposed to their oppression. Therefore, for the preventing and suppressing of such riots and tumults, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing of the offenders therein,

Be it enacted by his Excellency, the Governor, the Council, and the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That if any persons to the number of three or more being unlawfully riotously or tumultuously assembled within either of the said

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counties to the disturbance of the public peace, at any time after the passing of this act, and being required or commanded by any one or more justice or justices of the peace, or by the high sheriff or his under sheriff, or by any one of the coroners of the county, where such assembly shall be, by proclamation to be made in the King's name, in the form hereinafter directed, to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, shall to the number of three or more notwithstanding such proclamation made, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously remain or continue together to the number of three or more, after such command or request made by proclamation, shall for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, in due form of law either in the supreme court of judicature of this colony, or at the courts of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, or at the general sessions of the peace to be held respectively in and for the said counties of Albany and Charlotte, or either of them, suffer twelve months, imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and such further corporal punishment as the respective courts before which he or she or they shall be convicted, shall judge fit, not extending to life or limb; and before his or her discharge shall enter into recognizance with two sufficient sureties in such sum as the said courts shall respectively direct, to be of good behavior and keep the peace towards his Majesty and all his subjects, for the term of three years from such his, her, or their discharge out of prison.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the order and form of the proclamation which



shall be made by the authority of this act, shall be as hereafter follows, that is to say: The justice or other person authorized by this act to make the said proclamation, shall among the said rioters or as near them as he can safely come, with a loud voice, command or cause to be commanded silence to be kept while proclamation is making; and shall then openly with a loud voice make, or cause to be made, a proclamation in these words, or to the like effect: Our Sovereign Lord, the King, chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pain contained in the act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of King George the Third, to prevent tumultuous and riotous assemblies. And every such justice or justices of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, or coroner, within the limits of the respective counties where they reside are hereby authorized, empowered and required on notice or knowledge of any such unlawful, riotous and tumultuous assembly, forthwith to repair to the place where such unlawful, riotous and tumultuous assembly shall be, to the number of three or more, and there to make or cause to be made, the proclamation in the manner aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons do, or shall, with force and arms, wilfully and knowingly oppose, obstruct or in any manner wilfully and knowingly let, hinder or hurt any person or persons who shall begin to proclaim, or go to proclaim, according to the proclamation hereby directed to be made, whereby such proclamation shall

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not be made; that then every such opposing, letting hindering or hurting such person or persons so being or going to make such proclamation as aforesaid, shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy; and that the offenders therein shall be judged felons and shall suffer death as in cases of felony without benefit of clergy. And that also every such person or persons so being unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled to the number of three as aforesaid, or more to whom proclamation should or ought to have been made, if the same had not been hindered as aforesaid, shall in case they or any of them to the number of three or more, shall continue together and not disperse themselves, after such let or hindrance, having knowledge of such let or hindrance, shall, likewise, for every such offense, upon conviction thereof in manner aforesaid, suffer the same pains and penalties as are hereby inflicted on those who shall continue together to the number of three or more, after they shall be commanded to depart to their habitations, or lawful business by proclamation as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled, or any three or more of them after proclamation made in manner aforesaid, shall continue together, and not forthwith disperse themselves, it shall and may be lawful to and for every such justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, coroner or constable, of any county or township where such assembly shall be, and to and for such person or persons as shall be commanded to be assisting unto such justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, coroner or constable (who are hereby

authorized and empowered to command all his Majesty's subjects of age and ability, to be aiding and assisting to them therein) to seize and apprehend, and they are hereby required to seize and apprehend such persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together, after proclamation made as aforesaid, and forthwith to carry the persons so apprehended, before any one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace of the said counties of Charlotte or Albany in order to their being proceeded against for such of their offences according to law.

And that if such persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled, or any of them, shall happen to be killed, maimed or hurt in the dispersing, seizing or apprehending them, by reason of their resisting the persons so dispersing, seizing or apprehending, or endeavoring to disperse, seize or apprehend them; and then, every such justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, coroner or constable and all and singular persons aiding and assisting to them, or any of them, shall be freed, discharged and indemnified, as well against the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as against all and every other person or persons, of, for or concerning the killing, maiming or hurting of any such person or persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled, that shall happen to be so killed, maimed or hurt as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within the said counties, or either of them, not being lawfully authorized a judge, justice or magistrate, shall assume judicial power or shall try, fine, sentence or condemn any person who

shall either be absent or shall unlawfully or forcibly be seized, taken or brought before him or them, for trial or punishment; or if any person or persons shall aid or assist in such illegal proceedings, or shall enforce, execute or carry into effect; or if any person or persons shall unlawfully seize, detain or confine or assault and beat any magistrate or civil officer, for or in the respect of any act or proceeding in the due exercise of his function, or in order to compel him to resign, renounce or surcease his commission or authority, or to terrify, hinder or prevent him from performing and discharging the duties thereof; or if any person or persons either secretly or openly shall unlawfully, wilfully and maliciously burn or destroy the grain, corn or hay of any other person, being in any enclosure; or if any persons unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace, shall, unlawfully and with force, demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down, any dwelling house, barn, stable, grist mill, saw mill, or out-house, within either of the said counties, that then each of the said offences, respectively, shall be adjudged felony without benefit of clergy; and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death, as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

And whereas complaint and proofs have been made as well before his Excellency the Governor and Council, as before the General Assembly, that Ethan Allen, sometime of Salisbury, in the Colony of Connecticut, but late of Bennington, in the county of Albany, yeoman; Seth Warner, late of Bennington, in said county, yeoman; Remember Baker, late of Arlington, in the said county,

yeoman; Robert Cochran, late of Rupert, in the county of Charlotte, yeoman; Peleg Sunderland and Silvanus Brown, late of Socialborough, in the same county, yeoman; James Brackenridge, late of Wallumschack, in the county of Albany, yeoman; and John Smith, late of Socialborough, yeoman, have been principal ringleaders of and actors in the riots and disturbances aforesaid; and the General Assembly have thereupon addressed his Excellency the Governor to issue a proclamation offering certain rewards for apprehending and securing the said offenders, and for bringing them and the other perpetrators and authors of the riots to justice: And forasmuch as such disorderly practices are highly criminal and destructive to the peace and settlement of the country, and it is indispensably necessary for want of process to outlawry (which is not used in this colony) that special provision be made for bringing such offenders, in future, to trial and punishment without exposing the colony to the expense of extraordinary rewards and bounties for apprehending such offenders,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to and for his Excellency the Governor or the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, by and with the advice of the council as often as either of the above named persons, or any other person shall be indicted in either of the counties aforesaid, for any offence perpetrated after the passing of this act, made capital by this or any other law, or where any person may stand indicted for any of the offences above mentioned, not made felony by this act, to make his order in council, thereby requiring and com-

manding such offender or offenders to surrender themselves, respectively, within the space of seventy days next after the first publication thereof in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, for either of the said counties respectively, who are hereby required thereupon to commit him or them, without bail or mainprize, to the gaol of the city of New York or of the city and county of Albany, to the end that he or they may be forthcoming to answer the offence or offences wherewith he or they shall stand charged, according to the ordinary course of law; which order the clerk of his Majesty's Council or his deputy, shall cause forthwith to be printed and published, in eight successive papers of the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury; the first two of which to be forthwith transmitted to the sheriffs of the counties of Albany and Charlotte; and the said sheriffs, respectively, shall within six days after the receipt thereof cause the same printed orders to be affixed upon the door of the courthouse of the county of Albany and upon the door of the dwelling-house of Patrick Smith, Esq., where the courts are now usually held for the said county of Charlotte, and upon the doors of two other public houses in each of their respective counties. And in case the said offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves, pursuant to such orders of his Excellency the Governor, or of 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, shall from the day appointed for his or their surrender as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed and (if in-

dicted 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 and may be lawful for and by 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 a manner as if he or they had been convicted or attainted in the said supreme courts of judicature, or before such courts of oyer and terminer of general gaol delivery respectively. And if any offender, being indicted for a lesser offence, under the degree of felony, shall not surrender himself within the time fixed by such order, and after such notice aforesaid, he shall thenceforth be deemed guilty of the offence for which he may be charged by such indictment; and it shall be lawful for the court wherein such indictment is found, to proceed to pronounce such judgment against the offender as might lawfully be done if he was present in court and convicted in the ordinary course of law of the crime wherewith he shall so stand charged as aforesaid—Provided always—

And be it further enacted by the same authority aforesaid, That if any person so neglecting to surrender himself as aforesaid within the said seventy days shall at any time after surrender himself to the sheriff of the city of New York or Albany, or of the counties of Dutchess or West Chester (who are to receive and safely keep such offenders) and being actually in custody, shall ex-

hibit reasonable proof to the satisfaction of the judges of the supreme court of this colony, or either of them, that he was not within either of the said counties of Cumberland or Gloucester, at any time after the publication and notices above directed, and before such surrender of himself as aforesaid; then such judge before whom such proof is made, shall forthwith notify the same in writing to the sheriff to whom any warrant of execution for the executing of such offender, or any other process for any lesser punishment hath been or may be issued; and thenceforth such prisoner or offender shall not be liable to suffer death or any other punishment for not surrendering himself—Provided also that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to exempt any offender so surrendering himself after the seventy days as aforesaid, from any punishment to which he may be liable for any other crime than for not surrendering himself within the said seventy days as aforesaid; nor to deprive any person who shall so surrender himself within the seventy days from being bailed, in cases where he shall be bailable by law; anything herein contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the same authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons who shall, after the expiration of the time to be appointed, as aforesaid, for the surrender of the respective offenders herein before named, harbor, receive, conceal, abet or succor such offender or offenders, knowing him or them to have been required to surrender him or themselves by such order or orders as aforesaid, and not to have surrendered pursuant thereto, shall upon conviction thereof, in due



form of law, suffer the same pains and penalties as are, by this act inflicted on those who shall continue together to the number of three or more after they shall be commanded to depart to their habitation or lawful business by proclamation as aforesaid.

And whereas the said county of Charlotte hath but lately been set off from the said county of Albany and there is yet no gaol or court-house erected within the same; and a great part of the said county being involved in a state of anarchy and confusion by reason of the violent proceedings of the aforesaid riotous and disorderly people, from whence it must at present be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to bring offenders to justice within the said county—

Be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all treasons, felonies, crimes, misdemeanors and offences whatsoever, at any time hereafter to be committed or perpetrated, within the said county of Charlotte, shall and may be proceeded against and presented by any grand jury for the county of Albany, from time to time to be impaneled and sworn at any court of criminal jurisdiction to be held in and for the said county of Albany; who shall and may charge any of the said offences to have been committed in any part of the said county of Charlotte; and all indictments so found by them shall be adjudged to be good and valid, notwithstanding that the place of perpetrating any of the said offences be in the said indictments alleged to be out of the said county of Albany; and all such offences and offenders which shall be presented or indicted as aforesaid, shall and may be tried within the county of Albany, and by a jury thereof and there

heard, determined and punished in the same manner and as if such treason, felony, crime, misdemeanor or offence had arisen and been perpetrated within the said county of Albany.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if at any time hereafter the justices to be appointed for holding courts of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery for the said county of Charlotte, in cases cognizable before them, or the justices of the general sessions of the peace for the said county of Charlotte, in cases cognizable before them, shall conceive that any prisoner or offender may be safely brought to justice within, and by a jury of the said county of Charlotte, that then it shall and may be lawful to and for each of the said courts respectively, to proceed against and try such prisoner or offender, having lawful cognizance of his cause, within and by a jury of the said county of Charlotte; and him there to acquit or sentence, condemn, and punish, as the law directs; anything in this act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall be publicly read in every court of general sessions of the peace, to be held in each of the said counties of Albany and Charlotte respectively.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall remain and continue in full force and effect from the passing thereof until the first day of January which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six.

## CHAPTER V.

### DEFYING THE AUTHORITIES.

The passage of the foregoing law blasted every prospect of amity or peace between the belligerents. The Green Mountain Boys regarded it as an act to frighten them into submission to what they regarded as unjust and arbitrary measures. Under this impression, therefore, the threats were regarded with contempt, and only served to rivet still closer their attachment to the position they had assumed. As an evidence of this, we find the following remonstrance to the law, signed by Ethan Allen and others, which presents a fair specimen of the views and feelings of the great body of the New Hampshire grantees at this trying period:

His Excellency, Governor Tryon, in conformity to the addresses of the General Assembly of the colony of New York, having on the 9th day of March, 1774, with the advice of his Council, issued his proclamation offering therein large sums of money for the purpose of apprehending and imprisoning the following persons, viz: Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Robert Cochran, Peleg Sunderland, Silvanus Brown, James Brackenridge and James Smith.

And whereas his Excellency the Governor, by the same proclamation, hath strictly enjoined and commanded all

magistrates, justices of the peace, sheriffs and other civil officers of the counties of Albany and Charlotte to be active and vigilant in apprehending and imprisoning the persons above named; and we, the aforesaid persons who have hereunto subscribed, being conscious that our cause is good and equitable in the sight of God, and all unprejudiced and honest men, are determined at all events, to maintain and defend the same till his Majesty's pleasure shall be known concerning the validity of the New Hampshire Grants. And we now proclaim to the public, not only for ourselves but for the New Hampshire grantees and occupants in general that the spring and moving cause of our opposition to the government of New York was self-preservation, viz.: Firstly, the preservation and maintaining of our property; and secondly, since that government is so incensed against us, therefore it stands us in hand to defend our lives; for it appears by a late set of laws passed by the legislature thereof that the lives and property of the New Hampshire settlers are manifestly struck at; but that the public may rightly understand the essence of the controversy, we now proclaim to those law-givers and to the world that if the New York patentees will remove their patents that have been subsequently lapsed and laid on the New Hampshire charters, and quiet us in our possessions, agreeable to his Majesty's directions, and suspend those criminal prosecutions against us for being rioters (as we are unjustly denominated) then will our settlers be orderly and submissive subjects to government; but, be it known to that despotic fraternity of law-makers and law-breakers that we will not be fooled or frightened out of our property. They have broke over

his Majesty's express prohibitions in patenting those lands and when they act in conformity to the regal authority of Great Britain it will be soon enough for us to obey them. It is well known by all wise and sensible persons in the neighboring governments (that have animadverted on the controversy) that their pretended zeal for good order and government is fallacious and that they aim at the lands and labors of the grantees and settlers aforesaid; and that they subvert the good and wholesome laws of the realm to corroborate with and bring about their vile and mercenary purposes.

And, inasmuch as the malignity of their disposition towards us hath flamed to an immeasurable and murderous degree, they have in their new fangled laws, calculated for the meridian of the New Hampshire Grants, passed the 9th of March, 1774, so calculated them as to correspond with the depravedness of their minds and morals;—in these laws they have exhibited their genuine pictures. The emblems of their insatiable, avaricious, over-bearing, inhuman, barbarous and blood-guiltiness of disposition and intention are therein portrayed in that transparent image of themselves which cannot fail to be a blot and an infamous reproach to them, to posterity. We cannot suppose that every one of his Majesty's Council or that all the members of the General Assembly were active in passing so bloody and unconstitutional a set of laws. Undoubtedly some of them disapproved thereof, and it is altogether possible that many who were active in making the law were imposed upon by false representations, and acted under mistaken views of doing honor to the government; but be this as it will, it appears that there was a majority, and

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it has been too much the case with the government for a number of designing schemers and land jockeys to rule the same. Let us take a view of their former narrow and circumscribed boundaries, and how, by that legerdemain, bribery and deceptions of one sort or other, they have extended their domain far and wide. They have wrangled with and encroached upon their neighboring governments and have used all manner of deceit and fraud to accomplish their designs; their tenants groan under their usury and oppression; and they have gained, as well as merited, the disapprobation and abhorrence of their neighbors; and the innocent blood they have already shed calls for heaven's vengeance on their heads; and if they should come forth in arms against us, thousands of their injured and dissatisfied neighbors in the several governments will join with us to cut off and extirpate such an execrable race from the face of the earth. This remonstrance is not supposed to contain a full answer to the newly constructed laws aforesaid, for such a large two year old hath never been before seen in America, it being of an enormous and monstrous birth; nor is it supposed to give the legislators their full characters, but so much may suffice for the present. To quote the laws and make remarks thereon would be matter sufficient for a volume; however, we will yet make some short observations:

1st. Negatively, it is not a law for the Province of New York in general, but

2d. Positively it is a law but for part of the counties of Charlotte and Albany, viz.: such parts thereof as are covered with the New Hampshire charters; and it is well known these grants compose but a minor part of the in-

habitants of said Province; and we have no representative in that assembly. The first knowledge we had of said laws was the completion of them which informed us that if we assembled, three or more of us together, to oppose (that which they call legal) authority we shall be adjudged felons and suffer the pains of death; and that same fraternity of plotters knew, as well as we, and the generality of the people in the adjacent colonies, that they have for a number of years last past endeavored to exercise such a course of what they call law, that had they not been opposed by the people of these grants (called the Mob) in executing the same, they would, before this time, have been in possession of that territory for which the laws aforesaid are calculated. Therefore the case stands thus: If we oppose the civil officers in taking possession of our farms, we are by these laws denominated felons; or if we defend our neighbors who have been indicted rioters, only for defending our property; we are likewise adjudged felons. In fine, every opposition to their monarchical government is deemed felony and at the end of every sentence there is the word Death! And the same laws further empowered the respective judges, provided any persons to the number of three or more, that shall oppose any Magistrate or other civil officer, and be not taken, that after a legal warning of seventy days, if they do not come and yield themselves up to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them, then it shall be lawful for the judges aforesaid to award execution of Death, the same as though he or they had been convicted or attainted before a proper court of judicature, etc. The candid reader will doubtless observe that the diabolical design of

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this law is to obtain possession of the New Hampshire Grants or to make the people that defend them outlaws, and so kill them whenever they can catch them.

Those bloody law-givers know we are necessitated to oppose their execution of law, where it points directly at our property, or give up the same; but there is one thing that is a matter of consolation to us, viz., that printed sentences of death will not kill us when we are at a distance, and if the executioners approach us they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we; and that persons, or country of persons are cowards indeed if they cannot, as manfully, fight for their liberty, property and lives as villains can do to deprive them thereof.

The New York schemers accuse us of many things, part of which are true, and part not. With respect to rescuing prisoners for debt, it is false. As to assuming judicial powers we have not, except a well regulated combination of the people to defend their just rights may be called so. As to forming ourselves into military order and assuming military commands, the New York posses, and military preparations, oppressions etc., obliged us to do it. Probably Messrs. Duane and Kemp and Banyar, of New York, will not discommend us for so expedient a preparation, more especially since the decrees of the 9th of March are yet to be put in execution, and we flatter ourselves, upon occasion we can muster as good a regiment of marksmen and scalpers as America can afford; and we now give the gentlemen above named, together with Mr. Brush and Col. Ten Broeck, and in fine, all the land jobbers of New York, an invitation to come and view the dexterity



of our regiment; and we cannot think of a better time for that purpose than when the executioners come to kill us, by virtue of the authority their judges have lately received to award and sentence us to death in our absence. There is still one more notable complaint against us, viz., that we had insulted and menaced several magistrates and other civil officers so that they dare not execute their respective functions. This is true so far as it relates to the magistrates. But the public should be informed what the functions of these magistrates are: They are commissioned for the sole purpose of doing us all the harm and mischief they possibly can, through their administration and influence; and that they might be subservient to the wicked designs of the New York schemers. These are their functions; and the public needs no further proof than the consideration that they are the tools of those extravagant law-makers; and it must be owned they acted with great judgment in choosing the most infernal instruments for their purposes.

Draco, the Athenian law-giver, caused a number of laws (in many respects analogous to those we have been speaking of) to be written in blood. But our modern Dracos determine to have theirs verified in blood. They well know we shall, more than three, nay, more than three hundred times three, assemble together, if need be, to maintain our common cause, till his Majesty determines who shall be and remain the owners of the land in contest. "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemoth, thy God, giveth thee to possess?" So will we possess that which the Lord our God (and King) giveth us to possess.

And lastly, we address ourselves to the people of the

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counties of Albany and Charlotte, which inhabit to the westward of and are situated contiguous to, the New Hampshire Grants.

### GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS:

Providence having allotted and fixed the bounds of our habitations in the same vicinity, which together with the intercourse of trade and commerce, hath formed an almost universal acquaintance and tie of friendship between us, and hath laid such a foundation of knowledge that your people, in general, cannot but be sensible that the title of our land is, in reality the bone of contention; and that as a people we behave ourselves orderly and are industrious and honestly disposed; and pay just deference to order and good government; and that we mean no more by that which is called the Mob but to defend our just rights and property. We appeal to the gentlemen merchants to inform us whether our people in general, do not exert themselves to pay their just debts; and whether they have been hindered by the country's Mob in the collection of their dues. But as the magistrates, sheriffs, under sheriffs, coroners and constables of the respective counties, that hold their posts of honor and profit under our bitter enemies, we have a jealousy that some of them may be induced (to recommend themselves to those on whom they are dependent, and for the wages of unrighteousness, offered by proclamation) to presume to apprehend some of us, or our friends. We therefore advertise such officers and all persons whatsoever, that we are resolved to inflict immediate death on whomsoever may attempt the same. And provided any of us or our party shall be taken and

we have not notice sufficient to relieve them, or whether we relieve them or not, we are resolved to surround such person or persons, whether at his or their own house or houses, or anywhere that we can find him or them, and shoot such person or persons dead. And furthermore that we will kill and destroy any person or persons whomsoever that shall presume to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any of us as aforesaid; for by these presents we give any such disposed person or persons to understand that although they have a license by the law aforesaid, to kill us, and an indemnification for such murder, from the same authority; yet they have no indemnification for so doing from the Green Mountain Boys; for our lives, liberties and properties are as verily precious to us as to any of the king's subjects; and we are as loyal to his Majesty or his government as any subjects in the Province: but if the governmental authority of New York will judge in their own case, and act in opposition to that of Great Britain, and insist upon killing us, to take possession of our "vineyards"—come on, we are ready for a game of scalping with them; for our martial spirits glow with bitter indignation and consummate fury to blast their infernal projections.

It may be, the reader, not having seen the law referred to in this remonstrance and not being thoroughly acquainted with the long and spirited conflict that hath subsisted between the claimants under New Hampshire and New York, nor of the progressive arbitrary and monopolizing disposition of the court party of the latter of those Provinces, may be apt to imagine that the spirit of this writing is too severe, inasmuch

as it destines whoever presumes to take us as felons or rioters, to immediate death; but let the wise consider the state of the case.

1. Provided we on our part be taken, we have by their laws, the sentence of death already pronounced against us, on proviso that more than three of us assemble together to maintain and defend our property, till his Majesty determines the controversy; and—

2. If it be considered, that the legislative authority of the Province of New York has no constitutional right or power to make such laws; and consequently that they are null and void from the nature and energy of the English constitution; therefore as they merit no place among the laws of the realm of Great Britain, but are the arbitrary league and combination of our bitter and merciless enemies, who to obtain our property, have inhumanly, barbarously and maliciously, under the specious and hypocritical pretense of legal authority and veneration for order and government, laid a snare for our lives; can the public censure us for exerting ourselves nervously to preserve our lives in so critical a situation? For, by the laws of the Province into which we are unfortunately fallen, we cannot be protected in either property or life, except we give up the former to secure the latter; so we are resolved to maintain both, or to hazard or lose both.

From hence follows a necessary inference. That inasmuch as our property, nay, our lives, cannot be protected (but manifestly struck at) by the highest authority in the Province to which we at present belong, therefore, in the interim, while his Majesty is determining

the controversy, and till he shall interpose his royal authority, and subject the authority aforesaid to their duty, or re-annex the district of disputed lands to the Province of New Hampshire, in his great wisdom and fatherly clemency, put the distressed settlers under New Hampshire on an equal footing with our brother-subjects in his realm, we are under necessity of resisting, even unto blood, every person who may attempt to take us as felons or rioters as aforesaid; for in this case it is not resisting law, but only opposing force by force; therefore inasmuch as by the oppression aforesaid the New Hampshire settlers are reduced to the disagreeable state of anarchy and confusion, in which state we hope for wisdom, patience and fortitude, till the happy hour his Majesty shall graciously be pleased to restore us to the privileges of Englishmen.

Signed by

ETHAN ALLEN,  
SETH WARNER,  
REMEMBER BAKER,  
ROBERT COCHRAN,  
PELEG SUNDERLAND,  
JOHN SMITH,  
SILVANUS BROWN.

BENNINGTON, April 26, 1774.

## CHAPTER VI.

### BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The seeds of disunion, sown by the unwise policy of the British Ministry, urged on by the king's advisers in America, were at this advanced state of the controversy between New York and the New Hampshire Grants rapidly springing into life. The oppressive measures of Great Britain—the attempt to burden the Colonists with the system of unequal taxation—aroused a spirit among them, indicative of a sanguinary struggle, which could have but one termination—war—with all of its attending horrors. So threatening was the aspect of affairs that preparatory measures were taken for convening a Continental Congress; and Delegates were accordingly chosen from the twelve Colonies to meet at Philadelphia on the 5th day of September, 1774. New Hampshire subsequently sent delegates to the Convention which also met in Philadelphia when the Declaration of Independence was adopted July 4, 1776.

This important step towards an organization of the political power of the colonies was followed, as may naturally be imagined by an almost total suspension of royal authority. The courts of justice, either adjourned or concluded to go out of business, and every attempt on the part of the King's officers to extend their authority over the people was followed by a strong

and decided opposition. The first interruption of this kind occurred at Westminster, in the county of Cumberland, in the New Hampshire Grants, over which the jurisdiction of New York had been extended. The occurrence is fully described in the following document:

“A RELATION OF THE PROCEEDING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND, PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

“In June, 1774, some letters came to the supervisors of said county from the Committee of Correspondence at New York signed by their chairman, Mr. Low; which letters, said supervisors, through ignorance or intention, kept until September, when they had another meeting; and it is supposed that they intended always to have kept them, and the good people would have remained in ignorance about them until this time, had it not been by accident that it was whispered abroad so that Dr. Reuben Jones, of Rockingham, and Capt. Azaria Wright, of Westminster, heard of it and took proper care to notify those towns. A meeting was called in the two towns aforesaid and a committee was chosen by each town, to wait on the supervisors at their meeting in September, to see if there were any papers that should be laid before the several towns in the county; and they found that there were papers come from the Committee of Correspondence, that should have been laid before the towns in June. The supervisors made many excuses for their conduct; some pled ignorance, and some one thing and some another; but the most of them did seem to think that they could send a return to the committee at New York without ever laying them before their constituents, which principle at this day so much prevails that it is

the undoing of the people. Men at this day are so unfortunately tainted with the principles of tyranny that they would fain believe that as they are chosen by the people to any kind of office, for any particular thing, that they have the sole power of that people by whom they are chosen and can act in the name of that people in any matter or thing, though it is not in any connection with what they were chosen for. But the committees would not consent to have a return made until every town in the county had Mr. Low's letters laid before them; which was done and a County Congress was called; return was made, a committee was chosen to see that it was put in print; but through interest or otherwise, it was never published in any of the papers.

Immediately after, the people of the county aforesaid received the resolves of the Continental Congress. They called a County Congress, and did adopt all the resolves of the Continental Congress at their resolves, promising religiously to adhere to that agreement or association. There was a Committee of Inspection moved for, to be chosen by the county, according to the second resolve of the association aforesaid; but being much spoken against by a justice and an attorney and looked upon by them as an impertinent thing, the delegates dared not to choose one. At this time there were tory parties forming, although they were under disguise, and had laid a plan to bring the lower sort of the people into a state of bondage and slavery. They saw that there was no cash stirring and they took that opportunity to collect debts, knowing that men had no other way to pay them than by having their estates taken by execution and sold at vendue.



There were but very few men among us that were able to buy; and those men among us that were so disposed, that they would take all the world into their own hands without paying anything for it, if they could, by law; which would soon bring the country into slavery. Most, or all of our men in authority, and all that wanted court favors seemed much enraged and stirred up many vexatious lawsuits and imprisoned many, contrary to the laws of this Province, and the statutes of the Crown. One man they put into close prison for high treason, and all that they proved against him was that he said if the king had signed the Quebec bill, it was his opinion that he had broken his coronation oath. But the good people went and opened the prison door and let him go and did no violence to any man's person or property. Our men in office would say that they did like the resolutions of the Continental Congress and they ought to be strictly adhered to until our General Assembly voted against them. Then they said that this would do for the Bay-Province, but it was childish for us to pay any regard to them. Some of our court would boldly say that the king had a just right to make the revenue-acts, for he had a supreme power; and he that said otherwise was guilty of high treason, and they did hope that they would be executed accordingly. The people were of opinion that such men were not suitable to rule over them, and as the general assembly of this Province would not accede to the association of the Continental Congress, the good people were of the opinion that if they did accede to any power from or under them they should be guilty of the breach of the 4th article of that association and may justly be dealt

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with, accordingly, by all America. When the good people considered that the general assembly were for bringing them into a state of slavery (which did appear plain by their not acceding to the best method to procure their liberties, and the executive power so strongly acquiescing in all that they did, whether it was right or wrong) the good people of said county thought it time to look to themselves. And they thought that it was dangerous to trust their lives and fortunes in the hands of such enemies to American liberty, but more particularly unreasonable that there should be any court held, since thereby we must accede to what our General Assembly had done in not acceding to what the whole continent had recommended; and that all America would break off all dealings and commerce with us, and bring us into a state of slavery at once. Therefore in duty to God, ourselves and posterity, we thought ourselves under the strongest obligations to resist and to oppose all authority that would not accede to the resolves of the Continental Congress. But knowing that many of our court were men that neither feared or regarded men, but thought it was most prudent to go and persuade the judges to stay at home. Accordingly there were about forty good, true men who went from Rockingham to Chester, to dissuade Colonel Chandler, the chief judge, from attending court. He said he believed it would be for the good of the county not to have any court as things were, but there was one case of murder that they must see to, and if it was not agreeable to the people, they would not have any other case. One of the committee told him that the sheriff would raise a number with arms and that there would be bloodshed.

The Colonel said that he would give his word of honor that there should not be any arms brought against us; and he would go down to court on Monday the 13th of March, inst., which was the day that the court was to be opened. We told him that we would wait on him if it was his will. He said that our company would be very agreeable; likewise he returned us his hearty thanks for our civility, and so we parted with him. We heard from the southern part of the state that Judge Sabin was very earnest to have the law go on, as well as many petty officers. There were but two judges in the county at that time, Col. Wells being gone to New York. There was a great deal of talk in what manner to stop the court and at length it was agreed to let the court come together, and lay the reasons we had against their proceeding before them, thinking they were men of such sense that they would hear them. But on Friday we heard that the court was going to take possession of the house on the 13th inst. and to keep a strong guard at the doors of said house, that we could not come in. We being justly alarmed at the deceit of our court, though it was not strange, therefore we thought proper to get to court before the armed guards were placed; for we were determined that our grievances should be laid before the court, before it was opened. On Monday the 13th of March. there were about 100 of us entered the court house about four o'clock in the afternoon. But we had but just entered before we were alarmed by a large number of men, armed with guns, swords, and pistols. But we in the house had not any weapons of war among us and were determined that they should not come in with their weapons of war, except by

force of them. Squire Patterson came up at the head of his armed company, within about five yards of the door, and commanded us to disperse; to which he got no answer. He then caused the king's Proclamation to be read, and told us that if we did not disperse in fifteen minutes, by G—d he would blow a lane through us. We told him that we would not disperse. We told them that they might come in if they would unarm themselves, but not without. One of our men went out at the door and asked them if they were come for war; told them that we were come for peace and that we should be glad to hold a parley with them. At that, Mr. Gale, the clerk of the court, drew a pistol, held it up and said, "D—n the parley with such d—d rascals as you are; I will hold no parley with such d—d rascals but by this!" (holding up his pistol.) They gave us very harsh language, told us we should be in h— before morning; but after a little while they drew a little off from the house and seemed to be in consultation. Three of us went out to treat with them, but the most or all that we could get from them was that they would not talk with such d—d rascals as we were; and we soon returned to the house and they soon went off.

Colonel Chandler came in and we laid the case before him and told him that we had his word that there should not be any arms brought against us. He said that the arms were brought without his consent, but he would go and take them away from them, and we should enjoy the house undisturbed until morning; and that the court should come in the morning without arms, and should hear what we had to lay before them, and then he went away. We then went out of the house and choose a

committee which drew up articles to stand for, and read them to the company; and they all voted *nemine contradicente* [nobody disagreeing] and some of our men went to the neighbors and as many as the court and their party saw, they bound.

About midnight, or a little before, the sentry at the door espied some men with guns and he gave the word to man the doors, and the walk was crowded. Immediately the sheriff and his company marched up fast, within about ten rods of the door, and then the word was given, "Take Aim!" and then, "Fire!" Three fired immediately. The word fire was repeated; "G—d d—n you, fire; send them to h—!" were the most or all of the words that were to be heard for some time; on which there were several men wounded; one was shot with four bullets, one of which went through his brain, of which wound he died next day. Then they rushed in with their guns, swords, and clubs and did most cruelly bruise several more and took some that were not wounded, and those that were and crowded them into close prison together, and told them that they should all be in h— before the next night, and that they did wish there were forty more in the same case with that dying man. When they put him into prison then took and dragged him as one would a dog, and would mock him as he lay gasping, and make sport for themselves at his dying motions. The people that escaped took prudent care to notify the people in the country, and also in the government of New Hampshire and the Bay, which, being justly alarmed at such an unheard of and aggravated piece of murder, did kindly interpose in our favor.

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On Tuesday, the 14th inst., about 12 o'clock, nearly 200 men, well armed came from New Hampshire government, and before night there were several of the people of Cumberland county returned, and took up all they knew of that were in the horrid massacre and confined them under a strong guard; afterwards they confined as many as they could get evidence against, except several that did escape for their lives. On the 15th inst., the body formed chose a moderator and clerk, and chose a committee to see that the coroner's jury of inquest were just, impartial men; which jury on their oath did bring in, that "W. Patterson, etc., did on the 13th day of March, by force and arms, make an assault on the body of one William French then and there, and shot him through the head with a bullet, of which wound he died, and not otherwise." Then the criminals were confined in close prisons and on the evening of the same day and early the next morning, a large number came from the southern part of the county of Cumberland and the Bay Province. It is computed that in the whole there were 500 good, martial soldiers, well equipped for war, that had gathered. On the 16th inst., the body assembled, but being so numerous they could not do business, there was a vote passed to choose a large committee to represent the whole and that this committee should consist of men who did not belong to the county of Cumberland, as well as those that did belong thereto; which was done. After the most critical and impartial examination of evidence, voted, that the leaders of them should be confined in Northampton jail till they could have a fair trial, and those that did not appear so guilty

should be under bonds, holden to answer at the next court of oyer and terminer in the county aforesaid; which was agreed to. On the 17th inst. bonds were taken for those that were to be bound, and the rest set out under a strong guard for Northampton.

We, the committee aforesaid, embrace this opportunity to return our most grateful acknowledgments and sincere thanks to our truly wise and patriotic friends in the government of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, for their kind and benevolent interposition in our favor at such a time of distress and confusion aforesaid; strongly assuring them that we shall always be ready for their aid and assistance, if by the dispensation of divine providence, we are called thereto.

Signed, by order of the Committee:

REUBEN JONES, *Clerk.*

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, March 23, 1775.

The effect of this massacre, as it was termed, was electrical upon the people of Cumberland, and in fact upon the whole mass of settlers on the New Hampshire Grants. The opposition to the claims of New York had thus far mostly been confined to the inhabitants on the western side of the Green Mountains—a majority of the grantees in the vicinity of the Connecticut River having surrendered their original charters, taken new grants under New York and quietly submitted to the jurisdiction of that Colony. They entered fully, however, into the spirit which pervaded the people of the Massachusetts and Connecticut in relation to the oppressive policy of Great Britain towards her American Colonies. This state of

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public sentiment together with the fact that the Provincial Assembly of New York had withheld its approbation from the political measures recommended by the Continental Congress, and which had received the sanction of every other colony, induced them to an open resistance to the administration of New York. In pursuance of this determination, a meeting of a large body of people was held at Westminster on the 11th of April, 1775, at which the following measures were adopted:

1. Voted, that Major Abijah Lovejoy be the Moderator of this meeting.

2. Voted that Dr. Reuben Jones be the Clerk.

3. Voted, as our opinion, That our inhabitants are in great danger of having their property unjustly, cruelly and unconstitutionally taken from them, by the arbitrary and designing administration of the government of New York; sundry instances having already taken place.

4. Voted, as our opinion, That the lives of those inhabitants are in the utmost hazard and imminent danger, under the present administration. Witness the malicious and horrid massacre of the night of the 13th ult.

5. Voted, as our opinion, That it is the duty of said inhabitants, as predicated on the eternal and immutable law of self-preservation, to wholly renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York, till such time as the lives and property of those inhabitants may be secured by it; or till such time as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his most gracious Majesty in council, together with proper remonstrances against the unjustifiable conduct of that government,





SETTLERS IMPLORING WASHINGTON'S PROTECTION.

with an 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 to the said inhabitants, to the royal wisdom and clemency, and till such time as his Majesty shall settle this controversy.

6. Voted, That Colonel Ethan Allen, Colonel John Hazeltine, and Charles Phelps, Esquire, be a Committee to prepare such remonstrance and petition for the purpose aforesaid.

In this situation of affairs, the people of Vermont were electrified by the commencement of hostilities, between America and Great Britain, at Lexington, on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. This exciting prelude to an eventful drama, produced a startling effect from one extremity of the Colonies to the other. "Local and Provincial contests, were at once," says Williams, in his History of Vermont, "swallowed up by the novelty, the grandeur and the importance of the contest thus opened."

Although the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants yielded to the importance of the American cause, and used their endeavors to assist in carrying into effect the measures agreed upon by the sister Colonies, yet they did not relax their exertions to improve their internal condition and substantiate the righteousness and justness of their proceedings in regard to the claims of New York. To a firm adherence to their primary position, and to their patriotic exertions in behalf of the common cause may be attributed the no small amount of trouble they afterwards experienced in obtaining an amicable and satisfactory settlement of their difficulties with the Congress

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when the three delegates, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple and Matthew Thornton, were admitted as members to its deliberations, affixing their names to the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, as delegates from New Hampshire.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE CAPTURE OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

The period at which we have now arrived in the life of Ethan Allen, places him before the reader in a broader and far more interesting position. Heretofore he has been seen only as the zealous friend of the people among whom he resided—only as the champion of the humble citizen, contending for the rights of property and human justice. In these offices of friendship and duty, however, he had rendered himself conspicuous and trustworthy. He had evinced a spirit of patriotism and a love of freedom which warmly recommended him to the confidence, the esteem and the friendship of the most conspicuous advocates of American liberty—Washington, Adams, Lee, Hancock, Jefferson. That he should have been selected, therefore, as a leader in a measure fraught with important incidents to the cause of liberty, is a reward due both to his patriotic principles and important public services.

Soon after the result of the battle of Lexington was known, instructions were sent to Allen from the General Assembly of Connecticut to enlist a body of the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, and, if it were thought possible, to surprise and take the British fortress at Ticonderoga, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. This enterprise was cheerfully undertaken by him. A goodly number of men were speedily enrolled, and preparations

hastily made for the attack. The several passes leading to the fortress were carefully guarded and all communication between the garrison and the adjoining country intercepted. By a forced march Allen arrived at Lake Champlain opposite Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty brave Green Mountain Boys. Considerable difficulty was experienced in procuring boats to cross the lake. This difficulty, however, was partially overcome at last and eighty-three were landed near the garrison and the boats sent back for the rear guard, commanded by Colonel Seth Warner. As the day began to dawn, Allen found himself compelled to attack the enemy before the arrival of Colonel Warner's detachment. "As this," says Allen in his narrative, "was viewed as hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the following manner:

" 'Friends and fellow soldiers: You have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must, this morning, either quit our pretensions to valor or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes. And inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any one contrary to his will. You that will undertake, voluntarily, poise your firelocks.' "

As might be conjectured, among such a body of hardy and fearless men, the musket of every one was brought

to a poise. Allen, with his men immediately advanced to the wicket-gate where a sentry was found posted who snapped his musket at him, and immediately retreated through the covered way into the parade grounds within the garrison, gave the alarm and then sought safety behind a stone wall. Allen rushed in immediately, followed by his men, whom he formed on the parade in such a manner that they faced the two barracks which were opposite each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, three loud shouts were given by Allen and his men, very much to the surprise of the sentinels. One of the sentries made a pass at one of the American officers with a bayonet, and slightly wounded him. "My first thought," says Allen, "was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head upon which he dropped his gun and asked for quarter which I readily granted him, and demanded of him the place where the commanding officer could be found. He showed me a pair of stairs in the front of the barracks on the west part of the garrison which led up to a second story in said barrack, to which I immediately repaired and ordered the commander, Captain de la Place, to come forth instantly or I would sacrifice the whole garrison; the Captain came immediately to a door with his small clothes in his hand. When I ordered him to deliver me the fort instantly, he asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him: In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress! The authority of the Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again, but I interrupted him and with my drawn sword over his head

again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison, with which he then complied and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms as he had given up the garrison. In the mean time some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof sundry of the barrack's doors were beaten down and about one-third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of the commander, a Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants and forty rank and file, together with about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun, continues Allen, seemed to rise that morning with a superior luster and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors who tossed about the flowing bowl and wished success to Congress and the liberty and freedom of America."

Colonel Warner, with the rear guard, crossed the lake and joined the conquerors early in the morning; shortly thereafter Warner was dispatched with about one hundred men to take possession of Crown Point, which was garrisoned with only a sergeant and twelve men.

This was effected the same day and about one hundred pieces of cannon together with other munitions of war were secured. Only one thing now remained to be done in order to obtain the control of Lake Champlain; this was to capture a sloop of war which was then lying at St. Johns, to effect which it was agreed in a council of war to arm and man a certain schooner lying at South Bay and place, Captain afterwards General,

Benedict Arnold in command, while Allen was to command the smaller boats. The necessary preparations being made, they set sail from Ticonderoga in quest of the sloop which was much larger and carried more and heavier guns than the schooner. The schooner, sailing much more rapidly than the bateaux, arrived at St. Johns and Arnold possessed himself of the sloop before the arrival of Allen. He also captured a sergeant and twelve men who were stationed at that place. It is also worthy of notice that as soon as General Arnold had secured the prisoners on board and made preparations for sailing, the wind, which but a few hours before was fresh from the South and well served to carry them to St. Johns, now shifted and came fresh from the North, and in about an hour thereafter, General Arnold sailed with the prize and schooner for Ticonderoga. He was met by Allen within a few miles of St. Johns and saluted with a discharge of cannon, which was returned with a volley of "small arms." After several repetitions of this compliment, Allen and his officers went on board the sloop, where several loyal healths were drunk to the Congress.

The result of this victory was of great importance to the American cause, as it utterly destroyed the military force of the British upon Lake Champlain and strengthened the cause of the patriots among the colonists. It cannot be denied that the Americans embarked in the cause of freedom with many misgivings. They were well aware of their own weakness and they were equally apprised of the gigantic power with which they had to contend. The capture, therefore, of so



strong and well fortified a fortress as Ticonderoga, resulting in the entire overthrow of the British power on Lake Champlain, tended to raise their depressed spirits and create a confidence among them which was of vast importance to the cause. First results, whether favorable or the reverse, exercise a powerful influence upon succeeding incidents, and in proportion to their importance are their effects to be considered.

Commenting upon the success which attended the attack upon Ticonderoga and the expedition to St. Johns, Allen remarks in his Narrative: This success I viewed as of consequence in the scale of American politics, for if a settlement between the then Colonies of Great Britain had soon taken place, it would have been easy to have restored these acquisitions, but in viewing the then future consequences of a civil war, as it has already proved to be, and the command of that Lake, garrisons, artillery, etc., it must be viewed to be of signal importance to the American cause, and it is marvelous to me that we ever lost the command of it. Nothing but taking a Burgoyne with a whole British army, could in my opinion, atone for it; and notwithstanding such an extraordinary victory, we must be obliged to regain the command of that lake again, be the cost what it will. By doing this, Canada will easily be brought into union and confederacy with the United States of America. Such an event would put it out of the power of the Western tribes of Indians to carry on a war with us and be a solid and durable bar against any farther inhuman barbarities committed on our frontier inhabitants by cruel and blood-thirsty savages, for it is impos-

sible to carry on a war except they are supported by the trade and commerce of some civilized nation, which, to them would be impracticable, did Canada compose a part of the American Empire. Had Allen's plans been successful, Canada might now be divided into important and populous states with representation at Washington, instead of being a dependency of Great Britain.

Early in the ensuing fall, the American army, under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, received orders to advance into Canada. Allen was at Ticonderoga when this order arrived. He received pressing requests from Montgomery and a majority of the field officers to accompany the expedition—it being stipulated that, although he held no regular commission from Congress, he should be considered as an officer and as occasion might require, command certain detachments of the army. This being considered by him an honorable offer, and having a desire to assist to the extent of his ability in any expedition having for its object the good of the country, he complied with the requests and advanced northward with the army to Isle aux Noix. From this place he was ordered, by Schuyler, to accompany Major Brown and certain interpreters through the woods into Canada with letters to the Canadians, informing them that the design of the army was only against the English garrisons, and not the country, their liberties or their religion. Having, with much difficulty, arranged this business Allen returned to Isle aux Noix early in September.

General Schuyler having returned to Albany, the

command devolved upon General Montgomery, from whom Allen soon after received orders to make a second tour of Canada for the purpose of observing the situation there and communicating to him the designs and movements of the inhabitants as well as the British. This journey was undertaken with reluctance by Allen, who chose rather to assist at the siege of St. Johns, which was then entirely surrounded; but his esteem, he says, for the General's person and opinion of him as a politician induced him to proceed to Canada at once.

The route taken by Allen led him through all the parishes on the river Sorrel to a town at its mouth bearing the same name. The inhabitants were addressed by him upon the policy of General Montgomery in besieging St. Johns and every argument used to quiet their fears and enlist their support in behalf of the Americans. From the village of Sorrel he directed his course to the St. Lawrence, and thence through the many small settlements to Longueil, where he arrived on the 22d of September. He was accompanied by a Canadian guard, an interpreter, and a few American attendants.

On the morning of the 24th of September he left Longueil, with a guard of about eighty men, for La Prairie, from whence it was his determination to proceed directly to General Montgomery's camp on the St. Lawrence. He had advanced about two miles, however, when he met Major Brown, who informed him that he had important intelligence to communicate, the import of which was that, provided Allen would return to Longueil and procure a few canoes to enable the party to effect a pass-

age across the St. Lawrence a short distance below Montreal, he (Major Brown) would cross the river above the town with two hundred men, as he had a sufficient number of boats—and thus effect the capture of Montreal. This plan, although somewhat chimerical and ill-planned, was readily approved by Allen and those in council; in consequence of which they immediately returned to Longueil, collected a few canoes, and after adding about thirty men to the party, crossed the river on the night of the 24th, agreeable to the proposed plan. The whole effective force of Allen consisted of only one hundred and ten men, about eighty of whom were Canadians. We were most of the night, says Allen, in crossing the river, as we had so few canoes that they had to pass and repass three times to carry my party across. Soon after day-break I set a guard between me and the town with special orders to let no person pass or repass them, and another guard at the other end of the road with like directions. In the mean time I reconnoitered the best ground to make a defence—expecting Major Brown's party was landed on the other side of the town, he having, the day before, agreed to give three huzzas with his men early in the morning, which signal I was to return, that we might know that both parties were landed. But the sun, by this time, being near two hours high, and the sign failing, I began to conclude myself to be in a sad dilemma and would have crossed the river back again, but I knew the enemy would discover such an attempt, and as there could not more than one third part of my troops cross at one time, the other two thirds would of course, fall into their hands. This I could

not reconcile to my own feelings as a man, much less as an officer. I therefore concluded to maintain the ground, if possible, and share the fate of the others. In consequence of this resolution, I despatched two messengers—one to La Prairie to Major Brown and the other to L'Assomption, a French settlement, to a Mr. Walker, who was in our interest, requesting speedy assistance, giving them at the same time to understand my critical situation. In the meantime sundry persons came to my guards, pretending to be friends, who were by them taken prisoners and brought to me. These I ordered to confinement until their friendship could be farther confirmed for I was jealous they were spies, as they proved to be afterwards. One of the principal of them, making his escape, exposed the weakness of my party, which was the final cause of my misfortune, for I have since been informed that Mr. Walker, agreeably to desire, exerted himself and raised a considerable number of men for my assistance, but, hearing of my misfortune, he disbanded them.

The news of the arrival of Allen and his followers created much excitement and alarm in and about Montreal. General Carlton and the royal party with him made every preparation to go on board their armed vessels, and would probably have done so had they not been influenced by the information received from the spy, who made his escape from the Americans. This occasioned an alteration in their determination and resulted in General Carlton sending an armed force against the invaders. Allen had previously chosen his ground, but when he saw the number of the enemy as they sallied out of the town, he saw

that it would be a day of trouble if not of defeat. But he had no chance to escape, as Montreal is situated on an island, and the river St. Lawrence cut off all communication with General Montgomery's Camp. Allen urged his soldiers to bravely defend themselves—that they would soon have help, and that they should maintain their ground if nothing more. This Allen affirmed with the greatest assurance and which would, in reality, he thought, be in some degree probable.

The enemy consisted of less than forty regular troops, together with a mixed company of Canadians, a number of English who lived in the town, and a few Indians; in all, amounting to about five hundred men. The reader will notice that a majority of Allen's party were Canadians. Indeed, it was a motley parcel of soldiery which composed both parties. However, the enemy began the attack from behind woodpiles, ditches, buildings and such like places, at a considerable distance. Allen returned the attack from a situation equally as advantageous. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, just before which Allen ordered a volunteer by the name of Richard Young, with a detachment of nine men as a flank guard, to annoy the enemy under cover of the bank of the river, and at the same time to serve as flank guard to the left wing of the main body under his immediate command.

The fire continued for some time on both sides; but Allen was confident that such a plan of attack could not carry the ground, unless it continued until night. But about half the body of the enemy began to flank round to their right; whereupon Allen ordered a volunteer

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by the name of John Dugan, who had lived many years in Canada, and understood the French language, to detach about fifty of the Canadians and post himself in an advantageous ditch which was on Allen's right, to prevent their being surrounded. Dugan advanced with the detachment, but instead of occupying the post, made his escape, as did also Young, upon the left with their detachments. Allen soon saw that the enemy was in possession of the ground which Dugan should have occupied. At this time Allen had about forty-five men with him, some of whom were wounded. The enemy continued to close in on him, nor was it in his power to prevent it. The situation of the Americans, if advantageous in the beginning of the attack, ceased to be so at its close. Being almost surrounded, Allen ordered a retreat; but soon found that the Canadians and their Indian allies could run as fast as his men, though the British regulars could not. Allen retreated nearly a mile, while some of the enemy were continually flanking him, and others crowding hard in the rear. "I expected," says Allen, "in a very short time, to try the world of spirits; for I was apprehensive that no quarter would be given to me, and therefore, I had determined to sell my life as dearly as I could.

"One of the enemy's officers, boldly pressing in the rear, discharged his fusee at me. The ball whistled near me, as did many others that day. I returned the salute but missed him, as running had put us both nearly out of breath, for I conclude we were not frightened. I then saluted him with my tongue in a harsh manner and told him that inasmuch as his numbers were so far superior to mine, I would surrender, provided I could be treated

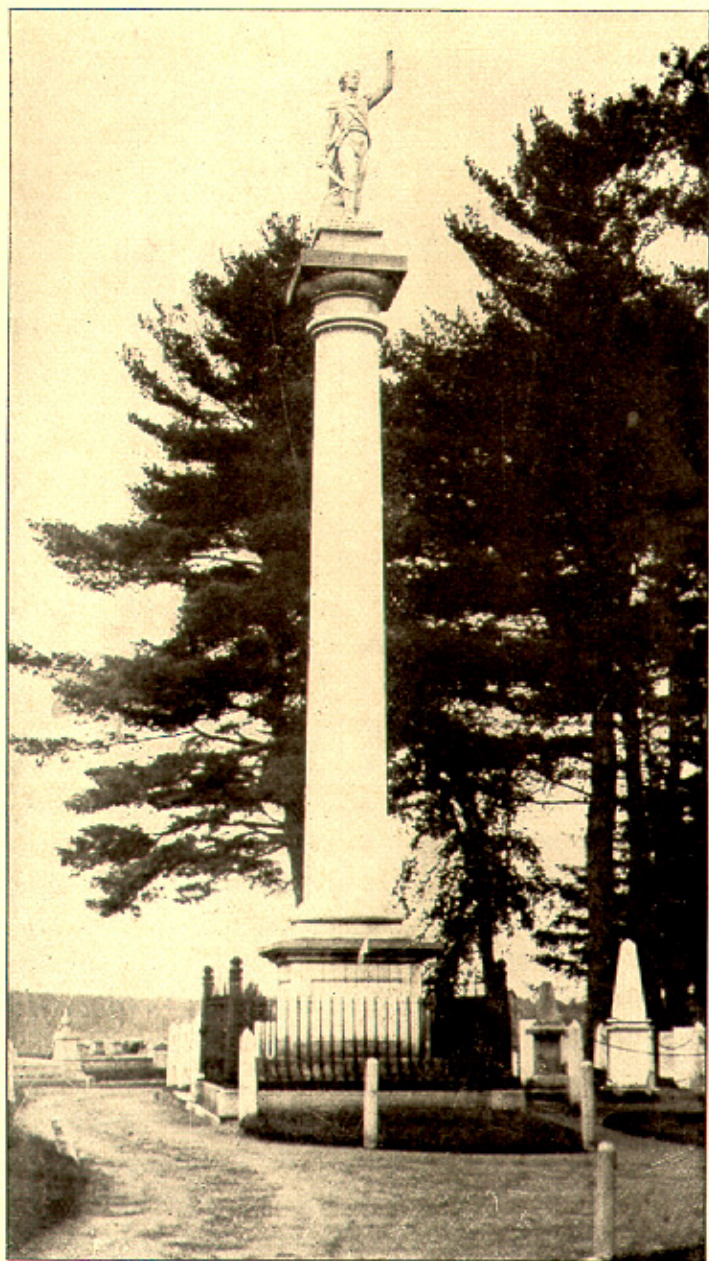
with honor, and be assured of good quarter for myself and the men who were with me. He answered that I should. Another officer coming up soon after, confirmed the treaty upon which I agreed to surrender with my party, which then consisted of thirty-one effective men, and some wounded. I ordered them to ground their arms, which they did.

The officer I capitulated to then directed me and my party to advance towards him, which was done. I handed him my sword, and in half a minute after, a savage, part of whose head was shaved, being almost naked and painted, with feathers intermixed with the hair on the other side of his head, came running towards me with incredible swiftness. He seemed to advance with more than mortal speed. As he approached near me, his hellish visage was beyond all description. Snakes' eyes appear innocent in comparison with his. His features were distorted, and malice, death and murder were depicted upon his countenance; and, when within less than twelve feet of me, presented his musket. At the instant of his presenting, I twitched the officer to whom I gave my sword, between myself and him. He flew round with great fury, trying to single me out to shoot me without killing the officer, but by this time I was nearly as nimble as he—keeping the officer in such a position that his danger was my defence. In less than a minute afterwards, I was attacked by just such another imp. I then made the officer fly around with incredible swiftness. One of the Canadians lost an eye, as it appeared afterwards, in taking my part; and soon after an Irishman came to my assistance with a fixed bayonet, and drove away the savages, swearing that he



would kill them. This tragic scene composed my mind. The escape from so awful a death made even imprisonment happy, the more so as my conquerors on the field treated me with great civility and politeness.

The regular officers said they were very happy to see Colonel Allen. I answered them that I should rather chosen to have seen them at General Montgomery's camp. They replied that they gave full credit to what I said; and I walked into the town, which was, as I should think, a distance of more than two miles—a British officer walking at my right hand and one of the French noblesse at my left. The latter was in the action and had his brow carried away by a glancing shot, but was, nevertheless, very facetious. No abuse was offered me, until I came to the barrack yard, where I met General Orescott, who asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was the Colonel Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. He then shook his cane over my head calling me many hard names; among which he frequently used the word rebel and put himself in a great rage. I told him he would do well not to cane me, as I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that that was the beetle of mortality for him, if he offered to strike; upon which Captain McCloud, of the British, pulled him by the coat and whispered to him, as he afterwards told me, to the import that it would be inconsistent with his honor to strike a prisoner. He then ordered a sergeant's command, with fixed bayonets, to come forward and kill thirteen Canadians, which were included in the treaty aforesaid. It cut me to the heart to see the Canadians in so hard a case, in consequence of



ETHAN ALLEN MONUMENT. Burlington. Vt.

their having been true to me; they were wringing their hands, saying their prayers, as I concluded and expected immediate death. I therefore stepped between the executioners and the Canadians, opened my clothes and told General Prescott to thrust his bayonet into my breast for I was the sole cause of the Canadians taking up arms.

The guards, in the meantime, were rolling their eyeballs from the General to me, as though impatiently waiting his dread commands to sheath their bayonets in my heart. I could, however, plainly discern that he was in a suspense and quandary about the matter. This gave me additional hopes of succeeding, for my design was not to die, but to save the Canadians by a finesse. The General stood a minute, when he made me the following reply: "I will not execute you now but you shall grace a halter at Tyburn, G—d d—n you."

I remember I disdained his mentioning such a place. I was, notwithstanding, a little pleased with the expression, as it significantly conveyed to me the idea of postponing the present appearance of death; besides his sentence was by no means final as to gracing a halter, although I had anxiety about it after I landed in England.

General Prescott then ordered one of his officers to take me on board the Gaspee schooner of war, and confine me, hands and feet, in irons, which was done the same afternoon I was taken.

The action continued an hour and three quarters, by the watch, and I know not to this day how many of my men were killed, though I think there were but few; if I remember right, seven were wounded. One of them, William Stewart by name, was wounded by a savage with

a tomahawk after he was taken prisoner and disarmed, but was rescued by some of the generous enemy and so far recovered of his wounds that he afterwards went with the other prisoners to England.

Of the enemy killed was a Major Carden, who had been wounded in eleven different battles, and an eminent merchant, Patterson, of Montreal, and some others; but I never knew their loss, as their accounts were different. I am apprehensive that it is rare that so much ammunition was expended, and so little execution done by it, though such of my party as stood their ground behaved with great fortitude, much exceeding that of the enemy, but were not the best of marksmen and I am apprehensive were all killed or taken; the wounded were all put into the hospital at Montreal, and those who were not, were put on board of different vessels in the river and shackled together by pairs, viz., two men fastened together by one handcuff being closely fixed to one wrist of each of them, and treated with the greatest severity, nay, as criminals.

Now as to the description of the irons that were put on me. The hand-cuff was of a common size and form, but my leg irons, I should imagine, would weigh forty pounds. The bar was eight feet long and very substantial; the shackles, which encompassed my ankles were very tight. I was told by the officer who put them on that it was the King's plate, and I heard another of their officers say that it too would weigh forty-weight. The irons were so close upon my ankles that I could not lie down in any other manner than on my back. I was put into the lowest and most wretched part of the vessel, where I got

the favor of a chest to sit on; the same answered for my bed at night, and having procured some little blocks of the guard, who day and night with fixed bayonets, watched over me, to lie under each end of the large bar of my leg-irons to preserve my ankles from galling, while I sat on the chest or lay back on the same, though most of the time, night and day, I sat on it; but at length, having a desire to lie down on my side, which the closeness of the irons forbid, I desired the Captain to loosen them for that purpose, but was denied the favor. The Captain's name was Royal, who did not seem to be an ill-natured man, but oftentimes said that his express orders were to treat me with such severity which was disagreeable to his own feelings; nor did he ever insult me, though many others who came on board did. One of the officers by the name of Bradley was very generous to me; he would often send me victuals from his own table, nor did a day fail but he sent me a good drink of grog.

The reader is now invited back to the time I was put into irons. I requested the privilege to write to General Prescott, which was granted. I reminded him of the kind and generous manner of my treatment of the prisoners I took at Ticonderoga; the injustice and ungentleman-like usage which I had met with from him, and demanded gentleman-like usage, but received no answer from him. I soon after wrote to General Carlton which met the same success. In the meanwhile, many of those who were permitted to see me were very insulting.

I was confined in the manner I have related, on board the Gaspee schooner for about six weeks; during which time I was obliged to throw out plenty of extravagant

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language which answered certain purposes at that time better than to grace a history.

To give an instance upon being insulted, in a fit of anger, I twisted off a nail with my teeth which I took to be a ten-penny nail; it went through the mortice of the bar of my hand-cuff, and at the same time I swaggered over those who abused me, particularly a Doctor Dauce, who told me that I was outlawed by New York and deserved death for several years past, was at last fully ripened for the halter and in a fair way to obtain it. When I challenged him, he excused himself in consequence, as he said, of my being a criminal; but I flung such a flood of language at him that it shocked him and the spectators, for my anger was very great. I heard one say, damn him, can he eat iron? After that a small padlock was fixed to the hand-cuff instead of the nail, and as they were mean spirited in their treatment of me so it appeared to me, that they were equally timorous and cowardly.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CARRIED A PRISONER TO ENGLAND.

Colonel Allen, with the other prisoners, was taken to an armed vessel which was lying before Quebec, under the command of Captain McCloud of the British Admiralty, who extended toward him the courtesy due from one officer to another, and the kindness due misfortune. The next day, however, he apparently with reluctance bade Allen farewell, but his good fortune still continued. Captain Littlejohn, the officer to whose vessel he was transferred, was polite, generous and friendly, while the under officers were equally as kind in their treatment of him. The best the vessel afforded was at Allen's disposal, and what was equally gratifying to his feelings, he was permitted to occupy comfortable quarter in the cabin, the irons having been removed. Captain Littlejohn declared that a brave man should not be used as a rascal on board his ship.

In his "Narrative," Allen relates the following incident which occurred while he was on board this vessel, which will give the reader an insight into the confidence entertained by the commander for his honor and uprightness, and also to show his willingness at any time and under any circumstances to brave any and all dangers.

Captain Littlejohn used to go to Quebec almost every day, in order to pay his respects to certain ladies and gent-

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lemen; being there on a certain day he happened to meet with some disagreeable treatment, as he imagined, from the Lieutenant of a man-of-war, and one word brought on another, until the Lieutenant challenged him to a duel on the plains of Abraham. Captain Littlejohn was a gentleman who entertained a high sense of honor and could do no less than accept the challenge. They were to fight at nine o'clock the next morning. The Captain returned in the evening and acquainted his Lieutenant and Allen with the affair. His Lieutenant was a high blooded Scotchman as well as himself, who replied to his Captain that he should not want for a second. With this, says Allen, I interrupted him and gave the Captain to understand that since an opportunity had presented, I would be glad to testify my gratitude to him, by acting the part of a faithful second, on which he gave me his hand and said that he wanted no better man. Says he, I am a King's officer and you a prisoner under my care; you must therefore, go with me to the place appointed under disguise; he further added, you must engage me upon the honor of a gentleman, that whether I die or live, or whatever happens, provided you live, that you will return to my Lieutenant, on board this ship. All this I solemnly promised him. The combatants were to discharge each a pocket pistol and then to fall on with their iron hilted muckle whangers; and one of that sort was allotted for me; but some British officers who interposed early in the morning settled the controversy without fighting

After enjoying eight or nine days comparative freedom from the polite and generous treatment of Captain Littlejohn and his officers, Allen parted with them in a friendly



manner, and with much regret. At the period of his removal, a detachment from the army under General Arnold appeared at Point Levi opposite Quebec. The troops had performed an extraordinary march through the wilderness for the purpose of surprising the capital city of Canada; to this fact perhaps is to be attributed Allen's change of quarters. He was now removed to a vessel called the "Adamant" together with the other American prisoners and put under the guard of an English merchant from London named Brook Watson; he is said to have been of a malicious and cruel disposition and easily excited when exercising his authority. His advisers were Colonel Guy Johnson, Colonel Closs and their attendants and associates, to the number of about thirty, mostly tories. The ship's crew, however, with the exception of Colonel Closs, in his personal behavior, treated the prisoners with that spirit of bitterness, which, says Allen, is the peculiar characteristic of tories, when they have the friend of America in their power—measuring their loyalty to the English king by the barbarity, fraud and deceit which they exercise towards the whigs.

A small place in the vessel enclosed with rough boards had been prepared for the prisoners, Allen among the rest—it being about twenty feet one way and twenty-two the other. Into this confined place they were all, to the number of thirty-four, thrust and hand-cuffed. In this circumference, we were obliged, says Allen, to eat and sleep during the voyage to England; and were insulted by every blackguard sailor and tory on board in the cruelest manner; but what is the most surprising, not one of us died during the passage. When I was first

ordered to go into the filthy enclosure, through a small door, I positively refused, and endeavored to reason the before named Brook Watson out of a conduct so derogatory to every sentiment of honor and humanity, but all to no purpose, my men being forced into the den already, the rascal, who had charge of the prisoners, commanded me to go immediately in among the rest. He further added that the place was good enough for a rebel—that it was impertinent for a capital offender to talk of honor or humanity; that anything short of a halter was too good for me; and that that would be my portion soon after I landed in England and for which purpose only I was sent thither. About the same time a Lieutenant among the tories insulted me in a grievous manner, saying that I ought to have been executed for my rebellion against New York, and spit in my face; upon which, though I was hand-cuffed, I sprang at him, with both hands and knocked him partly down, but he scrambled along into the cabin and I after him. There he got under the protection of some men with fixed bayonets, who were ordered to make ready to drive me into the place afore-mentioned, I challenged him to fight, notwithstanding the impediments that were on my hands, and had the exalted pleasure to see the rascal tremble for fear; his name I have forgotten, but Watson ordered his guard to get me into the place with the other prisoners, dead or alive; and I had almost as leave die as do it, standing out till they surrounded me with bayonets—brutish, prejudiced, abandoned wretches they were, from whom I could expect nothing but death or wounds. However, I told them that they were good honest fellows; that I could not blame

them; that I was only in dispute with a calico merchant, who knew not how to behave towards a gentleman of the military establishment. This I spoke rather to appease them for my own preservation, as well as to treat Watson with contempt; but still I found that they were determined to force me into the wretched circumstances, which their prejudiced and depraved minds had prepared for me. Therefore, rather than die, I submitted to their indignities, being driven with bayonets into the filthy dungeon with the other prisoners, where we were denied fresh water, except a small allowance which was very inadequate to our wants; and, in consequence of the stench of the place, each of us was soon followed with a dysentery and fever, which occasioned an intolerable thirst. When we asked for water we were most commonly, instead of obtaining it, insulted and derided; and to add to all the horrors of the place, it was so dark that we could not see each other, and were overspread with body lice. We had, notwithstanding these severities full allowance of salt provisions, and a gill of rum per day; the latter of which was of the utmost service to us and probably was the means of saving several of our lives.

About forty days we existed in this manner, when Land's End, England, was discovered from the mast-head, soon after the prisoners were taken from their gloomy abode, being permitted to see the light of the sun and breathe fresh air, which to us was very refreshing. The day following we landed at Falmouth. A few days before I was taken prisoner, I shifted my clothes, in which I happened to be taken; a Canadian dress, viz., a short fawn skin jacket, double breasted, an under vest and

breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, a decent pair of shoes, two plain shirts and a red worsted cap. This was all the clothing I had, in which I made my appearance in England. The landing of the prisoners at Falmouth created considerable commotion among the citizens of that place, excited as they were by the report that the conqueror of Ticonderoga was among them. Numbers of the people were on the roofs of the houses, and the rising grounds adjacent were covered with both sexes. The throng was so great that the King's officers were obliged to draw their swords and force a passage to Pendennis castle, which was about a mile from the town, where the prisoners, upon arrival, were closely confined in consequence of orders from General Carlton who was then in command of the English forces in Canada.

Brook Watson, who had so shamefully abused and insulted the prisoners, immediately upon landing, started for London, expecting to receive a reward for his inhumanity; but the Ministry received him with contempt—the whigs, who were in the minority in Parliament, arguing that the opposition of America to Great Britain was not a rebellion, but a measure justified by the numerous evils to which they had been subjected by the oppressive policy of the Ministry. This was the position assumed by Pitt, Burke and other friends of America. If it be a rebellion, they urged, why do you not execute Allen according to law? Why not give him an impartial trial? Why destroy his life by a course of slow and humiliating punishment? The majority (the Tories), maintained that the opposition of the Americans was really a rebellion, and that Allen deserved death; but that

policy obliged them to spare his life, inasmuch as the Americans were in possession of the greatest number of prisoners. So that Allen being sent to England for the purpose of being executed was rather a foil of their laws and authority; many strongly disapproving of his having been sent there. The result of the deliberations of Parliament, as well as the public sentiment however, never came to Allen's knowledge until after his arrival in America.

The reader will readily perceive that Allen was anxious about his preservation, knowing that he was a prisoner in a foreign country, and his keepers cruel and brutal. Therefore, says Allen, the first proposition which I determined in my own mind was that humanity and moral suasion would not be consulted in the determining of my fate, and those that daily came in great numbers, out of curiosity to see me, both gentle and simple, united in this, that I would be hanged. A gentleman from America, by the name of Temple, and who was friendly to me just whispered to me in the ear, and told me that bets were laid in London that I would be executed; he likewise privately gave me a guinea, but durst say very little to me.

However, agreeable to my first negative proposition that moral virtue would not influence my destiny, I had recourse to stratagem, which I was in hopes would move in the circle of their policy. I requested of the commander of the castle the privilege of writing to Congress, who after consulting with an officer that lived in town, of a superior rank, permitted me to write. I wrote in the fore part of my letter a short narrative of my ill treatment, but withal let them know that though I was treated as

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a criminal in England, and continued in irons, together with those taken with me, yet it was in consequence of the orders which the commander of the castle received from General Carlton; I therefore, desired Congress to desist from matters of retaliation until they should know the result of the government in England respecting their ill treatment towards me and govern themselves accordingly, with a particular request that if retaliation should be found necessary, it might be exercised not according to the smallness of my character in America, but in proportion to the importance of the cause for which I suffered. This is according to my present recollection, the substance of the letter, inscribed, "To the Illustrious Continental Congress." This letter was written with a view that it should be sent to the Ministry at London, rather than to Congress, with a design to intimidate the haughty English government and screen my neck from the halter.

The next day the officer, from whom I obtained license to write, came to see me and frowned on me on account of the impudence of the letter, as he phrased it, and further added, Do you think we are fools in England and would send your letter to Congress with instructions to retaliate on our own people? I have sent orders to Lord North. This gave me inward satisfaction, though I carefully concealed it with a pretended resentment, for I found I had come Yankee over him, and that the letter had gone to the identical person I had designed it for. Nor do I know to this day but that it had the desired effect, though I have not heard anything of the letter since.

My personal treatment by Lieutenant Hamilton, who commanded the castle, was very generous. He sent me every day a fine breakfast and dinner from his own table, and a bottle of good wine. Another aged gentleman, whose name I cannot recollect, sent me a good supper; but there was no distinction in public support between me and the privates. We were all lodged in a sort of Dutch bunk, in one common apartment and were allowed straw. The privates were well supplied with fresh provisions, and, with me, took effectual measures to rid themselves of lice.

I could not but feel inwardly, extremely anxious for my fate. This, however, I concealed from the prisoners as well as from the enemy who were perpetually shaking the halter at me. Nevertheless I treated them with scorn and contempt; and, having sent my letter to the ministry, could conceive of nothing more in my power but to keep up my spirits, behave in a daring, soldier-like manner, that I might exhibit a good sample of American fortitude. Such conduct, I judged, would have a more probable tendency to my preservation than concession and timidity. This, therefore, was my deportment; and I had lastly determined, in my own mind, that if a cruel death must inevitably be my portion, I would face it undaunted, and though I greatly rejoice that I have returned to my country and friends, and to see the power and pride of Great Britain humbled, yet I am confident I could then have died without the least appearance of dismay.

I now clearly recollect that my mind was so resolved that I would not have trembled or shown the least fear,

as I was sensible it could not alter my fate, nor do more than reproach my memory, make my last act despicable to my enemies, and eclipse the other actions of my life. For I reasoned thus, that nothing was more common than for men to die with their friends around them, weeping and lamenting over them, but not able to help them, which was, in reality, not different in the consequence of it, from such a death as I was apprehensive of; and as death was the natural consequence of animal life, to which the laws of nature subject mankind, to be timorous and uneasy as to the event or the manner of it, was inconsistent with the character of a philosopher or soldier. The cause I was engaged in I ever viewed worthy hazarding my life for; nor was I in the most critical moments of trouble, sorry that I engaged in it. And as to the world of spirits, though I knew nothing of the mode or manner of it, I expected, nevertheless, when I should arrive at such a world, that I should be as well treated as other gentlemen of my merit.

Among the great numbers of people who came to the castle to see the prisoners, some gentlemen told me that they had come fifty miles on purpose to see me and desired to ask me a number of questions and to make free with me in conversation. I gave for my answer that I chose freedom in every sense of the word. Then one of them asked me what my occupation in life had been? I answered him that in my younger days I had studied divinity, but was a conjurer by profession. He replied that I conjured wrong at the time I was taken; and I was obliged to own that I mistook a figure at that time, but that I had conjured them out of Ticonderoga. This



was a place of great notoriety in England, so that the joke seemed to go in my favor.

It was a common thing for me to be taken out of close confinement into a spacious green in the castle or rather parade, where numbers of gentlemen and ladies were ready to see and hear me. I often entertained such audiences with harangues on the impracticability of Great Britain conquering the colonies of America. At one of these times I asked a gentlemen for a bowl of punch, and he ordered his servant to bring it, which he did, and offered it to me; but I refused to take it from the hand of his servant—he then gave it to me with his own hand, refusing to drink with me, in consequence of my being a state criminal. However, I took the punch and drank it all down at one draught, and handed the gentleman the bowl. This made the spectators, as well as myself, merry.

I expatiated on American freedom. This gained the resentment of a young beardless gentleman of the company who gave himself very great airs and replied, that he “knew the Americans very well, and was certain that they could not bear the smell of powder.” I replied that I accepted it as a challenge and was ready to convince him on the spot, that an American could bear the smell of powder; at which he answered that he should not put himself on a par with me. I then demanded of him to treat the character of the Americans with due respect. He answered that I was an Irishman; but I assured him, that I was a full-blooded Yankee; and in fine, bantered him so much that he left me in possession of the ground, and the laugh went against him. Two clergymen came to see me and, inasmuch as they behaved with civility, I

returned them the same. We discoursed on several parts of moral philosophy and Christianity and they seemed to be surprised that I should be acquainted with such topics or that I should understand a syllogism, or regular mode of argumentation. I am apprehensive my Canadian dress contributed not a little to the surprise, and excitement of curiosity. To see a gentleman in England, regularly dressed, and well behaved would be no sight at all; but such a rebel as they were pleased to call me, it is probable, was never before seen in England.

The prisoners were landed at Falmouth a few days before Christmas and ordered on board the Solbay frigate commanded by Captain Symonds, the 8th day of January, 1776, when our hand irons were taken off. This remove was in consequence, as I have been since informed, of a writ of habeas corpus which had been procured by some gentlemen in England, in order to obtain me my liberty. The Solbay, with sundry other men-of-war and about forty transports, rendezvoused at the cove of Cork in Ireland, to take in provisions and water.

When we were first brought on board, Captain Symonds ordered all the prisoners and most of the hands on board to go on deck, and caused to be read in their hearing, a certain code of laws, or rules for the regulation and ordering of their behavior; and then, in a sovereign manner, ordered the prisoners, me in particular off the deck, and never to come on it again for, he said, this is a place for gentlemen to walk. So I went off, an officer following me, who told me that he would show me the place allotted for me and took me down to the cable tire, saying to me, This is your place.

Prior to this I had taken cold by which I was in an ill state of health, and did not say much to the officer, but stayed there that night—consulted my policy, and found I was in an evil case; that a Captain of a man-of-war was more arbitrary than a king, as he could view his territory with a look of his eye, and a movement of his finger commanded obedience. I felt myself more despondent than I had at any time before; for I concluded it to be a governmental scheme to do that, clandestinely, which policy forbid to be done under sanction of public justice and law.

However, two days later, I shaved and cleaned myself as well as I could and went on deck. The Captain spoke to me in a great rage, and said, Did I not order you not to come on deck? I answered him that at the same time he said that it was the place for gentlemen to walk; that I was Colonel Allen, but had not been properly introduced to him. He replied, G—d d—n you, sir, be careful not to walk the same side of the deck that I do. This gave me encouragement, and ever after that I walked in the manner he had directed, except when he at certain times afterwards ordered me off in a passion, and I then would directly afterwards go on again, telling him to command his slaves, that I was a gentleman and had a right to walk the deck; yet, when he expressly ordered me off, I obeyed, not out of obedience to him but to set an example to his ship's crew, who ought to obey him.

To walk to the windward side of the deck is, according to custom, the prerogative of the Captain of a man-of-war, though he oftentimes, nay, commonly, walks with his Lieutenants, when no strangers are by. When a Captain of another man-of-war comes on board the two Captains

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walk to the windward side while the other officers walk on the leeward side.

It was but a few nights I lodged in the cable tire before I gained an acquaintance with the master of arms. His name was Gillegan, an Irishman, who was a generous and well-disposed man, and in a friendly manner made me an offer of living with him in a little berth which was allotted him between decks and enclosed with canvas; his preferment on board was about equal to that of sergeant in a regiment. I was comparatively happy in acceptance of this clemency and lived with him in friendship till the frigate anchored in the harbor of Cape Fear, North Carolina.

## CHAPTER IX.

### RETURN TO AMERICA.

Allen's detention in England was of short duration. When removed from the dungeon, in which he was confined during the six weeks' voyage across the Atlantic, he little expected ever again to step aboard a ship. He had bid farewell to his friends and country when taken aboard the *Gaspee* in the harbor of Quebec, bound for England. He had been told on many occasions that he would grace the end of a halter as soon as he was safely landed in England, and from all indications, he fully expected the fulfilment of this promised reward. He was very much surprised, therefore, and doubtless rejoiced inwardly, when ordered aboard the *Solbay*, which he soon learned was bound for the Carolinas.

The chief reason not only for Allen's early return to America, as it afterwards transpired, but also those who were taken prisoners at the same time, was to enable the British, at short notice, to effect an exchange of officers of equal rank, together with as many prisoners as they could conveniently carry back to America in the *Solbay*.

The Americans had been unusually active during the winter of 1775 and '76, and in consequence had effected the capture not only of men and stores but also of a number of British officers and troops. These, Lord Howe was anxious to regain and doubtless urged the return to

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America, not only of Allen, but of all other acknowledged leaders of the Revolution then confined in British dungeons. While Allen did not hold a Colonel's commission, the services he rendered the patriot cause in the taking of Fort Ticonderoga placed him little below Washington in the esteem of his countrymen.

Among the officers captured by the Americans was a Colonel Archibald Campbell, whose release the British were very desirous of effecting, and since Allen held the rank of Colonel by common consent, Lord Howe reasoned that the Americans would be quite willing to make the exchange. It was decided, therefore, to await the return of Allen when Washington would immediately be informed of the desired action with respect to their prisoners.

Nothing of material consequence happened while the fleet rendezvoused at the Cove of Cork, Ireland except a violent storm, which brought old, hardy sailors to their prayers. It was rumored in Cork that Allen was on board the Solbay, with a number of prisoners from America, on which Messrs. Clark and Hays, merchants, together with a number of other benevolently disposed gentlemen, contributed largely to the relief and support of the prisoners, who were thirty-four in number, and in very needy circumstances. A suit of clothes from head to foot including an overcoat or surtout, and two shirts, were bestowed on each of them. I received, says Allen, in superfine broadcloths, sufficient for two jackets, and two pairs of breeches, overplus of a suit throughout, eight fine Holland shirts and socks ready made, with a number of pairs of silk and worsted hose, two pair shoes, two beaver

hats, one of which was sent me richly laced with gold, by Mr. James Bonwell. The Irish gentlemen furthermore made a large gratuity of wines of the best sort, old spirits, loaf and brown sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, with a large round of pickled beef and a number of fat turkeys, with many other articles for my sea stores, too tedious to mention here. To the privates, they bestowed on each man, two pounds of tea and six pounds of brown sugar. These articles were received on board at a time when the Captain and First Lieutenant were gone on shore, by permission of the second Lieutenant, a handsome young gentleman who was then under twenty-two years of age; his name was Douglas, the son of Admiral Douglas, as I was informed.

As this munificence was so unexpected and plentiful, I may add, needful, it impressed on my mind the highest sense of gratitude towards my benefactors, for I was not only supplied with the necessaries and conveniences of life, but with the grandeur and superfluities of it. Mr. Hays, one of the donors before mentioned, came on board and behaved in the most obliging manner, telling me that he hoped my troubles were past; he was determined, he said, to make my sea stores equal to those of the Captain of the Solbay. He made an offer of live stock and wherewith to support them, but I knew this would be denied; and to crown all he sent me by another person, fifty guineas; but I could not be reconciled to receiving the whole, as it might have the appearance of avarice; I therefore only received seven, and am confident not only from the exercise of the present well-timed generosity, but from a large acquaintance with gentlemen of this

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nation, that as a people the Irish excel in liberality and bravery.

Two days after the receipt of the aforesaid donations, Captain Symonds came on board full of envy towards the prisoners, and swore by all that is good, that the d—d American rebels should not be feasted at this rate, by the d—d rebels of Ireland; he therefore took away all my liquors before mentioned, except some of the wine which was secreted, and a two gallon jug of old spirits, which was reserved for me per favor of Lieutenant Douglas. The taking of my liquors was abominable in the sight of Lieutenant Douglas; he therefore spoke in my behalf, till the Captain was angry with him and in consequence proceeded to take away all the tea and sugar which had been given to the prisoners and confiscated it to the use of the ship's crew. Our clothing was not taken away, but the privates were forced to do duty on board. Soon after this there came a boat to the side of the ship and Captain Symonds asked a gentleman who was in it, in my hearing, what his business was. He answered that he was sent to deliver some sea-stores to Colonel Ethan Allen which, if I remember right, he said were sent from Dublin, but the Captain damned him heartily, ordered him away from the ship, and would not suffer him to deliver the stores. I was furthermore informed that the gentlemen from Cork requested of Captain Symonds, that I might be allowed to come into the city and that they would be responsible I should return to the frigate at a given time, which was denied them.

We sailed from England the 8th day of January, and from the Cove of Cork on the 12th day of February. Just



before we sailed the prisoners who were with me were divided and put on board three different ships of war. This gave me some uneasiness, for they were to a man zealous in the cause of liberty and behaved with a becoming fortitude in the various scenes of their captivity; but those who were distributed on board other ships of war, were much better used than those who tarried with me, as appeared afterwards. When the fleet, which consisted of about forty-five sail, including five men-of-war, sailed from the Cove with a fresh breeze, the appearance was beautiful, abstracted from the unjust and bloody designs they had in view. We had not sailed many days before a mighty storm arose which lasted nearly twenty-four hours without intermission. The wind blew with relentless fury and no man could remain on deck except he was lashed fast, for the waves rolled over the deck by turns, with a forcible rapidity, and every soul on board was anxious for the preservation of the ship, and their lives. In this storm the Thunder-bomb man-of-war sprang a leak and was afterwards floated to some part of the coast of England, and the crew saved. We were then said to be in the Bay of Biscay. After the storm had abated, I could plainly discern that the prisoners were better used for some considerable time.

Nothing of consequence happened after this, till we had sailed to the Island of Madeira, except a certain favor which I received of Captain Symonds, in consequence of an application I made to him for the privilege of his tailor to make me a suit of clothes of the cloth bestowed on me in Ireland, which he generously granted. I could then walk the deck with a seeming better grace.

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When we had reached Maderia, and anchored, sundry gentlemen with the Captain went on shore, who I conclude gave the rumor that I was in the frigate, upon which I soon after found Irish generosity was again excited, for a gentleman of that nation sent his clerk on board to know of me if I would accept a sea-store from him, particularly of wine. This matter I made known to the generous Lieutenant Douglas who readily granted me the favor, provided the articles could be brought on board during the time of his command; adding that it would be a pleasure to him to serve me, notwithstanding the opposition he met with before. So I directed the gentleman's clerk to inform him that I was greatly in need of so signal a charity and desired the young gentleman to make the utmost dispatch, which he did; but in the meantime Captain Symonds and his officers came on board, and immediately made ready for sailing. The wind at the same time being fair, we set sail when the young gentleman was in fair sight with the aforesaid store.

The reader will doubtless recollect the seven guineas I received at the Cove of Cork. These enabled me to purchase of the purser what I wanted, had not the Captain strictly forbidden it, though I made sundry applications to him for that purpose, but his answer to me when I was sick that it was no matter how soon I was dead, and that he was nowise anxious to preserve the lives of rebels, but wished them all dead; that was indeed the language of most of the ship's crew. I expostulated not only with the Captain, but with other gentlemen on board, on the unreasonableness of such usage; inferring that, inasmuch as the government in England did not proceed against

me as a capital offender, they should not; for that they were by no means empowered by any authority, either civil or military, to do so; for the English government had acquitted me by sending me back a prisoner of war to America, and that they should treat me as such. I further drew an inference of impolicy on them, provided they should by hard usage destroy my life; inasmuch as I might, if living, redeem one of their officers; but the Captain replied that he needed no directions of mine how to treat a rebel; that the British would conquer the American rebels, hang the Congress and such as promoted the rebellion, me in particular, and take their own prisoners; so that my life was of no consequence in the scale of their policy. I gave him for answer that if they stayed till they conquered America, before they hanged, I should die of old age, and desired that till such an event should take place, he would at least allow me to purchase of the purser with my own money, such articles as I greatly needed; but he would not permit it, and when I reminded him of the generous and civil usage that the prisoners held in captivity by the Americans met with, he said that it was not owing to their goodness, but to their timidity for he said, they expect to be conquered and therefore dare not misuse our prisoners, and in fact this was the language of the British officers, till General Burgoyne was taken, happy event, and not only of the officers but of the whole British army. I appeal to all my brother prisoners, who have been with the British in the southern department, for a confirmation of what I have advanced on this subject. The surgeon of the Solbay, whose name was North, was a very humane and

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obliging man and took the best care of the prisoners who were sick.

The 3d of May, the Solbay cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Fear, in North Carolina, as did Sir Peter Parker's ship of fifty guns, a little back of the bar; for there was no depth of water for him to come into the harbor. These two men-of-war and fourteen sail of transports and others, came after so that most of the fleet rendezvoused at Cape Fear for three weeks. The soldiers on board the transports were sickly in consequence of so long a voyage; added to this, the small-pox carried off many of them. They landed on the mainland and formed a camp, but the riflemen annoyed them and caused them to move to an island in the harbor; such cursing of riflemen I have never heard.

A detachment of regulars was sent up Brunswick river; as they landed they were fired on by those marksmen, and they came back next day damning the rebels for their unmanly ways of fighting and swearing that they would give no quarter for they took sight at them, and were behind timber skulking about. One of the detachments said they lost one man, but a negro who was with them and heard what they said, soon after told me that he helped to bury thirty-one of them. This did me some good to find my countrymen giving them battle, for I never heard such swaggering as among General Clinton's little army, who commanded at that time, and I am apt to think there were four thousand men, though not two-thirds of them fit for duty. I heard numbers of them say that the trees in America should hang well with fruit that campaign, for they would give no quarter.

This was in the mouths of those whom I heard speak on the subject, officers as well as soldiers. I wished at that time my countrymen knew as well as I did what a murdering and cruel enemy they had to deal with; but experience has since taught this country what they are to expect at the hands of Britons, when in their power.

The prisoners, who had been sent on board different men-of-war, at the Cove of Cork, were collected together and the whole of them put on board the Mercury frigate, Captain Montague, except one of the Canadians who died on the passage from Ireland, and Peter Noble who made his escape from the Sphinx man-of-war, in this harbor and by extraordinary swimming, got safe home to New England and gave intelligence of the usage of his brother prisoners. The Mercury set sail from this port for Halifax about the 20th of May, and Sir Peter Parker was about to sail with the land force, under the command of General Clinton, for the reduction of Charleston in South Carolina, and when I heard of his defeat in Halifax, it gave me inexpressible satisfaction.

I now found myself under a worse captain than Symonds, for Montague was loaded with prejudice against everybody and everything that was not stamped with royalty; and being by nature underwitted, his wrath was heavier than the others, or at least his mind was in no instance liable to be diverted by good sense, humor or bravery, of which Symonds was, by turns, susceptible. A Captain Francis Proctor was added to our number of prisoners when we were first put on board this ship. This gentleman had formerly belonged to the English service. The Captain, and in fact, all the gentlemen of the ship were

very much incensed against him, and put him in irons without the least provocation, and he was continued in this miserable situation about three months. In this passage, the prisoners were infected with the scurvy, some of them more than others, but all quite severely. The ship's crew was to a great degree troubled with it, and I concluded it was catching. Several of the crew died with it on their passage. I was weak and feeble in consequence of so long and cruel a captivity, yet had but little of the scurvy.

The purser was again expressly forbidden by the Captain to let me have anything out of his store, upon which I went on deck and in the handsomest manner, requested the favor of purchasing a few necessaries of the purser, which was denied me. He further told me that I should be hanged as soon as I arrived at Halifax. I tried to reason the matter with him, but found him proof against reason. I also held up his honor to view and his behavior to me and the prisoners in general as being derogatory in the extreme, but found his honor impenetrable. I then endeavored to touch his humanity, but found he had none, for his prepossession of bigotry to his own party had confirmed him in an opinion that no humanity was due to unroyalists, but seemed to think that heaven and earth were made merely to gratify the King and his creatures. He uttered many unintelligible and grovelling ideas, a little tinctured with monarchy, but stood well to his text of hanging me. He afterwards forbade his surgeon to administer any help to the sick prisoners. I was every night shut down in the cable tire with the rest of the prisoners, and we all lived miser-

ably while under his power. But I received some generosity from several of the midshipmen who, in a degree, alleviated my misery; one of their names was Putrass—the names of the others I do not now recollect; but they were obliged to be private in the bestowment of their favor which was sometimes good wine bitters, and at other times, a generous drink of grog.

Some time in the first week of June, we came to anchor at the Hook, off New York, where we remained but three days, in which time Governor Tryon, Mr. Kemp, the old attorney-general of New York, and several other perfidious and overgrown Tories and land-jobbers came on board. Tryon viewed me with a stern countenance as I was walking on the leeward side of the deck with the midshipmen; he and his companions were walking with the Captain and Lieutenant, on the windward side of the ship, but never spoke to me, though it is altogether probable that he thought of the old quarrel between him, the old government of New York, and the Green Mountain boys. They went with the Captain into the cabin and the same afternoon returned on board a vessel which lay near the Hook, where, at that time, they took sanctuary from the resentment of their injured country. What passed between the officers of the ship and these visitors I know not; but this I know, that my treatment, from the principal officers was more severe afterwards.

We arrived at Halifax not far from the middle of June, where the ship's crew, which was infected with the scurvy, were taken on shore and shallow trenches dug, into which they were put and partly covered with earth. Indeed every proper measure was taken for their relief. The

prisoners were not permitted any sort of medicine, but were put on board a sloop which lay in the harbor near the town of Halifax, surrounded with several men-of-war and their tenders, and a guard constantly set over them, night and day. The sloop we had wholly to ourselves, except the guard who occupied the fore-castle; here we were cruelly pinched with hunger. It seemed to me that we had not more than one-third of the common allowance. We were all seized with violent hunger and faintness. We divided our scanty allowance as exact as possible. I shared the same fate with the rest, and though they offered me more than an even share, I refused to accept it, as it was a time of substantial distress, which in my opinion I ought to partake equally with the rest, and set an example of virtue and fortitude to our little commonwealth.

I sent letter after letter to Captain Montague, who still had the care of us, and also to his lieutenant, whose name I cannot call to mind, but could obtain no answer, much less a redress of grievances; and to add to the calamity, near a dozen of the prisoners were dangerously ill of the scurvy. I wrote private letters to the doctors to procure if possible some remedy for the sick, but in vain. The chief physician came in a boat so close that the oars touched the sloop we were in and I uttered my complaint in the gentlest manner to him, but he never so much as turned his head, or made me any answer, though I continued speaking till he was out of hearing. Our cause then became very deplorable. Still I kept writing to the Captain, till he ordered the guards, as they told me, not to bring any more letters from me to him.



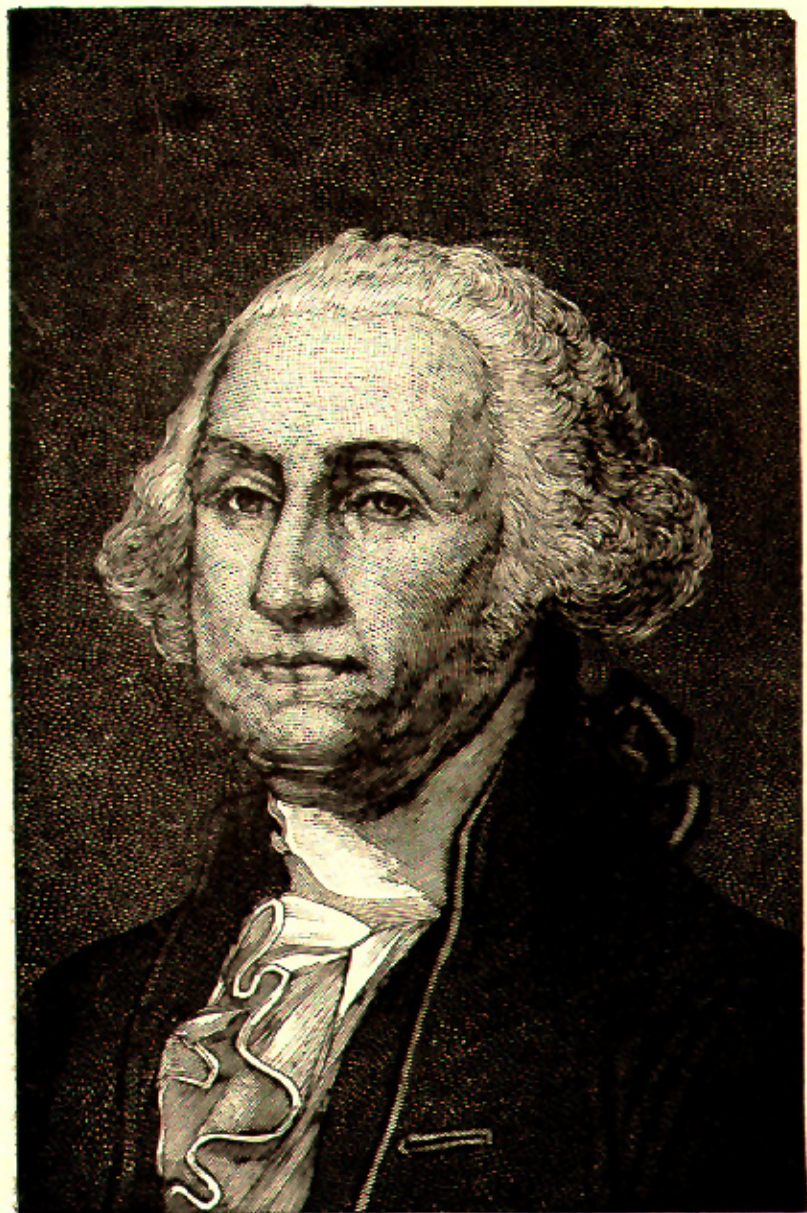
In the meantime an event happened worth relating. One of the men, almost dead of the scurvy, lay by the side of the sloop and a canoe of Indians coming by, he purchased two quarts of strawberries, and ate them at once and it almost cured him. The money he gave for them was all the money he had in the world. After that we tried every way to procure more of that fruit, reasoning from analogy that they might have the same effect on others infected with the same disease, but could obtain none.

Meanwhile the doctor's mate of the Mercury came privately on board the prison sloop and presented me with a large vial of smart drops, which proved to be good for the scurvy, though vegetables and some other ingredients were requisite for a cure; but the drops gave at least a check to the disease. This was a well-timed exertion of humanity, but the doctor's name has slipped my mind, and in my opinion, it was the means of saving the lives of several men.

The guard which was set over us, was by this time touched with the feelings of compassion, and I finally trusted one of them with a letter of complaint to Governor Arbuthnot of Halifax, which he found means to communicate, and which had the desired effect; for the Governor sent an officer and surgeon on board the prison-sloop to know the truth of the complaint. The officer's name was Russell, and held the rank of lieutenant, and treated me in a friendly and polite manner, and was really angry at the cruel and unmanly usage the prisoners met with, and with the surgeon made a true report of matters to Governor Arbuthnot, who, either by his order

or influence, took us next day from the prison-sloop to Halifax gaol, where I became acquainted with the now Honorable James Lovell, one of the members of Congress, for the State of Massachusetts Bay. The sick were taken to the hospital, and the Canadians who were effective, were employed in the King's works; and when their countrymen were recovered from the scurvy and joined them, they all deserted the King's employ and were not heard of at Halifax as long as the remainder of the prisoners continued there, which was till the middle of October. We were on board the prison-sloop about six weeks, and were landed at Halifax near the middle of August. Several of our English-American prisoners who were cured of the scurvy at the hospital, made their escape from thence, and after a long time, reached their old habitations.

I had now but thirteen with me of those who were taken in Canada, and remained in jail with me in Halifax, who, in addition to those who were imprisoned before, made our number about thirty-four; we were all locked up in one common large room without regard to rank, education or any other accomplishment, where we continued from the setting to the rising sun, as sundry of them were infected with the scurvy and other distempers, the furniture of this spacious room consisted principally of excrement tubs. We petitioned for a removal of the sick to the hospitals, but were denied. We remonstrated against the ungenerous usage of being confined with the privates, as being contrary to the laws and customs of nations, and particularly ungrateful in them in consequence of the gentleman-like usage which the



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British imprisoned officers met with in America; and thus we wearied ourselves petitioning and remonstrating, but to no purpose at all, for General Massey, who commanded at Halifax, was as inflexible as the devil himself—a fine preparation this for Mr. Lovell, member of the Continental Congress.

Lieutenant Russell, whom I have mentioned before, came to visit me in prison, and assured me that he had done his utmost to procure my parole for enlargement; at which a British captain, who was then the town major, expressed compassion for the gentlemen confined in the filthy place, and assured me that he had used his influence to procure their enlargement; his name was near like Ramsay. Among the prisoners there were six in number who had a legal claim to a parole, viz., James Lovell, Esq., Captain Francis Proctor, a Mr. Howland, master of a Continental armed vessel, a Mr. Taylor, his mate, and myself.

As to the article of provision, we were all served much better than in any part of my captivity; and since it was Mr. Lovell's misfortune and mine to be prisoners, and in so wretched circumstances, I was happy that we were together, as a mutual support to each other, and to the unfortunate prisoners with us. Our first attention was the preservation of ourselves and our injured little republic; the rest of our time we devoted interchangeably to politics and philosophy, as patience was a needful exercise in so evil a situation.

I had not been in this jail many days before a worthy and charitable woman, Mrs. Blackden, by name, supplied me with a good dinner of fresh meats every day, with

garden fruit, and sometimes with a bottle of wine; notwithstanding which, I had not been more than three weeks in the place before I lost all appetite for the most delicious food, as also did sundry of the prisoners, particularly a Sergeant Moore, a man of courage and fidelity. I have several times seen him hold the boatswain of the Solbay frigate when he attempted to strike him, and laughed him out of the conceit of using him as a slave.

A doctor visited the sick and did the best (as I suppose) he could for them, to no apparent purpose. I grew weaker and weaker, as did the rest. Several of them could not help themselves. At last I reasoned in my own mind that raw onions would be good. I made use of them and found immediate relief, as did the sick in general, particularly Sergeant Moore, who soon recovered almost from the shades. Though I had met with a little revival, still I found the malignant hand of Britain had greatly reduced my constitution with stroke upon stroke. Mr. Lovell and myself used every argument and entreaty that could be well conceived of in order to obtain gentlemanly-like usage, to no purpose. I then wrote General Massey as severe a letter as I possibly could, with my friend Lovell's assistance. The contents of it were to give the British, as a nation, and him, as an individual, their true character. This roused the rascal, for he could not bear to see his and the nation's deformity in that transparent letter which I sent him. He therefore put himself in a great rage about it, and showed the letter to a number of British officers, particularly to Captain Smith, of the Lark frigate, who, instead of joining with him in disapprobation, commended the spirit of it, upon

which General Massey said to him, "Do you take the part of a rebel against me?" Captain Smith answered that he rather spoke his sentiments, and there was a dissension in opinion between them. Some officers took the part of the General, and others, of the Captain. This I was informed of by a gentleman who had it from Captain Smith.

In a few days after this the prisoners were ordered to go on board of a man-of-war which was bound for New York, but two of them were not able to go on board, and were left at Halifax; one died and the other recovered. This was about the twentieth of October, and soon after we had got on board the Captain sent for me in particular to come on the quarter deck. I went, not knowing that it was Captain Smith or his ship at that time, and expected to meet the same rigorous usage I had commonly met with, and prepared my mind accordingly, but when I came on deck the captain met me with his hand, welcomed me to his ship, invited me to dine with him that day and assured me that I should be treated as a gentleman, and that he had given orders that I should be treated with respect by the ship's crew. This was so unexpected and sudden a transition that it drew tears from my eyes, which all the ill usage I had before met with was not able to produce, nor could I at first hardly speak, but soon recovered myself and expressed my gratitude for so unexpected a favor; and let him know that I felt anxiety of mind in reflecting that his situation and mine were such that it was not probable that it would ever be in my power to return the favor. Captain Smith replied that he had no reward in view, but only treated me as a

gentleman ought to be treated; he said, "This is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but that it may be in his power to help another." Soon after I found this to be the same Captain Smith who took my part against General Massey; but he never mentioned anything of it to me, and I thought it impolite in me to interrogate him as to any disputes which might have arisen between him and the General on my account, as I was a prisoner, and that it was at his option to make free with me on the subject if he pleased; and if he did not, I might take it for granted that it would be unpleasant for me to query about it, though I had a strong propensity to converse with him on that subject.

I dined with the Captain, agreeable to his invitation, and oftentimes with the Lieutenant in the gun room, but in general ate and drank with my friend Lovell and the other gentlemen who were prisoners with me, where I also slept.

We had a little berth enclosed with canvas, between decks, where we enjoyed ourselves very well, in hopes of an exchange; besides our friends at Halifax had a little notice of our departure, and supplied us with spirituous liquor and many articles of provision for the cost. Captain Burke, having been taken prisoner, was added to our company (he had commanded an American armed vessel) and was generously treated by the Captain, and all the officers of the ship, as well as myself. We now had in all near thirty prisoners on board, and as we were sailing along the coast, if I recollect right, off Rhode Island, Captain Burke, with an under-officer of the ship, whose name I do not recollect, came to our little berth, proposed to

kill Captain Smith and the principal officers of the frigate and take it, adding that there were thirty-five thousand pounds sterling in the same. Captain Burke likewise averred that a strong party out of the ship's crew was in the conspiracy, and urged me and the gentleman that was with me, to use our influence with the private prisoners to execute the design and take the ship with the cash into one of our own ports.

Upon which I replied that we had been too well used on board to murder the officers, that I could by no means reconcile it to my conscience, and that in fact it should not be done; and while I was yet speaking, my friend Lovell confirmed what I had said, and further pointed out the ungratefulness of such an act; that it did not fall short of murder; and in fine, all the gentlemen in the berth opposed Captain Burke and his colleague; but they strenuously urged that the conspiracy would be found out, and that it would cost them their lives, provided they did not execute their design. I then interposed spiritedly, and put an end to further argument on the subject, and told them that they might depend upon it, upon my honor, that I would faithfully guard Captain Smith's life. If they should attempt the assault I would assist him (for they desired me to remain neutral), and that the same honor that guarded Captain Smith's life would guard their's; and it was agreed by those present not to reveal the conspiracy, to the intent that no man should be put to death in consequence of what had been projected; and Captain Burke and his colleague went to stifle the matter among their associates. I could not help calling to mind what Captain Smith said to me when



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I first came on board: "This is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but that it may be in his power to help another." Captain Smith and his officers still behaved with their usual courtesy, and I never heard any more of the conspiracy.

## CHAPTER X.

### SCIENTIFIC BARBARITY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

In the latter part of October, 1776, the sloop in which Allen and his fellow prisoners were confined, and which had been converted into a floating prison at Halifax, arrived in New York harbor. The city had just been re-taken by the British under Admiral and Lord Howe. The battle of Long Island, which resulted so disastrously to the Americans, the capture and execution of Captain Nathan Hale, the martyr spy, the evacuation of New York City by Washington and his disheartened army of less than one-third of the strength of the enemy—these were the determining causes which led the Howes to concentrate their scattered forces in front of the newly-acquired city which had afforded the patriot army the few comforts they enjoyed throughout the seven years of their struggle for freedom.

During the period of the sloop's stay, which was only a few days, Captain Smith informed Colonel Allen that he had recommended him to Admiral Richard Howe and General William Howe, as a gentleman of honor and veracity, and desired they might treat him as such. Captain Burke was ordered on board a prison ship in the harbor, and Colonel Allen, with the other prisoners, to a transport ship, commanded by Captain Craige, who received him into the cabin with himself and officers.

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I fared, says Allen, as they did, and was in every respect well treated, in consequence of directions from Captain Smith.

In a few weeks after this I had the happiness to part with my friend Lovell, for his sake, whom the enemy affected to treat as a private. He was a gentleman of merit, and liberally educated, but had no commission. They maligned him on account of his unshaken attachment to the cause of his country. He was exchanged for a Governor Philip Skene, of the British. I continued in this ship until the latter part of November, where I contracted an acquaintance with a British captain whose name has slipped my memory. He was what we may call a genteel, hearty fellow. I remember an expression of his over a bottle of wine, to this import: "That there is greatness of soul for personal friendship to subsist between you and me, as we are upon opposite sides, and may at another day be obliged to face each other in the field." I am confident that he was as faithful as any officer in the British army. At another sitting he offered to bet a dozen of wine that Fort Washington would be in the hands of the British in three days. I took the bet, and would, had I known that that would have been the case, and the third day afterwards we heard a prodigious heavy cannonade, and that day the fort was taken, sure enough. Some months after, when I was on parole, he called upon me with his usual humor and mentioned the bet. I acknowledged I had lost it, but he said he did not mean to take it then, as I was a prisoner; that he would, another day, call on me, when their army came to Bennington, I replied that he was quite too generous, as I had fairly lost

it; besides the Green Mountain Boys would not suffer them to come to Bennington. This was all in good humor. I should have been glad to have seen him after the defeat at Bennington, but did not. It was customary for a guard to attend the prisoners, which was often changed. One was composed of tories from Connecticut, in the vicinity of Fairfield and Green Farms. The sergeant's name was Hoit. They were very full of their invectives against the country, swaggered of their loyalty to their King and exclaimed bitterly against the "cowardly Yankees," as they were pleased to term them, but finally contented themselves with saying that when the country was overcome, they should be well rewarded for their loyalty, out of the estates of the whigs, which would be confiscated. This I found to be the general language of tories after I arrived from England on the American coasts. I heard sundry of them relate that the British generals had engaged them as ample reward for all their losses, disappointments and expenditures, out of the forfeited rebels' estate. This language early taught me what to do with tories' estates, as far as my influence can go. For it is really a game of hazard between whig and tory. The whigs must inevitably have lost all, in consequence of the abilities of the tories, and their good friends, the British, and it is no more than right the tories should run the same risk, in consequence of the abilities of the whigs. But of this, more will be observed in the sequel of this narrative.

Some time near the last of November, the prisoners were landed at New York, and I was admitted to parole, with the other officers, viz., Proctor, Howland and Taylor. The privates were put into the filthy churches in New

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York, with the distressed prisoners that were taken at Fort Washington; and the second night, Sergeant Roger Moore, who was bold and enterprising, found means to make his escape, with every one of the remaining prisoners that were taken with me, except three, who were soon after exchanged, so that out of thirty-one prisoners who went with me only two died with the enemy and three only were exchanged, one of whom died after he came within our lines. All the rest at different times made their escape from the enemy.

I now found myself on parole and restricted to the limits of the city of New York, where I soon projected means to live in some measure agreeable to my rank, though I was destitute of cash. My constitution was almost worn out by such a long and barbarous captivity. The enemy gave out that I was crazy, and wholly unmanned; but my vitals held sound; nor was I delirious any more than I have been from my youth up; but my extreme circumstances, at certain times, rendered it politic to act, in some measure, the madman; and in consequence of a regular diet and exercise, my blood recruited and my nerves in a great measure recovered their former tone, strength, and usefulness, in the course of six months.

The reader is next invited to a retrospective view of the doleful scene of inhumanity, exercised by General Howe, and the army under his command, towards the prisoners taken on Long Island, on the 27th day of August, 1776; many of these men were inhumanly and barbarously murdered after they had surrendered their arms, particularly a General Odel, of Woodhull, belonging to the militia, who was hacked to pieces with cutlasses

while yet alive, by the light horsemen, and also a Captain Fellows of the Continental army, who was thrust through with a bayonet of which wound he died instantly.

Many others, among whom was a Captain Nathan Hale of the Connecticut Rangers, were hanged by the neck till they were dead; five were strung to the limb of a white oak tree, and without any reason assigned, except that they were fighting in defense of the only blessing worth preserving. And, indeed, those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands at Fort Washington, in the month of November following, met with but very little better usage, except that they were reserved from immediate death to famish and die with hunger; in fine, the word rebel applied to all vanquished persons, without regard to rank, who were in the continental service on the 27th day of August aforesaid, was thought by the enemy, sufficient to sanctify whatever cruelties they were pleased to inflict, death itself not excepted.

The private soldiers who were brought to New York, continues Allen, were crowded into churches, and environed with slavish Hessian guards, a people of a strange language, who were sent to America for no other design but cruelty and desolation; and again by merciless Britons whose mode of communicating ideas being intelligible in this country, served only to tantalize and insult the helpless and perishing; but above all, the hellish delight and triumphs of the tories over them, as they were dying by hundreds. This was too much for me to bear as a spectator, for I saw the tories exulting over the dead bodies of their murdered countrymen. I have gone into the churches and seen many of the prisoners in the agonies

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of death in consequence of hunger, and others speechless, and near death, biting pieces of chips; others pleading for God's sake for something to eat, and at the same time shivering with the cold. Hollow groans saluted the ears, and despair seemed to be imprinted on every one of their countenances. The filth of these churches, in consequence of the fluxes, was almost beyond description. The floors were covered with excrements. I have carefully sought to direct my steps so as to avoid it, but could not. They would beg for God's sake for one copper or morsel of bread. I have seen in one of these churches, seven dead, at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies.

It was a common practice with the enemy to convey the dead from these filthy places in carts, to be slightly buried; but I have seen whole gangs of Tories making derision and exulting over the dead, saying, "There goes another load of damned rebels." I have observed the British soldiers to be full of their blackguard jokes, and vaunting on these occasions; but they appeared to me to be less malignant than the Tories.

The provisions dealt out to the prisoners was by no means sufficient for the support of life. It was deficient in quantity, and much more in quality. The prisoners often presented me with a sample of their bread which I certify was damaged to that degree that it was loathsome and unfit to be eaten, and I am bold to aver that it had been condemned and was of the very worst sort. I have seen and been fed upon damaged bread in the course of my captivity and observed the quality of such bread as has been condemned by the enemy, among which was very

little so effectually spoiled as that which was dealt out to these prisoners. Their allowance of meat (as they told me) was quite trifling and of the basest sort. I never saw any of it, but was informed, bad as it was, it was swallowed almost as quickly as they got hold of it. I saw some of them sucking bones after they were speechless; others, who could yet speak and had the use of their reason, urged me in the strongest and most pathetic manner, to use my interest in their behalf. "For you plainly see," said they, "that we are devoted to death and destruction." And after I had examined more particularly into their truly deplorable condition, and had become more fully apprized of the essential facts, I was persuaded that it was a premeditated and systematical plan of the British council to destroy the youths of our land, with a view thereby to deter the country, and make it submit to their despotism; but that I could not do them any material service, and that, by any public attempt for that purpose, I might endanger myself by frequenting places the most nauseous and contagious that could be conceived of. I refrained from going into the churches, but frequently conversed with such of the prisoners as were permitted to come into the yard, and found that the systematical misuse still continued. The guard would often drive me away with their fixed bayonets. A Hessian one day followed me five or six rods, but by making use of my legs I got rid of the lubber. Sometimes I could obtain a little conversation notwithstanding their severities.

I was in one of the church yards, and it was rumored among those in the church when many of the prisoners came with their usual complaints to me, and among the



rest, a large-boned, tall young man, from Pennsylvania, as he told me, who was reduced to a mere skeleton. He said he was glad to see me before he died, which he expected to have done last night, but was a little revived; he furthermore informed me that he and his brother had been urged to enlist into the British service, but both had resolved to die first; that his brother had died last night in consequence of that resolution, and that he expected shortly to follow him. But I made the other prisoners stand a little off, and told him with a low voice to enlist. He then asked whether it was right in the sight of God? I assured him to deceive the British by enlisting, and desert the first opportunity afforded; upon which he answered with transport, that he would enlist. I charged him not to mention my name, as his adviser lest it should get air, and I should be closely confined, in consequence of it.

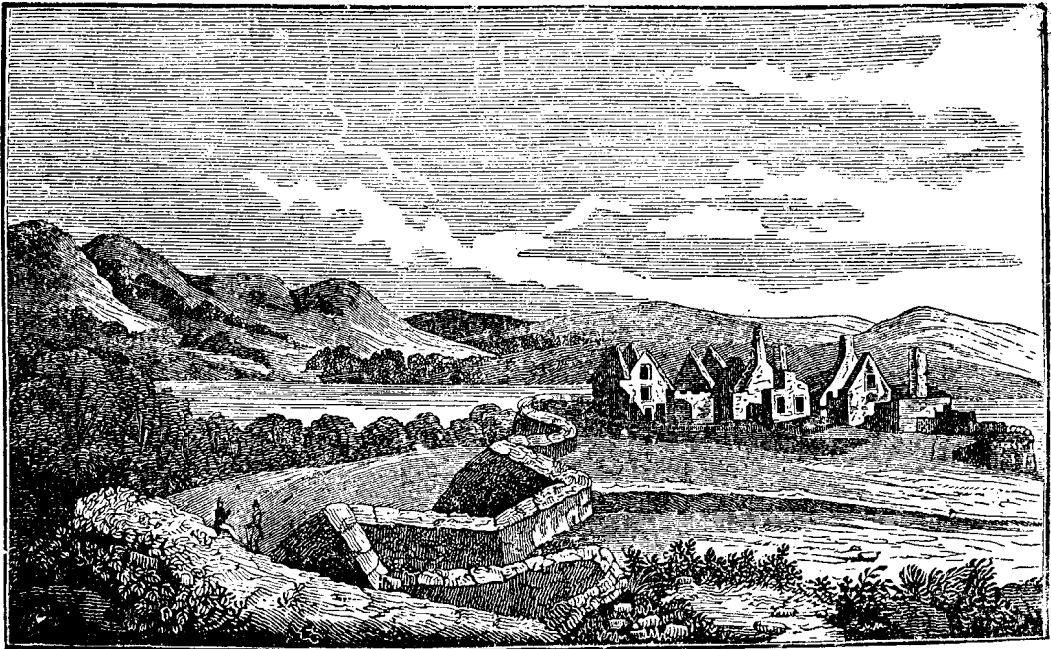
The integrity of these suffering prisoners is hardly credible. Many hundreds, I am confident, submitted to death rather than enlist in the British service, which I am informed they most generally were pressed to do. I was astonished at the resolution of the brothers particularly. It seems that they could not be stimulated to such exertions of heroism from ambition, as they were but obscure soldiers; strong indeed must be the internal principle of virtue, which supported them to the death, and one of them actually gave up his life as did many hundred others. I readily grant that instances of public virtue are no excitement to the sordid and vicious; nor on the other hand, will all the barbarity of Britain and Heshland awaken them to a sense of their

duty to the public; but these things will have their proper effect on the generous and brave. The officers on parole were most of them zealous if possible to afford the miserable soldiery relief, and often consulted with one another on the subject, but to no effect, being destitute of the means of subsistence which they needed. Nor could the officers conceive any measure which they thought would alter their fate, or so much as be a means of getting them out of those filthy places, and into the fresh air. Some thought that all the officers should go in procession to General Howe and plead the cause of the perishing soldiers; but this proposal was negatived, because General Howe must needs be well acquainted and have a thorough knowledge of the state and condition of the prisoners, in every one of their wretched apartments, and that much more particular and exact than any officer on parole could be supposed to have, as the General had a return of the circumstances of the prisoners by his own officers, every morning, of the number which were alive as also the number which died every twenty-four hours; and consequently the bill of mortality, as collected from the daily returns lay before him, with all the material situations and circumstances of the prisoners; and provided the officers should go in procession to General Howe, according to the projection, it would give him the greatest affront, and that he would either retort upon them that it was no part of their parole to instruct him in his conduct to prisoners; that they were mutinying against his authority, and by affronting him, had forfeited their parole; or that more probably, instead of saying one word to them, would order them all into as

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wretched a confinement as the soldiers, whom they sought to relieve; for at that time, the British, from the General to the private sentinel, were confident, and did not hesitate to express their belief, that they would yet conquer the country. Thus the consultation of the officers was confounded in consequence of the dread which at that time lay on their minds of offending General Howe; for they knew so murderous a tyrant would not be too good to destroy even the officers on the least pretense of an affront, and they were as much in his power as were the soldiers. As General Howe perfectly understood the condition of the private soldiers, it was argued that it was exactly such as he and his council had advised, and as he meant to destroy them it would be to no purpose for the paroled officers to try to dissuade him from it, as they were helpless and liable to the same fate on giving the least affront; indeed, anxious apprehensions disturbed them in their distressing circumstances.

In the meantime mortality raged to such an intolerable degree among the prisoners that the very school boys in the streets knew the mental design of it in some measure; at least, they knew that they were starved to death. Some poor women contributed to their necessities till their children were almost starved, and all persons of common understanding knew that they were doomed to the cruelest and worst of deaths. It was also proposed by some to make a written representation, signed by the officers, of the condition of the soldiery, and that it should be couched in such terms as though they were apprehensive that the General was imposed upon by his officers in their daily returns to him of the state and con-



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dition of the prisoners and that, therefore, the officers, moved with compassion, were constrained to communicate to him the facts relative to them, nothing doubting but that they would meet with a speedy redress; but this proposal was most generally negatived also, and for much the same reasons offered in the other case; for it was conjectured that General Howe's indignation would be moved against such officers as should attempt to whip him over his officers' backs; that he would discern that he himself was really struck at, and not the officers who made the daily returns; therefore, self-preservation deterred the officers from either petitioning or remonstrating with General Howe, either verbally or in writing, as also the consideration that no valuable purpose to the distressed would be obtained.

I made several rough drafts on the subject, one of which I exhibited to Colonels Magaw, Miles and Atlee, and they said that they would consider the matter. Soon after I called on them, and some of the gentlemen informed me that they had written to the General on the subject, and I concluded that the gentlemen thought it best that they should write without me, as there was such spirited aversion subsisting between the British and me.

In the meantime a Colonel Hussecker, who claimed to belong to the Continental army, was taken prisoner, and brought to New York. He reported that the country was almost universally submitting to British authority, and that there would be little or no more opposition to Great Britain. This at first gave the enemy no small amount of surprise, but in a few days they recovered from the shock; Colonel Hussecker, being a German, was per-

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mitted to dine with General De Heister, a countryman of his serving in the British army, and from his conduct they thought he was a spy, at least he was considered so by most of the officers, and his actions were closely watched.

At this time our little army was retreating across New Jersey, while our men were being murdered by hundreds in New York. The army of British and Hessian hirelings prevailed for a little while, as though it was ordered by Providence to show to the latest posterity what the British would have done if they could, and what the general result would have been in consequence of their success in conquering the Americans. This only excited every man to exert himself all the more in the defence of liberty, for the establishment of the independency of the United States of America now seemed no longer impossible. In the face of these obstacles and scenes of adverse fortune Washington remained immovable and obstinate. He had taken up his sword in the cause of liberty and he was determined to win or perish in the attempt. This determination was his support and consolation in the day of his humiliation when he retreated before the enemy through New Jersey into Pennsylvania. To add to the troubles and discomfitures of the Americans, General Lee, together with a small force, was surprised and taken prisoner at Baskenridge. The patriot army was greatly reduced by the loss of several hundred men taken prisoners as well as disabled by disease or death on the field and expiration of terms of enlistment. Washington was obliged to retreat with his prisoners towards Philadelphia. General Howe went in pursuit, notwithstanding the severity of the weather.

During this gloomy state of affairs many persons joined the British army in order to secure food, raiment and protection. But a small band of heroes checked the tide of British success. A division of Hessians had advanced to Trenton, where they rested in apparent security. Washington was on the opposite side of the Delaware with about three thousand men, many of whom were without shoes or sufficient clothing while the river between them was covered with floating ice. Washington in the meantime was not idle; he knew the importance of striking a decisive blow if only to encourage the slowly expiring hopes of his countrymen; so, on the night of December 25th, 1776, he crossed the river and took the enemy by surprise. The whole body, consisting of about nine hundred men, was captured with little or no resistance. Few of the Hessians were killed, among those who were, however, was a Colonel Rahl, who was in command of this detachment.

This surprise and capture of the Hessians greatly enraged the British, who were still vastly more numerous than the Continental troops. They collected their forces at once and marched from Princeton to attack Washington, who was then at Trenton, leaving a detachment from their main body at Princeton for the support of that place. On the 2nd of January, 1777, Lord Cornwallis appeared near Trenton, with a strong body of troops. Much skirmishing was done, which impeded the march of the British army until the Americans had removed their artillery and baggage to places of safety, after which they retired to the southward, repulsing the enemy in their attempt to pass the bridge. This was a

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trying time for Washington; who, though in possession of more than a thousand prisoners, and still exulting over a most astonishing victory, was by no means able to withstand the collective force of the enemy. His sagacity, however, soon suggested a stratagem, for an engagement would certainly have meant overwhelming defeat. He gave orders for the troops to light fires in their camp (which were intended to deceive the enemy) and he prepared to make a night march. Accordingly at 12 o'clock the troops left their camps and by a circuitous march eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and early in the morning appeared at Princeton. A sharp action ensued but the British troops gave way. A party of nearly a hundred took refuge in an old college, but were forced to surrender. The main body perceiving their rear was attacked hurried back but found that Washington had out-generaled them and had retired with his little army towards Morristown. The enemy lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, about five hundred men. The Americans lost but few men, but among them was General Mercer, a most valuable officer and accomplished gentleman.

These repeated successes, one following the other in quick succession, disheartened the enemy and had an amazing effect on the success of the American arms, and undoubtedly was one of the corner-stones on which the structure of American liberty was so speedily raised. The country at no time had been so depressed as just before the morning of these glorious successes, which dispelled in part, the gloom which had spread like a pall over the American people. These successes, too, had a mighty effect on General Howe and his council, for it roused them



to a sense of their own weakness, and convinced them that they were neither omniscient nor omnipresent. Their obduracy and death-designing malevolence in some measure abated or was suspended. The prisoners, who were condemned to the most wretched and cruellest of deaths, and who had survived to this period (though most of them died before), were immediately ordered to be sent within General Washington's lines for an exchange; consequently they were taken out of their filthy and poisonous places of confinement and sent out of New York in haste; several of them fell dead in the streets of New York as they attempted to walk to the vessels in the harbor for their intended embarkation. The number of those who died before reaching the lines was never accurately ascertained, but from reports received from those who were finally exchanged, it is known that all died in consequence of inhuman treatment and unsanitary conditions while confined in the filthy prisons. During the war, the provost jails at New York and Philadelphia, were in charge of one, Cunningham, whose cruelties and crimes were notorious and monstrous. Upon the scaffold in England, years afterward, he confessed that he had, by starvation and otherwise, caused the death of fully two thousand prisoners under his charge at New York. At times he put poison into their food, and again he sold their rations for his own benefit. This statement is further verified by Colonel Allen, himself a prisoner under this notorious character, who says:

Some of us who were eye-witnesses of that scene of mortality, more especially of that part which continued after the exchange took place, are of the opinion that it

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was partly in consequence of a slow poison. Upon the best calculation I have been able to make from personal knowledge and the many evidences I have collected in support of facts, I learn that of the prisoners taken on Long Island, Fort Washington and some few others, at different times and places, about two thousand perished from poison, or with hunger, cold, and sickness occasioned by the filth of their prison at New York, and a number more on their passage to the continental lines; most of the residue who reached their homes could not be restored by the assistance of physicians and friends, but like their brother prisoners, fell a sacrifice to the relentless and scientific barbarity of Britain. I took as much pains as my circumstances would admit of, to inform myself not only of matters of fact but likewise of the very design and aims of General Howe and his council; the latter of which I predicated on the former, and submit it to a candid public. The success of the American arms had a happy effect on the continental officers who were on parole in New York. A number of us assembled, but not in a public manner, and with full bowls and glasses drank General Washington's health, and were not unmindful of Congress and our worthy friends on the continent, and almost forgot that we were prisoners.

## CHAPTER XI.

### RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY.

The brief respite from a loathsome dungeon, reeking with filth, would seem to have been sufficient cause for great rejoicing and thanksgiving to most men; but when Allen learned that this release was for the purpose of inducing him to desert the cause for which he had suffered untold hardships and for which he had undergone a punishment that few men could have survived, his contempt for his traducers knew no bounds.

A British officer of rank and importance in their army, says Allen, whose name I shall not mention for certain reasons at present, though I have mentioned it to some of my close friends and confidants, sent for me to come to his lodgings, and told me that "faithfulness, though in a wrong cause, had nevertheless recommended me to General Howe, who was minded to make me a Colonel of a regiment of new levies, in the British service; and proposed that I should go to England, with him and some other officers who would embark for that purpose in a few days, and there be introduced to Lord G. Germaine, and probably to the King; and that previously I should be clothed equal to such an introduction, and instead of paper rags, be paid in hard guineas; after this, should embark with General Burgoyne and assist in the reduction of the country, which infallibly would be con-

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quered, and when that should be done I should have a large tract of land, either in the New Hampshire Grants or in Connecticut, it would make no odds, as the country would be forfeited to the crown. I then replied, That if by faithfulness I had recommended myself to General Howe I should be loth by unfaithfulness to lose the General's good opinion; besides, that I viewed the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered Jesus Christ—"To give him all the kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worship him," when, at the same time, the damned soul had not one foot of land upon earth. This closed the conversation and the gentleman turned from me with an air of dislike, saying I was a bigot; upon which I retired to my lodgings.

Near the last of November I was admitted to parole in New York, with many other American officers, and on the 22nd day of January, 1777, was with them directed by the British commissary of prisoners, to be quartered on the westerly part of Long Island, and our parole continued. During my imprisonment there, no occurrences worthy of observation happened. I obtained the means of living as well as I desired, which in a great measure, repaired my constitution, which had been greatly injured by the severities of an inhuman captivity. I now began to feel myself composed, expecting either an exchange or continuance in good and honorable treatment; but alas! my visionary expectations soon vanished. The news of the conquest of Ticonderoga by General Burgoyne and the advance of his army into the country made the haughty Britons again to feel their importance, and with that came their insatiable thirst for cruelty.

In June, 1777, the British army, amounting to seven thousand men, besides Indians and Canadians, commanded by General Burgoyne, crossed Lake Champlain and laid siege to Fort Ticonderoga. In a short time, the enemy gained possession of Sugar Hill, which commanded the American lines, and General St. Clair, with the advice of a council of war, ordered the posts to be abandoned. The retreat of the Americans was conducted under every possible disadvantage—part of their force embarked in open boats and landed at Skenesborough, while the rest marched by way of Castleton; but they were obliged to leave their heavy cannon, and on their march lost a large part of their baggage and stores, while their rear was harassed by the British troops. An action took place between Colonel Warner, with a body of Americans, and General Frazer, in which the Americans were defeated, after a brave resistance, with the loss of a valuable officer, a Colonel Francis.

The prisoners under Cunningham at New York and some of the officers on parole felt the severity of this disaster. Burgoyne was their demi-god. To him they paid adoration, says Allen, and forgot the Lord, their God, and served Howe, Burgoyne and Knyphausen; they became vile in their own imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened, while professing to be great politicians, they relied on foreign and merciless invaders, and with seeking the ruin, bloodshed and destruction of their country, became fools, expecting with them to share a dividend in the confiscated estates of their neighbors and countrymen, who fought for the whole country, and the religion and liberties thereof. Therefore, God gave them

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over to strong delusions, to believe a lie, that they might all be damned.

The 25th day of August I was apprehended, and, under pretext of artful, mean and pitiful pretences that I had infringed on my parole, taken from a tavern where there were more than a dozen officers present, and in the very place where those officers and myself were directed to be quartered, put under a strong guard, and taken to New York, where I expected to make my defence before the commanding officer; but contrary to my expectations, and without the least solid pretence of justice or a trial, was again encircled with a strong guard, with fixed bayonets, and conducted to the provost gaol, in a lonely apartment next above the dungeon, and was denied all manner of subsistence, either by purchase or allowance. The second day I offered a guinea for a meal of victuals but was denied it; and the third day I offered eight Spanish milled dollars for a like favor, but was denied, and all I could get out of the sergeant's mouth was that by G—d he would obey his orders.

I now perceived myself to be again in substantial trouble. In this condition I formed an acquaintance with a Captain Travis of Virginia, who was in the dungeon below me, by communication through a little hole which was cut with a penknife through the floor of my apartment into the dungeon. It was a small crevice and through it I could discern but a very small part of his face at once when he applied it to the hole; but from the discovery of him in the situation which we were both then in, I could not have known him whom I found to be true by an after acquaintance. I could, nevertheless, hold a

conversation with him, and soon perceived him to be a gentleman of high spirits, who had a high sense of honor and felt as big as though he had been in a palace, yet he had treasures of wrath in store against the British. In fine, I was charmed by the spirit of the man. He had been almost or quite four months in that dungeon with murderers, thieves and every species of criminals and all for the sole crime of unshaken fidelity to his country; but his spirits were above dejection and his mind unconquerable. I engaged to do him every service in my power, and in a few weeks afterwards, with the united petitions of the officers in the provost, procured his dismissal from the dark mansion of fiends to the apartments of his petitioners.

And it came to pass on the third day, at the going down of the sun, that I was presented with a piece of boiled pork, and some biscuit which the serjeant gave me to understand was my allowance, and I fed sweetly on the same; but I indulged my appetite by degrees, and in a few days more was taken from that apartment and conducted to the next loft or story, where there were above twenty continental and some militia officers, who had been taken and imprisoned there, besides some private gentlemen who had been dragged from their own homes to that filthy place by tories. Several of every denomination mentioned died there, some before and others after I was put there.

Captain Vandyke bore, with an uncommon fortitude, nearly twenty months' confinement in this place, and in the meantime was very serviceable to others who were confined with him. The allegation against him, as the

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cause of his confinement, was very extraordinary. He was accused of setting fire to the city of New York, at the time the west part of it was consumed, when it was a known fact that he had been in the provost a week before the fire broke out, and was confined in the same cell with Captain Nathan Hale, whom I did not see but who was cruelly hanged on the morning of the 22d, on the charge of being a spy. Frivolous were the ostensible accusations against most of those who were there confined except the case of two militia officers who were taken in their attempting to escape from their parole and were deliberately starved to death.

Mr. William Miller, a committeeman from West Chester county, state of New York, was taken from his bed in the dead of the night by his tory neighbors and was starved for three days and nights in an apartment of the same gaol; add to this the denial of fire and that in a cold season of the year, in which time he walked day and night to defend himself against the frost, and when he complained of such reprehensible conduct, the word rebel or committeeman was deemed by the enemy a sufficient atonement for any inhumanity that they could invent or inflict. He was a man of good natural understanding, a close and sincere friend to the liberties of America, and endured fourteen months' cruel imprisonment with that magnanimity of soul which reflects honor on himself and country.

Major Levi Wells, and Captain Ozias Bissell were apprehended and taken under guard from their parole on Long Island to the provost on as fallacious pretences as the former, and were there continued till their exchange



took place, which was near five months. Their fidelity and zealous attachment to their country's cause, which was more than commonly conspicuous, was undoubtedly the real cause of their confinement.

Major Brinton Payne, Captain Flahaven and Captain Randolph, who had at different times distinguished themselves by their bravery, especially at the several actions in which they were taken, were all the provocations they gave, for being arrested and for which they suffered about a year's confinement each in the same filthy gaol.

A few weeks after my confinement on the like fallacious and wicked pretences, they brought to the same place from his parole on Long Island, Major Otho Holland Williams, of the continental army. In his character were united the gentleman, officer, soldier and friend. He walked through the prison with an air of great disdain. Said he, "Is this the treatment which gentlemen of the continental army are to expect from the rascally British when in their power? Heaven forbid it!" He was continued there about five months and then exchanged for a British Major.

John Fell, Esq. afterward a member of Congress from the state of New Jersey, was taken from his own house by a gang of infamous tories and by order of a British general was sent to the provost where he was continued near one year. The stench of the gaol, which was very loathsome and unhealthy, occasioned a hoarseness of the lungs which proved fatal to many who were there confined, and reduced this gentleman near to the point of death; he was, indeed, given over by his friends who were about him, and he himself concluded he must die. I could not endure

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the thought that so worthy a friend to America should have his life stolen from him in such a mean, base and scandalous manner, and that his family and friends should be bereaved of so great and desirable a blessing as his further care, usefulness and example might prove to them. I therefore wrote a letter to General Robertson who commanded in town, and was touched with the most sensible feelings of humanity, which dictated my pen to paint dying distress in such lively colors that it wrought conviction even on the obduracy of a British general and produced his order to remove the now honorable John Fell, out of a gaol to private lodgings in town; in consequence of which he slowly recovered his health. There is so extraordinary a circumstance which intervened concerning this letter that it is worth noticing. Previous to sending it I exhibited the same to the gentleman on whose behalf it was written, for his approbation, and he forbid me to send it in the most positive and explicit terms; the reason he gave was that the enemy knew, by every morning's report, the condition of all the prisoners, his in particular he said, as he had been gradually coming to his end for a considerable time, and they very well knew it, and likewise determined it should be accomplished, as they had served many others; that to ask a favor would give the merciless enemy occasion to triumph over him in his last moments and therefore he would ask no favors from them, but had resigned himself to his fate. But the letter I sent without his knowledge, and I confess I had but little expectations from it, yet could not be easy till I had sent it. It may be worth a remark, that this gentleman was an Englishman born, and

from the beginning of the revolution, has invariably asserted and maintained the cause of liberty.

The British have made so extensive an improvement of the provost during the present revolution, till of late, that a very short definition will be sufficient for the dullest apprehensions. It may be with propriety called the British Inquisition, and is calculated to support their oppressive measures and designs by suppressing the spirit of liberty. Here were promiscuously confined not only gentlemen of the American army and American citizens who were not soldiers, but also the criminals of every species and the most infamous wretches of the British troops. The different classes, however, separated into companies and held as much aloof from one another as circumstances would allow. It was at the option of a villainous serjeant who had charge of the provost to take any gentleman from his room and put him into the dungeon—and this was often done. At two different times I was taken down stairs for that purpose by a file of soldiers, with fixed bayonets and the serjeant brandishing his sword at the same time, but having been brought to the door of the dungeon, I there flattered the vanity of the serjeant whose name was Keef, by which means I secured the surprising favor of being returned to my companions. But some of the high mettled young gentlemen could not bear his insolence and determined to keep at a distance, and neither please nor displease the villain, but none could keep clear of his abuse; however, mild measures were the best. He did not hesitate to call us d—d rebels, and abuse us with the coarsest language. Captains Flahaven, Randolph and Mercer were the objects of his most flagrant

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and repeated abuses, who were many times taken to the dungeon and there continued at his pleasure. Captain Flahaven took cold in the dungeon and was in a declining state of health, but an exchange delivered him and in all probability saved his life.

It was very mortifying to bear with the insolence of such a vicious and ill-bred imperious rascal, as well as with Cunningham, the provost marshal. Remonstrances against him were preferred to the commander of the town, but no relief could be obtained; for his superiors were undoubtedly well pleased with his abusive conduct to the gentlemen under the severities of his power; and remonstrating against his infernal conduct only served to confirm him in authority; and for this reason I never made any remonstrances on the subject but only stroked him for I knew that he was but a cat's paw in the hands of the British officers and provost, and that if he should use us well, he would immediately be put out of that trust and a worse man appointed to succeed him. But there was no need of making a new appointment for Cunningham, their provost marshal and Keef his deputy were as great rascals as their army could boast of except one Joshua Loring, an infamous tory, who was Commissary of prisoners; nor can any of these be supposed to be equally criminal with General William Howe and his associates who prescribed and directed the murders and cruelties which were by them perpetrated. This Loring is a monster. There is not his like in human shape unless it be Cunningham himself. Loring exhibits a smiling countenance, seems to wear a phiz of humanity but has been instrumentally capable of the most consummate acts of

wickedness which were first projected by an abandoned British council, clothed with the authority of Howe, murdering premeditatedly in cold blood, near or quite two thousand helpless prisoners, and that in the most clandestine, mean and shameful manner, at New York.

The sixth day of July, 1777, General St. Clair and the army under his command, evacuated Ticonderoga, and retreated with the main body through Rutland county to Hubbardton and on to Castleton. St. Clair's rear guard, commanded by Colonel Seth Warner, was attacked at Hubbardton by the enemy, two thousand strong, commanded by General Frazer. Warner's command consisted of his own and two other regiments, commanded by Generals Francis and Hale and some scattering and enfeebled soldiers. His whole force, according to reliable information, did not exceed one thousand men, part of whom were Green Mountain Boys; about three hundred were not brought into action but held in reserve. The enemy advanced boldly and began to form within sixty yards of the Americans. Colonel Warner and General Francis having formed their regiments did not wait for the enemy to attack but gave them a heavy fire from their whole line which was instantly returned with great bravery. General Hale, being apprized of the danger, left Warner and Francis to stand the blunt of attack and fled, but in attempting to escape was attacked by a considerable number of the enemy acting as a rear guard, and with his entire regiment surrendered with little or no resistance.

The engagement was short but decisive. General Francis fell at the first charge, but Colonel Warner and

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the officers under his command fought with great desperation. The enemy gave way on the right and left but formed again, and renewed the attack. In the meantime the British grenadiers who occupied the center of the enemy's line maintained their ground and finally carried it with the point of the bayonet; Warner retreated with reluctance. The American loss was about thirty men killed while that of the enemy was three hundred killed, including a Major Grant. Colonel Allen says that the British complained because the Green Mountain Boys took sight before firing, which was the cause they assigned for the heavy mortality. This seems to be an inherent quality in American soldiers, judging from the results of our recent war with Spain.

The next movement of the enemy of any material consequence was their attack on Bennington. For this purpose General Burgoyne detached Colonel Baum with five hundred British and one hundred Indians. Colonel Brayman with about five hundred men was sent to reinforce him but did not arrive in time. On the sixteenth of August, General Stark with about eight hundred militiamen attacked Colonel Baum in his entrenched camp about six miles from Bennington and killed or took prisoners nearly the whole detachment. The next day General Stark attacked and defeated Brayman who had been sent to reinforce Baum. In these actions the British lost one hundred and forty men killed and wounded and about seven hundred captured, while the Americans practically sustained no loss. These successes it may well be imagined served to revive the spirits of the people. However, the advantages gained by the British

on the Mohawk by Colonel St. Leger practically counter-balanced the successes, but this officer attacking Fort Stanwix was repelled with severe losses and obliged to abandon a further attempt.

The purpose of the attack on Bennington was to demolish it and subject its inhabitants, to whom they had a great aversion, to all the indignities of which they were capable. With one hundred and fifty well-chosen men and with the fullest expectations of success, the enemy chose a strong eminence, fortified it by throwing up breastworks, and with two pieces of cannon made ready for the attack. But the citizens of Bennington being aware of the intentions of the enemy, had in the meantime procured a number of militiamen from New Hampshire, together with a number of the militia from Berkshire county, Massachusetts, and with a number of the Green Mountain Boys, under the command of the intrepid General John Stark, awaited the British advance. In numbers the Americans were about equal to the enemy. Colonel Herrick, who commanded the Green Mountain Rangers, was second in command; he was thoroughly acquainted with the territory fortified by the enemy; he proposed to make an attack from all sides at once so as to prevent reinforcements from reaching the fortifications. This plan being approved by General Stark and his advisers, the little brigade of undisciplined militiamen, with their long, brown firelocks, without bayonets and without cannon, made a desperate assault on the enemy. The battle occurred on the morning of the 16th of August, 1777, and in the face of a dreadful fire, in less than a quarter of an hour the Americans had silenced the enemy's cannon, and in

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another quarter had swept over the breastworks, taken possession of their fortifications, killing and capturing more than two-thirds of the enemy. This victory immortalized General Stark and made Bennington famous in American history.

Among the enemy's killed was found Colonel Baum, their commander, a Colonel Pfester, who headed an infamous gang of tories, and a large part of his command; in fact Baum's force was practically annihilated. Among the prisoners, all seriously wounded, was Major Melbome, second in command, a number of British and Hessian officers, surgeons, etc., and more than one hundred of Pfester's command. The prisoners after being gathered together were sent to the meeting house in the town, under a strong guard; General Stark not apprehending any immediate danger, the militia were ordered to stack their arms and were permitted to scatter about town to rest and to obtain food and drink which they had been without for more than twenty-four hours. In this situation they were suddenly attacked by a reinforcement of eleven hundred of the enemy, commanded by Governor Skene, with two field pieces. They advanced in regular order and kept up an incessant fire with their field pieces while the militia, who in the meantime recovered their arms, were slowly retreating before them. In the meantime Colonel Warner, with about one hundred and thirty men of his regiment who were not in the first action, arrived and attacked the enemy with great fury. Warner was eager for revenge on account of the surprise at Hubbardton where the brave Colonel Francis was killed. Soon after, General Stark and Colonel Herrick brought



on more of the scattered militia and the action became general. In a few minutes the enemy was forced from their cannon and fled in disorder in all directions; the shouts of victory were a second time proclaimed in favor of the militia.

The enemy's loss in killed and prisoners in these two actions amounted to more than one thousand two hundred men, while that of the Americans did not exceed fifty men. This was a hard stroke for the enemy, but their pride would not permit them to hesitate in their attempt to vanquish the country. As an illustration of their assumption and arrogancy the following proclamation by General Burgoyne will be found both interesting and amusing:

#### BURGOYNE'S PROCLAMATION.

By John Burgoyne, Esq. Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's armies in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada etc., etc., etc.

The forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert and upon a common principle with the numerous armies and fleets which already display, in every quarter of America, the power, the justice and when properly sought, the mercy of the King.

The cause in which the British arms are thus exerted applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart; and the military servants of the crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the

constitution, now combine with love of their country, and duty to their sovereign the other extensive incitements which spring from a due sense of the general privileges of mankind. To the eyes and ears of the temperate part of the public, and to the breasts of suffering thousands in the provinces, be the melancholy appeal, whether the present unnatural rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over the forward and stubborn generation.

Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture, unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Romish church, are among the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted by assemblies and communities who dare to profess themselves friends to liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle to the government under which they were born, and to which by every tie, divine and human, they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings, the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason; the consciences of men are set at naught and multitudes are compelled, not only to bear arms but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor.

Animated by these considerations at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline and valor, determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons in all places, where the progress of the army may point—and by the blessing of God, I will extend

it far—to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations and families. The intention of this address is to hold forth security, not depredation, to the country. To those whom spirit and principle may induce to partake of the glorious task of redeeming their countrymen from dungeons, and re-establishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment, and upon the first intelligence of their associations, I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly in their houses; that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn, nor forage to be secreted nor destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads; nor by any other act, directly or indirectly, endeavor to obstruct the operations of the King's troops or supply or assist those of the enemy. Every species of provisions brought to my camp, will be paid for at an equitable rate, and in solid coin.

In consciousness of Christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression. And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may be.

If, notwithstanding these endeavors and sincere inclinations to effect them, the frenzy of hostility should

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remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and men, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

J. BURGOYNE.

By his excellency the Lieutenant-General,

ROBT. KINGSTON, *Sec'y.*

Camp near Ticonderoga, 4th July, 1777.

General Burgoyne was still the toast among the British, and the hardships of their prisoners were, in a great measure, increased or diminished in proportion to the expectation of ultimate success. Burgoyne's very ostentatious Proclamation was on the tongue of most of the soldiery, especially the tories, and from it their faith in victory was raised to assurance. I wish, says Allen, that my countrymen in general could but have an idea of the assuming tyranny, and haughty, malevolent and insolent behavior of the enemy, at that time; and from thence discern the intolerable calamities which the men of this country have extricated themselves from, by their public spiritedness and bravery.

General Burgoyne, after collecting his forces and stores, crossed the Hudson with a view of reaching Albany, but the American army after the many recent victories was being reinforced daily, which resulted in his detention at Saratoga. General Horatio Gates now took the command and was aided by Generals Lincoln and Benedict Arnold.

On the evening of the 19th of September, the Americans attacked the British army with great determination and bravery, but darkness put an end to the action. The loss of the enemy was about five hundred killed and wounded. General Burgoyne was confined in a narrow pass, having the Hudson on one side and impassable woods on the other; a body of Americans was in his rear; he had ordered his boats burned so that retreat would be impossible; an army of thirteen thousand men had been collected and opposed him in front. On the 7th of October, the armies came to a second action, this time at Saratoga, in which the British lost General Frazer together with a large number of officers and men. On the part of the Americans, the loss was not great, but Generals Benjamin Lincoln and Benedict Arnold were wounded.

In an admirable selection entitled the "Black Horse and His Rider," Charles Sheppard describes this engagement more vividly and truthfully than any historian has yet attempted. When defeat seemed certain Benedict Arnold, riding a black horse, appeared before the retreating Americans and with drawn sword, shouted: "Now, cowards, advance another step and I'll strike you to the heart! What! You Americans, men, and fly before British soldiers! Back again and face them once more! or I myself will ride you down!" The appeal was not in vain, the Americans turned, and before night they had carried the heights and Saratoga had fallen into the hands of the patriots, with few fatalities.

The downfall of General Burgoyne and surrender of his whole army ten days later, together with 5,100 men, as

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many guns and forty-two cannon, dashed the aspiring hopes and expectations of the enemy and broke the spirit of haughty general and opulent nation, and made the tories bite the dust with anguish. The valor of the sons of liberty, together with that of their brave officers, seemed in an instant raised to the clouds, and immortalized Horatio Gates, and has had a tendency to lessen the stigma which afterward rested on the name of the brave but misguided Benedict Arnold.

No sooner had the knowledge of this interesting and important event reached Louis XVI, King of France, than that unfortunate but just ruler "auspiciously influenced by heaven to promote the reciprocal interests and happiness of the ancient kingdom of France, and the new and rising states of America," passed the decisive decree that the United States of America should be free and independent. Vaunt no more, Old England, says an early chronicler, consider you are but an Island and that your power has been continued longer than the exercise of your humanity. Order your broken and vanquished battalions to retire from America, the scene of your cruelties. Go home and repent in dust and sackcloth for your aggravated crimes. The cries of bereaved parents, widows and orphans reach heaven, and you are abominated by every friend of America. Take your friends, the tories with you and be gone, and drink deep of the cup of humiliation. Make peace with the Princess of the house of Bourbon, for you are in no condition to wage war with them. Your veteran soldiers are fallen in America and your glory is departed. Be quiet and pay your debts, especially for the hire of the Hessians. There is no other

way for you to get into credit again, but by reformation and plain honesty, which you have despised; for your power is by no means sufficient to support your vanity.

I have had an opportunity to see a great deal of British vanity, and felt its severe effects, and learned lessons of wisdom and policy, says Allen, when I wore her heavy irons, and bore her bitter revilings and reproaches. I have something of a smattering of philosophy and understand human nature in all its stages tolerably well; am thoroughly acquainted with her national crimes, and have assured her that they not only cry aloud for heaven's vengeance, but incite mankind to rise up against her. Virtue, wisdom and policy are in a national sense always connected with power, or in other words power is their offspring, and such power as is directed by virtue, wisdom and policy, never fails finally to destroy itself as England's has done. It is so in the nature of things, and unfit that it should be otherwise; for if it was not so, vanity, injustice and oppression might reign triumphant forever. I know there are still individuals in England who retain their virtue and consequently their honor and humanity. Those I really pity as they must more or less suffer in the calamity in which the nation is plunged headlong; but as a nation, I hate and despise them. My affections are Frenchified—I glory in Louis the Sixteenth, the generous and powerful ally of these States; am fond of a connection with so enterprising, learned, polite, courteous and commercial a nation, and am sure that I express the sentiments and feelings of all of the friends of the present revolution. I have begun to learn the French tongue and recommend it to my countrymen before Hebrew,

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Greek, or Latin (provided but one of them is to be attended to).

Nothing could have served so effectually to illuminate, polish and enrich these States as the present revolution, as well as to preserve their liberty. Mankind is naturally too national, even to a degree of bigotry. Commercial intercourse with foreign nations has a great and necessary tendency to improve mankind and erase the superstition of the mind by acquainting them that human nature, policy and interest are the same in all nations, yet at the same time they are bartering commodities for the convenience and happiness of each nation; they may reciprocally exchange such part of their customs and manners as may be beneficial, yet learn to extend charity and goodwill to the whole world of mankind.

I was confined in the provost gaol at New York, the 26th day of August, 1777, and continued there to the 3rd day of May, 1778, when I was taken out under guard, and conducted to a sloop in the harbor at New York, in which I was guarded to Staten Island, to General Campbell's quarters where I was admitted to eat and drink with the General, and several other British officers and treated for two days in a polite manner. As I was drinking wine with them one evening, I made an observation on my transition from the provost criminals to the company of gentlemen; adding that I was the same man still and should give the British credit through him (speaking to the General) for two days' good usage.

The next day Colonel Archibald Campbell, who was exchanged for me, came to this place, conducted by Mr. Boudinot, the then American Commissary of prisoners



and saluted me in a handsome manner, saying that he never was more glad to see any gentleman in his life; and I gave him to understand that I was equally glad to see him, and was apprehensive that it was from the same motive. The gentlemen present laughed at the fancy and conjectured that sweet liberty was the foundation of our gladness; so we took a glass of wine together, and then I was accompanied by General Campbell, Colonel Campbell, Mr. Boudinot and a number of British officers to the boat which was ready to sail to Elizabethtown Point. Meanwhile I entertained them with a rehearsal of the cruelties exercised towards our prisoners and assured them that I should use my influence that their prisoners should be treated in future in the same manner as they should in future treat ours; that I thought their example should be applied to their own prisoners. Then we exchanged the decent ceremonies of compliment and parted. I sailed to the point aforesaid and, in a transport of joy, landed on liberty ground, and as I advanced into the country, received the acclamations of a grateful people.

I soon fell into company with Colonel Sheldon of the light horse, who in a polite and obliging manner accompanied me to general headquarters at Valley Forge, where I was courteously received by General Washington, with peculiar marks of approbation and esteem, and was introduced to most of the generals and many of the principal officers of the army, who treated me with respect; and after having offered General Washington my further services in behalf of my country as soon as my health, which was very much impaired, would admit, and obtaining his license to return home, I took my leave of his Excel-

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lency and set out from Valley Forge with General Gates and his suit for Fishkill, where we arrived the latter end of May. In this tour the General was pleased to treat me with the familiarity of a companion, and generosity of a lord, and to him I made known some striking circumstances which occurred in the course of my captivity. I then bid farewell to my noble general and the gentlemen of his retinue, and set out for Bennington, the capital of the Green Mountain Boys, where I arrived the evening of the last day of May, to their great surprise; for I was to them as one risen from the dead, and now both their joy and mine was complete. Three cannon were fired that evening, and next morning Colonel Herrick gave orders, and fourteen more were discharged, welcoming me to Bennington, my usual place of abode; thirteen were fired for the United States and one for young Vermont.

## CHAPTER XII.

### A COUNTER PROCLAMATION.

Having completed the history of the events connected with the captivity of Ethan Allen, we now resume the account of the controversy between the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants and the authorities of New York, which continued until the war with Great Britain was well advanced.

The inhabitants of the Grants were at this period (1775) without any settled form of government. Community of interests had thus far kept them together and given energy and unanimity to their proceedings. The partial relief from the interference of the New York authorities experienced at the commencement of the war, served to convince them of the weakness of their political ties, and of the necessity of a better internal organization. Accordingly, at the close of the year 1775, a number of influential individuals went to Philadelphia where the Continental Congress was then in session, to procure the advice of that body relative to the best policy to be pursued under the existing circumstances. No formal measures were adopted by the Congress, however, in relation to the disputes of the settlers; but upon the return of the delegates, a large number of circulars setting forth the opinions of several influential members of Congress in favor of a temporary association under

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proper regulations were distributed among the people of New Hampshire and Vermont.

In pursuance of these recommendations, a convention of delegates from all sections of the Green Mountain country assembled at Dorset, N. H., on the 16th of January, 1776. A petition was forwarded to Congress in which a brief sketch of the controversy with New York was given, expressing a willingness to bear their proportionate share of the burdens arising from the war then in progress. They also declared their unwillingness to be considered in any manner subjects to the authority or jurisdiction of New York. The Congressional Committee to which the petition was referred, recommended the petitioners to submit for the present, to the Government of New York, and assist their fellow countrymen in the great contest with Great Britain; the committee declared that such submission would not prejudice their right to any land in controversy, or be construed as admitting the jurisdiction of New York over the Green Mountain country when the troubles with England should be ended. Not being considered favorable to the settlers on the Grants, the delegate who presented the petition to Congress withdrew it before it received the final action of that body.

On the 4th of July, following the presentation of the petition, Congress announced to the world the passage of the immortal Declaration of Independence. This placed the people of Vermont in a situation more difficult and embarrassing than they were before and much speculation was indulged in by the settlers in regard to the course they should pursue. It was urged by some that they



LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON.

should immediately place themselves under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, while others thought that they should submit to the authority of New York. The more resolute and influential, among whom was Ethan Allen, Seth Warren and Remember Baker, were, however, in favor of assuming the powers of independent state government and hazarding the consequences. That the difficulty might be amicably settled, or at least an attempt be made, the people assembled in convention at Dorset on the 24th of July, 1776. An association was agreed upon for the defense of their common country. A resolution was also adopted declaring that they would not associate with, or submit, to the provincial government of either New Hampshire or New York pending the war with England. The Convention adjourned to meet on the 25th of September, when it was unanimously resolved "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire Grants a free and separate District." At the third session of the Convention, held on the 15th of January, 1777, it was declared that "this Convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire Grants, in our names, and in behalf of our constituents, do hereby proclaim and publicly declare that the district or territory comprehending and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared ever after to be, a free and independent jurisdiction, or State, and to be hereafter called, known and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut or Vermont. This declaration was unanimously adopted by the Convention,

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and a petition, or rather, a copy of the above resolution, was forwarded to the Congress at Philadelphia in which it was announced "to all the world" that the territory to be known as Vermont, but formerly called the New Hampshire Grants, was now and henceforth a free and independent State. The so-called petition closed by praying that they might be acknowledged by Congress, and that delegates from Vermont might be admitted to seats in that body.

These measures were considered by the legislatures of the neighboring States. New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut were willing that Vermont should become a member of the confederacy, but New York regarded the request as treason and rebellion to her authority. In this state of things, communications emanating from two different conventions of the people of New York, were addressed to the Congress in which the proceedings of Vermont were represented as resulting from the acts and instigations of designing men, and not from a desire of the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the authority of New York. Ethan Allen, of Bennington, was named as the chief instigator and the principal in most of the disturbances on the Grants.

After the adoption of various measures by both Vermont and New York, Congress at last took up the matter, and the communications of both parties were referred to a committee of the whole; the committee, among other things, resolved "That Congress would not recommend or countenance anything injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities herein represented." "That the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants

cannot be justified in their declaration of Independence, by the example of the United Colonies nor by any act or resolution of Congress." "That the petition of Vermont to be recognized as an independent State, and to have her delegates admitted to seats in Congress, be dismissed."

While these important matters were being considered by Congress, the people of Vermont were engaged in forming a constitution for the regulation of their civil government. A convention, composed of the same delegates which declared the independence of Vermont met at Windsor on the first Wednesday in June, 1777, and appointed a committee to make a draft of a state constitution. A resolution was also adopted recommending that each town elect delegates to meet in convention at Windsor on the second day of the following June for the purpose of discussing and adopting said constitution. The Convention assembled at the appointed time, and after a long and serious discussion a constitution was read and adopted. It was, however, revised at a subsequent Convention, which met at Windsor, and the first election under the new constitution was ordered to be held on the first Tuesday in March, 1778.

The determination of Vermont to maintain her independence at all hazards evidently contributed to effect an alteration in the policy of New York. On the 23rd of February, 1778, Governor Clinton issued a proclamation in which he confirmed the titles of the settlers to their lands in certain cases, and made several concessions in their favor, but the right of New York to extend her jurisdiction over the Grants was not relinquished. The



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people were commanded, "at their peril to yield obedience and allegiance" to New York, and in all respects to govern themselves as peaceable and quiet citizens. To this proclamation Ethan Allen, ever on the alert to detect political cunning and always willing to expose it, published the following answer:

This Proclamation [the one issued by Governor Clinton, May 23, 1778], after mentioning a disaffection of many persons, inhabiting the northeast parts of the county of Albany and certain parts of the counties of Charlotte, Cumberland and Gloucester, proceeds to affirm that these tracts of country were clearly included within the ancient, original, true and lately established bounds of the state of New York.

That many, nay almost the whole of the inhabitants in those counties, viz. the State of Vermont, are disaffected to the government of New York, will not be disputed. This is a fact; but it is not a fact that the ancient, original and true bounds of New York included those lands. The first intimation that ever saluted the ears of the public asserting this doctrine, was from a proclamation of Governor Tryon, dated the 11th day of December, 1771, which begins thus: "Whereas, it is the ancient and incontestable right of this colony to extend to the Connecticut river as its eastern boundary." This assertion has been answered at large, in my treatise on the conduct of this government towards the New Hampshire settlers; to which I refer the reader, and at present observe that as the quoted assertions in these Proclamations are wholly without foundation, they need only to be as positively denied as they are asserted. The fact is that the tract of land

which now comprehends the State of Vermont was universally known to be a part of the government of New Hampshire. Thus it was placed by all Geographers in their maps until the year 1764, when the English King, for certain political reasons, which I shall mention, extended the jurisdiction of New York over the premises, by his special authority. At the time of the alteration of this jurisdiction, jealousies had fired the minds of King and Parliament against the growth and rising power of America, and at this time they began to advance men and governments into power, with a political design to crush the liberties of America. New York had ever been their favorite government. They could almost vie with Great Britain in the art of vassalaging common people, and in erasing every idea of liberty from the human mind, by making and keeping them poor and servile. This, Great Britain well knew and therefore fleeced a large territory from New Hampshire and added it to New York, to depress the power of the one and enlarge and extend the other. A well-concerted plan; but the Green Mountain Boys disconcerted it by throwing their weight into the scale of Congress, which, thank God, has fairly preponderated. Thus may be seen the design as well as date, of the original, ancient and true bounds of the state of Vermont; and for the same reason it was thus extended by Great Britain, it will undoubtedly be curtailed by Congress.

As to the acts of outlawry, mentioned in the Proclamation, they died a natural death the first day of January, 1776, as may be seen from the act itself, here quoted: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

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that this act shall remain and continue in full force and effect from the passing thereof until the first day of January, which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.”

The subjects of the State of Vermont were under no apprehensions from these old lifeless acts. Nor do I conceive that the present legislature of the State of New York has laid them under any obligation, in granting them a pardon. It was a matter which formerly respected Governor Tryon, the old legislature of New York and the Green Mountain Boys; and the party last mentioned chose to settle that old quarrel with Mr. Tryon, and resent it that the legislature of the State of New York has so late in the day, undertaken to give an “unconditional discharge and remission of all penalties and forfeitures incurred,” under an act which had been long dead; and which, when alive, served only to discover to the world the wickedness and depravity of that legislative body which enacted them. In the lifetime of this act, I was called by the Yorkers an outlaw, and afterwards, by the British, was called a rebel; and I humbly conceive that there was as much propriety in the one name as the other; and I verily believe that the King’s commissioners would now be as willing to pardon me for the sin of rebellion, provided I would afterwards be subject to Britain, as the legislature above mentioned, provided I would be subject to New York; and I must confess I had as lief be a subject to the one as the other; and it is well known, I have had great experience in them both.

Next, I propose to consider that part of the Proclamation called overtures, which are contained in the three

first articles. Article 1st. "That all persons, actually possessing and improving lands, by title under grants from New Hampshire or Massachusetts Bay, and not granted under New York, shall be confirmed in their respective possessions."

This article cannot be considered of any material consequence, inasmuch as among almost the whole possessions referred to in the article, there are but very few, if any, but what are covered with New York grants.

The second article is as follows: "That all persons possessing and improving lands, not granted by either of the three governments, shall be confirmed in their respective possessions, together with such additional quantity of vacant land lying contiguous to each respective possession as may be necessary to form the same into a convenient farm, so as the quantity of land to be confirmed to each respective possessor shall not exceed three hundred acres."

Neither of these articles, called overtures, affect the controversy, except in some very few instances; all the possessions spoken of were first granted by New Hampshire, except some few which were granted by Massachusetts Bay; and then, lastly, almost the whole of those possessions were re-granted by New York. This being the case, what has been hitherto proposed does not reach the essence of the controversy as the New Yorkers very well know, besides it is not in the power of the government to confirm any of these possessions, which have been already granted, and therefore become the property of the grantees, as will be more fully discussed in its proper place. I proceed to the third article of the much discussed overtures. "That where lands have been

heretofore granted by New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, or either of them, and actually possessed in consequence thereof, and being so possessed, were afterwards granted by New York, such possessions shall be confirmed—the posterior grant under New York notwithstanding.”

Though it is absolutely out of the power of the said legislative authority to confirm the possessions mentioned, yet to discover their want of generosity in their proposal, I shall in the first place consider what a trifling proportion of those possessions could be confirmed upon their own stating, inasmuch as the confirming clause in the article only confirms the possessor, who was so possessed at the time that the New York grant was made, and has no respect to any additional possession carried on after the grant took place. The identical words are, “And being so possessed,” etc. After such possession was actually made, and the possessor being so in possession at the time the grant took place that such possession shall be confirmed by any later possession cannot be included in the condition of “being so possessed; for a later possession was no possession at all at the time the condition of possession took place; and consequently every possession which has been begun in the State of Vermont, since the lands were granted by New York, must be lost to the possessor and fall into the hands of the New York grantees with all other uncultivated lands in the State; and all our purchases of those lands from New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay fall to the ground, together with our possessions, which have been increased an hundred fold.”

These overtures have hitherto been considered only in a grammatical and logical sense, allowing them their own construction. I now proceed to consider them in a legal sense. A legislative authority, within its own jurisdiction, may confirm a possession on vacant land, by making a grant of the same to the possessor; but for the legislative authority of the State of New York to pretend, as they do in their Proclamation, to vacate any grants made by their own authority, in favor of any possession, and to confirm such possessions, by nullifying and defeating their own grants, is the height of folly and stupidity; for the lands being once granted, the property passeth to the grantee; who is become the sole proprietor of the same; and he is as independent of that legislative authority which granted it as any person may be supposed to be, who purchased a farm of land of me by deed of conveyance, and it is as much out of the power of the legislature to vacate a grant made by them, or the same authority, in favor of any possessor, as it is out of my power to vacate my deed of conveyance in favor of some second person. It is contrary to common sense to suppose that the property of the subject is at the arbitrary disposal of the legislature; if it was, they might give a grant to-day and vacate it tomorrow, and so on, ad infinitum. This would destroy the very nature and existence of personal property, as the whole would depend on the sovereign will and last act of the legislature; but the truth of the matter is, the first conveyance will, and ought to hold good; and this defeats all subsequent conveyances.

From what has been said on this subject, it appears that the overtures in the Proclamation set forth, are

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either romantic or calculated to deceive woods people, who, in general, may not be supposed to understand law or the power of a legislative authority.

I have further to evince my arguments on this subject by the concurring opinion of the Lords of the Board of Trade, on complaint made to them from those very persons possessing the land we are speaking of. That clause of their report which is similar to what I have argued, is in these words: "Such subsequent grants made by the government of New York, however unwarrantable, cannot be set aside by any authority from his Majesty, in case the grantees shall insist on their title."

Thus it appears, in a trial (of the same case we are treating of) before the Board of Trade, that the King, under whose authority the government of New York had in an oppressive manner granted those very lands, could not, by his royal authority, vacate or set aside the grants; yet, the present legislative authority of the State of New York proclaim to the world and pledge the faith of government that they will do it. But enough has been said on the impossibility of it, as well as on the ungenerousness of the proposal; and as to the writ-rents, the general assembly of the State of Vermont will determine their expediency and probably release them all.

What has here been observed, answers every part of the Proclamation worth notice, as the five last articles had an entire reference to the three first; though it may be worth observing that the time of compliance with those overtures has expired; and it is my opinion that but few of the subjects of the State of Vermont have closed with them. The main inducement I had in answering them

was to draw a full and convincing proof from the same, that the shortest, best and most eligible, I had almost said, the only possible way of vacating those New York interfering grants, is to maintain inviolable the supremacy of the legislative authority of the independent State of Vermont. This, at one stroke, overturns every New York scheme which may be calculated for our ruin, makes us free men, confirms our property, "and puts it fairly in our power to help ourselves" to the enjoyment of the great blessings of a free, uncorrupted and virtuous civil government.

ETHAN ALLEN.

Bennington, August 9, 1778.

The declaration of their independence by the people of Vermont gave occasion to numerous and perplexing difficulties. No sooner had Vermont organized a government than the inhabitants of sixteen towns bordering on the Connecticut river, in New Hampshire, manifested a disposition to dissolve their connection with that State and unite with Vermont. In justification of the separation it was contended "that all the lands west of the Mason Line being royal grants had been held in subjection to the government of New Hampshire by force of the royal commissions which were vacated by the assumed independence of the American Colonies, and therefore the inhabitants of those grants had reverted to a state of nature, "and were at liberty to form whatever government they thought proper." In pursuance of this determination they presented a petition to the legislature of Vermont on the 12th of March, 1778, praying for annexation. This application greatly embarrassed the Legis-



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lature, but at its June session it was voted that the union take place; thirty-seven members voted in the affirmative and twelve in the negative.

The government of New Hampshire was justly incensed at these proceedings. William Ware, President of the Council of that State, addressed a letter to the Federal Congress on the 19th of August asking advice in relation to the subject, and on the 22nd of August, in the name of the General Assembly, he wrote to Governor Chittenden of Vermont claiming the sixteen towns as a part of New Hampshire. On the reception of this communication the Governor convened the Council, and it was agreed that Colonel Ethan Allen should proceed to Philadelphia and learn in what light the proceedings of Vermont were regarded by the Congress. On his return, Allen made the following report:

*To his Excellency the Governor, the Honorable Council and to the Representatives of the freemen of the State of Vermont, in General Assembly met.*

GENTLEMEN:

The subscriber hereto begs leave to make the following report, viz:

By the desire of his Excellency, and at the request of several of the members of the honorable the council, to me made in September last, I have taken a journey to Philadelphia, in order to gain knowledge how the political situation of the State of Vermont stood, in the view of Congress; which I here exhibit.

On the 16th day of September last I was informed by members of Congress that the delegates from the State of New Hampshire exhibited to Congress a remonstrance

(which they had previously received from the council and assembly of said State) against the proceedings of the State of Vermont, with respect to their taking into union a number of towns on the east side of the Connecticut river, and in their inviting other towns to revolt from New Hampshire; a copy of which I herewith exhibit; a matter which they allege was incompatible with the right of New Hampshire, and an infringement on the confederacy of the United States of America, and therefore desire the Congress to take the matter under consideration, and grant some order thereon, to prevent the effusion of blood and the confusion and disorders which would otherwise inevitably ensue.

The delegates from New York, at the same time, exhibited to Congress sundry papers containing allegations against the State of Vermont, which after some altercations were admitted; and it was agreed that the same, together with the remonstrance from the State of New Hampshire, should be taken under consideration on the afternoon of the 18th by a committee of the whole house; at which time it was moved to be brought forward, but urgent business occasioned its being deferred to the 19th, at which time I arrived at Philadelphia, and being immediately informed of the business by some of the members of Congress, I used my influence against its being hastily determined *ex parte*; and particularly objected to the complaints from the State of New Hampshire and New York, their being both considered at the same time, alleging that they were of a very different nature. In consequence of this, together with my earnest request and application, I obtained assurance that the

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matter should not be brought to a decision before I could have an opportunity to lay the matter before this people, as I had previously let the members of Congress know that the assembly of this state was to set at this time and I engaged to transmit the proceedings of this assembly to Congress as soon as they transpired, at their request.

The allegations thrown out by New York, received a most severe shock on the perusal of my late pamphlet in answer to his Excellency, Governor Clinton's proclamation, dated in February last, containing certain overtures to the inhabitants of this State, as well as from my treatise on the nature and merit of the New York claim, and their treatment of the inhabitants of this the now State of Vermont. In fact, the New York complaints will never prove of sufficient force in Congress to prevent the establishment of this State. But from what I have heard and seen of the disapprobation in Congress of the union with sundry towns east of the Connecticut river, I am sufficiently convinced to offer it as my opinion that except this State recede from such union immediately the whole power of the confederacy of the United States of America will join to annihilate the State of Vermont and to vindicate the right of New Hampshire and to maintain, inviolate, the articles of confederation which guarantee to each State its privileges and immunities.

Thus, gentlemen, I have given you a short representation of the political situation in this State as it now stands in the general Congress of the United States of America, upon which I stake my honor.

Given under my hand at Windsor this 10th day of October, A. D. 1778.

ETHAN ALLEN.

The discussion of the question relative to the union with the sixteen towns in New Hampshire occupied the consideration of the Vermont legislature for several successive sessions, but on the 12th of February, 1779, it was voted that the union be dissolved. This determination was immediately communicated to the government of New Hampshire by Ira Allen, the youngest brother of Ethan Allen, and the legislature of that State, encouraged by the concession of Vermont and by the dissatisfaction existing in many of her frontier towns, resolved to lay claim not only to the sixteen towns which had united with Vermont but to the whole territory as grants originally made to that Province. Congress was applied to for a confirmation of this claim, while at the same time New York made a similar application to the same body. In this position of affairs, the State of Massachusetts interposed, and laid a claim to a portion of the territory, claiming that a part lay within her jurisdiction. Thus by the rival claims of these adjoining States were the inhabitants of Vermont subjected to humiliation without aid from the Continental Congress to which she had a right to look for protection and assistance in her internal as well as external difficulties.

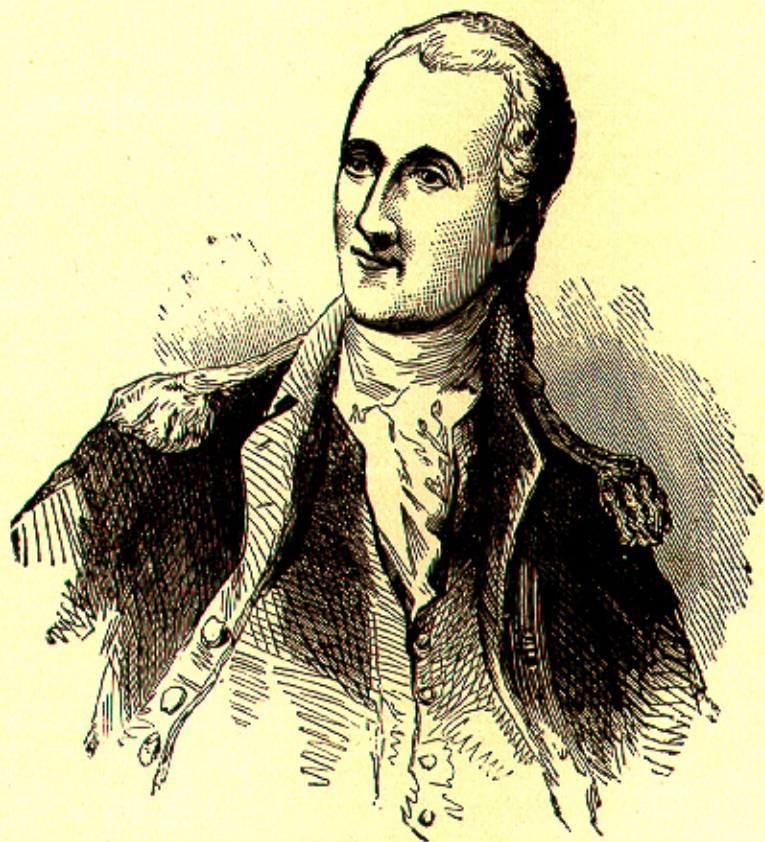
On the 7th of July, 1778, Governor Clinton of New York wrote to his adherents in Vermont, recommending that wherever the friends of New York were sufficiently

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powerful, "firm resistance should be made to the drafting of men, the raising of taxes," and to all the acts of the "ideal State of Vermont;" and that "associations be formed for mutual defense against this usurpation."

In conformity to the expressed wishes of Governor Clinton, a convention of the friends of New York met at Brattleboro, Vermont, on the 4th of May, 1779. After perfecting an organization, a petition to the Governor of New York was drawn up in which was asserted that the "ideal State of Vermont" was proceeding to confiscate their property, and they therefore "entreated his Excellency to take immediate measures for protecting the legal subjects of that part of the state, and for convincing Congress of the impropriety of delaying a decision in a matter which so nearly concerned the peace, welfare and lives of so many of their firm adherents." A military association was, also, formed about the same time for the purpose of resisting the authority of Vermont.

In consequence of these proceedings on the part of New York, the governor of Vermont gave orders to Ethan Allen to call out the militia. When informed of this movement, Colonel Patterson, who held a commission in the County of Cumberland under the New York authority, addressed a letter to Governor Clinton in which he asked for directions relative to the emergency of the case suggesting the propriety and necessity of receiving assistance from the military force of the County of Albany. In answer to this communication, the Governor gave assurance of protection and recommended that "the authority of Vermont should not be acknowledged except in the alternative of submission or inevitable ruin."



MARQUIS OF LAFAYETTE.

Governor Clinton, on the 18th of May following, wrote to the President of Congress at Philadelphia (John Hancock) in regard to the difficulties existing between the two states—declaring that “matters were fast approaching a very serious crisis, which nothing but the immediate action of Congress could possibly prevent;” that he daily “expected he should be obliged to order out a force for the defense of those who adhered to New York;” and “that the wisdom of Congress would suggest to them what could be the consequence of submitting the controversy, especially at this juncture, to the decision of the sword; but that justice, the faith of government, the peace and safety of society, would not permit them to continue any longer passive spectators of the violence committed on their fellow citizens.” This letter, together with several other documents relating to the controversy, was laid before Congress on the 29th of May, 1779 and was referred to a committee of the whole. On the first day of June, Congress resolved that “a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and inquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective states which have claimed jurisdiction over the said district and that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement and to prevent divisions and animosities so prejudicial to the United States.”

While the foregoing matters were engaging the attention of Congress, Colonel Allen marched with an armed force and made prisoners of Colonel Patterson and others acting under the New York authority. Complaint was

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immediately made to Governor Clinton and a letter was addressed by him to Congress wherein he stated what had taken place, that he strongly disapproved of the resolutions adopted by Congress and requested that the committee appointed to go in person to the New Hampshire Grants postpone their visit until after the ensuing session of the New York legislature.

On the 16th of June it was resolved by Congress that the officers captured by Colonel Allen should be set at liberty, and that the committee referred to be directed to inquire into the circumstances connected with the hasty action of Colonel Allen. Only two of the committee appointed by Congress attended to the duty assigned them; owing to the excited state of public feeling, however, they failed to accomplish the object of their mission. Upon their return to Philadelphia they submitted their report to Congress without recommendation.

Several communications were forwarded to Congress by the people of Vermont in relation to their rights, but the consideration of them was postponed until the 2nd Tuesday in September, 1780. Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley of Vermont were appointed a committee to proceed to Congress to see that the State received fair treatment on the part of the delegates. The matter was taken up by Congress on the 19th of September—the "Agents" of Vermont being permitted to be present, but not as the representatives or as the delegates of a body of people invested with legislative authority. Efforts were made by both New Hampshire and New York, to prove their respective claims to the disputed territory; it



soon became evident to Allen and Bradley that Vermont was not regarded as a party to the controversy, but that Congress in attempting to decide between New Hampshire and New York did not recognize her existence as a distinct jurisdiction.

These proceedings "were viewed with alarm and indignation by the agents of Vermont," and an immediate withdrawal of their attendance was the consequence. On the 22nd of September, they transmitted a remonstrance to Congress in which they lamented "the necessity which obliges us to say that we can no longer sit as idle spectators without betraying the trust reposed in us, and doing violence to our own feelings, to see partial modes pursued, plans adopted, ex-parte evidence exhibited, which derives all authority from the attestation of the party—passages in writings selected, giving a very false representation of facts, to answer no other end but to prejudice your Honorable body against the State of Vermont; thereby to intrigue and baffle a brave and meritorious people out of their rights and liberties." They further say that they "are willing to agree upon some one or more of the legislatures of the disinterested states, to interpose as mediators and settle the dispute," and conclude by observing that if Congress continue the exercise of her unjust policy, they "stand ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be accountable for the awful consequences that must ensue." The subject of the controversy again occupied the attention of Congress on the 27th of September when the further consideration of it was postponed.

The policy of Congress in postponing the decision of

the controversy did not receive the cordial acquiescence of Vermont. It showed it is true that her claims to independence were partially recognized yet it had a direct tendency to delay the final adjustment of those claims. In this condition of affairs the State of Vermont resolved upon the policy of extending her territory, thereby increasing her power and placing herself in a more imposing attitude. She was not unaware that a majority of the inhabitants in the western part of New Hampshire were still anxious to come within her jurisdiction, and to facilitate the accomplishment of this object a convention composed of representatives from forty-three towns assembled at Charlestown, New Hampshire, on the 16th of January, 1781; but the result was extremely mortifying to the adherents of Vermont, for it was found that a majority of the representatives were opposed to the contemplated union. A committee, however, was appointed by the Convention for the purpose of conferring with Vermont on the subject, and on the 10th of February, they informed the Legislature of Vermont, then in session at Windsor, that "the Convention of the New Hampshire towns was desirous of being united with Vermont in one separate government upon such principles as should be mutually thought the most equitable and beneficial to the State." Upon the report of the committee to whom it had been referred, the Legislature resolved that "in order to quiet the present disturbances on the two sides of the Connecticut river, and the better to enable the inhabitants to defend their frontier, the Legislature of this State does lay a jurisdictional claim to all the lands east of the

Connecticut river, north of Massachusetts, west of Mason's line, and south of latitude 45°; but they will not, for the time being, exercise said jurisdiction."

A convention of the towns in New Hampshire anxious for the proposed union was then in session at Cornish on the opposite side of the river from Windsor; communications by boat or ferry in relation to the matter in question were repeatedly exchanged between the committees of this body and the Legislature of Vermont. Articles of union were finally agreed upon—stipulating that the Vermont Constitution should be adopted by the towns in New Hampshire, that application should be made to Congress for admission into the union, that "full act of oblivion be passed for former offences by persons who professed themselves subjects of the State of New York," and that the Legislature should inform all the towns in the State of Vermont as well as all the towns on the New Hampshire Grants east of the Connecticut river, of the action thus taken relative to the projected union, and that "the votes of each town should be returned to the Assembly at their adjourned session, on the first Wednesday of April following; and on condition that two-thirds of the towns in the State of Vermont, at a legal town meeting, vote for the union, and also two-thirds of the towns on the New Hampshire Grants, east of the Connecticut river," then the union should take place, and the New Hampshire towns be at liberty to send representatives to the Legislature. At the session of the Legislature in the April following, it appeared that thirty-six towns were in favor of the union and seven opposed to it. The union was therefore

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consummated; in accordance with the consummation thirty-five Representatives from the towns on the east side of the Connecticut river took their seats in the Vermont Legislature.

In consequence of the measures adopted by the State of New York, and the repeated solicitations from several towns in that State bordering on Vermont asking to be received into the Union, the Legislature on the 14th of February, 1781, laid jurisdictional claim to all the lands west of her present territory and east of the Hudson River to its source, and east of the North line, extending to the 45th degree of north latitude—providing that this jurisdiction should not be exercised for the time being. On the 11th of April, however, the Legislature of Vermont appointed a committee to attend a convention of delegates from the towns in New York desiring the union and to make the necessary arrangements for effecting it. This Convention met at Cambridge, N. Y., on the 15th of May—the articles of union were agreed to by both parties, and on the 16th of June following, were confirmed by the Legislature of Vermont and representatives from these towns were admitted to seats in that body.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ADMISSION OF VERMONT INTO THE UNION.

The people of Vermont having become exasperated by the refusal of Congress to recognize their claims to independence, and by the opposition they experienced in seeking admission into the Union, determined to pursue a course which would secure their safety and independence against the encroachments of the British on the north and the annoyance and interference from their fellow countrymen in other sections, east, west and south. The English, through their representatives in America, had for a long period entertained the hope of turning the disputes between Vermont and the other states to their own advantage by detaching that section of territory from the American cause, and making it a British province.

The first intimation of this plan was communicated by Colonel Beverly Robinson to Colonel Ethan Allen in a letter dated the 30th of March, 1780. It was delivered to Colonel Allen by a British soldier in disguise in the streets of Arlington. Colonel Robinson commenced his letter by saying that he hoped that his proposals would be received in the same spirit with which he made them after which he proceeded to say that he had often been informed that Colonel Allen and most of the inhabitants of Vermont were opposed to the wild and chimerical

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scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate from Great Britain and to establish an independent government of their own; and that he would willingly assist in uniting America to Great Britain, and in restoring that happy constitution so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. "If I have been rightly informed," proceeds the writer, "and these should be your sentiments and inclinations, I beg that 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 I flatter myself I can do it to as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments; but think, upon your taking an active part and persuading the inhabitants of Vermont in favor 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 should think proper to send a friend of your own here, with proposals to the General, he shall be protected and well treated, and allowed to return whenever he pleases." The contents of this letter were immediately communicated by Colonel Allen to the Governor and other influential persons, who unanimously agreed that it would be impolitic to return an answer.

On the 2nd of February, 1781, nearly a year after the receipt of the foregoing communication, Colonel Robinson addressed a second letter to Colonel Allen, inclosing a

copy of the former one in which he says, "The frequent accounts we have had, for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had, of your inclination to join the king's cause, and assist in restoring America to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial in sending this to you, especially as I can write with more authority, and assure you that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you and the people of Vermont take a decisive and active part with us." To this communication Colonel Robinson requested an answer, stating also that some method might be pointed out for carrying on a future correspondence.

No answer was returned to either of these letters by Colonel Allen, but on the 9th of March, 1781, he enclosed them in a communication to Congress. From the best of motives, and convinced of his own integrity, yet all the while smarting under the insults of the officials of the neighboring States, while seeking independence and legal separation from the "Empire State," he observed in his note to Congress: "I am confident 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 a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, providing the United States persists in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the United (claiming) States, and they at the same time at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I

am persuaded that when Congress considers the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress is that of the United States; and rather than fail, will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains and wage war with human nature at large.’’

This negotiation was continued between the State of Vermont and the representatives of Great Britain until the year 1782—having in its effect not only the protection of the State from the ravages of the British troops, but also to lessen the difficulties attendant upon her admission into the Union. To the firmness and undaunted patriotism of Colonel Allen in this circumstance may be attributed, in a great measure, the many lasting advantages which resulted from it.

During the negotiations with the British authorities, the primary cause of it was not forgotten or neglected by Allen or the people of Vermont. Their efforts were still to continue to advance her internal interests and procure an acknowledgment of her claim to admission into the Union. On the 20th of August, 1781, in consequence of Allen’s unceasing efforts, a committee appointed by Congress, made a report to that body in relation to the subject, whereupon, the following resolution was adopted:

“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 de-



mands of lands or jurisdiction on the east side of the west bank of the Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line beginning at the Northwest corner of the State of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson's River, so far as the said river runs northeasterly in its general course; then 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 Lake George to Lake Champlain, to the latitude of 45 degrees north; excepting a neck of land between Missisque Bay and the waters of Lake Champlain."

Both the States of Vermont and New York were dissatisfied with this resolution—the one because it stipulated as the condition of her admission into the confederacy, the dissolutions of her unions with the adjoining States, and the other because it recognized the justness of a claim against which she had long and strenuously contended. The subject was taken up by a committee of the Legislature of Vermont on the 17th of October, 1781—when it was resolved as the "opinion of this committee that the Legislature cannot comply with the resolution without destroying the foundation of the present universal harmony and agreement that subsists in this State, and a violation of solemn compact entered into by articles of union and confederation."

The political condition of Vermont was now in every respect extremely alarming; and "all parties trembled at the fearful approach of civil war." Fortunately, however, for those concerned, Governor Chittenden received a letter from General Washington dated January 1,

1782, in which he remarked—"It is not my business, nor do I think it necessary now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants of that tract of country formerly distinguished by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and now by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good because Congress by their resolution of the 7th of August implied it; and by that of the 20th are willing fully to confirm it provided the new State is confined to certain described bounds. It appears therefore to me that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists; and, that being removed all other difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminate to the satisfaction of all parties. You have nothing to do but to withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your own limits and obtain an acknowledgement of independence and sovereignty, under the resolution of the 20th of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New Hampshire, New York and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behooves the delegates to do ample justice to a people sufficiently respectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims to be admitted into the confederation, it becomes them also to attend to the interests of their constituents and see that under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially injure the others. I am inclined to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congress."

The advice of Washington had a soothing effect upon the minds of the people of Vermont. He was endeared to them by his many sacrifices in the cause of freedom, and by the examples of his personal conduct during those

trying times. At the next meeting of the Legislature, held at Bennington, the communication was laid before them; and on the 22nd of February, it was resolved to comply with the preliminary requirement of the resolution of Congress and relinquish all claims to the territory described, originally attached to other districts.

The decision of the Vermont Legislature, as shown by the vote taken on the 18th of October, was communicated to the Congress; the debate which followed was exciting and caused much hard feeling between the friends of the contending states. It was resolved, among other things, "that, if Vermont did not, within one month from the time this resolution was communicated to Governor Chittenden, comply with the resolution of the 20th of August, and relinquish her jurisdiction beyond the bounds therein named, such neglect and refusal would be regarded as an indication of hostility to the United States." Previous to the adoption of this resolution, the representatives of Vermont had arrived at Philadelphia and had immediately informed Congress that the requirements preliminary to the recognition of Vermont's independence had been complied with; the "agents" contended that the former resolution passed by Congress was binding upon Congress, as well as upon Vermont. The subject, however, did not receive the attention the commissioners anticipated or had hoped for, so they returned home to consider other means of enlisting Congress in their behalf.

The subject was again taken up by Congress on the 5th of December, but instead of fulfilling its promise to the "agents" of Vermont, made by the resolution of the

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20th of August, 1781, the proceedings were characterized by abuse against the people of that State for having exercised authority over certain individuals professing allegiance to New York, in violation of the resolutions of Congress, passed on the 24th of September, 1779, and on the 2nd of June, 1780. It was finally resolved, "that Vermont be required to make full restitution to the persons condemned to banishment or confiscation of property, and that they be not molested on their return to said District." It was further resolved, "that the United States will take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolution in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of the said District."

These measures completely weakened the faith of the people of Vermont in the wisdom and integrity of Congress, declared Allen, and nearly destroyed their hopes of obtaining redress from that body. However, a spirited remonstrance to the foregoing proceedings was forwarded to Congress by the Governor of Vermont, at the direction of its Legislature, in which the whole facts in the case were set forth in plain and unmistakable language, and concluding with a request that Vermont be admitted into the Union. In consequence of this remonstrance, and other corresponding measures, Congress did not judge it politic to attempt to carry into effect her resolutions of the 5th of December.

In the southeastern section of the State of Vermont, at its first organization, were many individuals opposed to its independence and of course friendly to the claims of New York. These persons eagerly embraced every opportunity to embarrass the State, and on several

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occasions openly resisted its authority. This opposition was principally confined to the town of Guilford—at that time the most populous village in the State. The two factions here (the friends of Vermont and those of New York) had each an organization of their own and not infrequently were there two sets of town officers. Between these and their friends, frequent disturbances occurred which not infrequently ended in bloodshed. The enmity of these parties was carried to an alarming extent during the years 1783 and 1784. Social order was entirely at an end, and even physicians were not allowed to pursue their avocations without procuring a permit from the several committees. In this unpleasant state of affairs, Colonel Ethan Allen, then in command of the military forces of Vermont, was directed to call out the militia for the purpose of enforcing the laws and suppressing the factional disturbances among the people of Windham County. In accordance with these directions, he marched from Bennington with a force of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys, and upon his arrival at Guilford issued the following unique proclamation: “I, Ethan Allen, declare that unless the people of Guilford peaceably submit to the authority of Vermont, I will make the town as desolate as were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah!” The “Yorkers” were fired upon by Colonel Allen, and after several pitched battles the disturbers were all either taken prisoners or disbanded without arms. Martial law was proclaimed by Colonel Allen, and under it a large proportion of the property belonging to the tories and enemies of Vermont was sold for the benefit of the State.

Very little alteration was effected in the government of Vermont for several years after the close of the war. After the adoption of the Federal constitution, however, the proceedings of Congress were viewed by the people of that State in a more friendly spirit. Proceedings in that body certainly were more conservative and had the effect of gaining the confidence of the people of Vermont by removing the aversion to a federation which Allen and others had opposed on former occasions. The former controversy with the State of New York, which had already caused much ill feeling, still remained unsettled, however. The authorities of that State were now fully aware that Vermont would succeed in maintaining her independence.

The former Governors of New York had, however, made grants of extensive tracts of land in Vermont, the validity of which was not admitted by the government of Vermont. The authorities of New York did not consider that they were under any particular obligations to refund the money received for these lands—they being grants of the royal governors. A disposition was manifested, however, to effect a compromise, on just and amicable terms, and at a session of the Legislature held at Albany on the 15th of July, 1789, an act was passed appointing a certain number of commissioners to acknowledge the sovereignty of Vermont and adjust all difficulties which exist or had existed with neighboring states. Commissioners were also appointed on the part of Vermont to treat with those of New York and remove whatever obstructions existed to prevent her admission into the Union.

On the 7th of October, 1790, the following resolutions

were adopted by the New York Legislature: "Resolved, That the commissioners for New York, by virtue of the powers to them granted for that purpose, declared the consent of the Legislature of New York, that the State of Vermont be admitted into the Union of the United States of America; and that immediately upon such admission all claims of jurisdiction of the State of New York within the State of Vermont shall cease; and thenceforth the perpetual line between the State of New York and the State of Vermont, shall be as was then held and possessed by Vermont; that is, the west lines of the most western towns which had been granted by New Hampshire, and the middle channel of Lake Champlain." In regard to the lands granted under the Provincial government of New York, the resolution further says: "That the commissioners, by virtue of the powers to them granted, declare the will of the Legislature of New York, that if the Legislature of the State of Vermont should on, or before, the first day of January, 1792, declare that on the first day of June, 1794, the State of Vermont would pay the State of New York, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that immediately from such declaration, by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, all rights and titles to lands within the State of Vermont, under grants from the government of the colony of New York, or from the State of New York, should cease, excepting those which had been made in confirmation of the grants of New Hampshire," This proposal was readily agreed to by Vermont and on the 28th of October, 1790, an act was passed directing the Treasurer of the State to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the State of New York at the proposed time. In this amicable manner

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was terminated a controversy which had been carried on, with great animosity, for twentieth-six years.

The General Assembly of Vermont commenced its sessions at Bennington on the 10th of January, 1791; and appointed the Honorable Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris, Esq., Commissioners to attend Congress, and negotiate the admission of the State into the Union.

Accompanied by Colonel Allen, they repaired to Philadelphia and laid before Washington, then President of the United States, the proceedings of the Convention and Legislature and on the 15th of February, 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, without debate or a dissenting vote.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES IN THE LIFE OF COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN.

The reader has been given a concise view of all the principal events in which Colonel Allen was concerned, and it is truly gratifying to consider that in all the trying scenes of his life—in all the vicissitudes attendant upon a protracted captivity—he was never forgetful of the rights of his fellowmen; or the cause of liberty in which his countrymen were engaged. We have seen him cast aside the proffered honors and their accompanying emoluments of the British authorities rather than betray his allegiance to his country. We have seen him adhering with patriotic devotion to the interests of his country even while her efforts were directed to crush the rising prospects of his adopted State. What individual then will deny him the tribute of gratitude or withhold from his memory that mysterious feeling of veneration which patriotism exacts from the friends of liberty?

Colonel Allen was the author of several political and religious works. The former were principally illustrative of the measures adopted by the people of the New Hampshire Grants in relation to the position they assumed in the controversy with the New York authorities, while the latter were probably written more with a view of gratifying a desire to occupy the attention of the public than for

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any other purpose. His religious sentiments as promulgated in his writings were nearly allied to Deism, yet it is quite probable from the following anecdote that his real opinions were based upon a different creed: A Doctor Elliot, who removed from Guilford, Connecticut, to Vermont, was well acquainted with Colonel Allen and visited him at a time when his daughter was very dangerously sick. He was conducted into the library, where the Colonel read to him some of his writings. While thus engaged, a messenger entered the room and informed Colonel Allen that his daughter was dying and desired to speak to him. He immediately went to her chamber, accompanied by Doctor Elliot who was desirous of witnessing the interview. The wife of Colonel Allen was a pious woman and had faithfully instructed her daughter in the principles of Christianity. As soon as her father appeared at her bedside, she said to him, "I am about to die; shall I believe in the principles you have taught me or shall I believe in what my mother has taught me?" Colonel Allen became extremely agitated. His chin quivered—his whole frame shook; and, after a lapse of a few minutes, he replied, "Believe what your mother has taught you." It would appear from this that however much Colonel Allen might have indulged in the exercise of his fancy upon religious matters he was still in principle attached to the beautiful and holy precepts inculcated by our Saviour.

Colonel Allen was brave even to rashness. In support of this position we submit to the reader the following adventure, related by a gentleman remotely connected with him: Soon after the Proclamation of the Provin-

cial Governor of New York was received by the people of Vermont, in which a reward of five hundred dollars was offered for the apprehension of Allen, much anxiety was felt by his friends for his safety, on account of the many opportunities offered for arresting him. Allen, however, laughed at their fears and offered to bet that he could go to Albany, alight at the most prominent house of entertainment—the Tavern—drink a bowl of punch and finally escape unharmed. The bet was accepted. All necessary arrangements being made, he proceeded to Albany and after alighting as proposed, called for a bowl of punch according to the terms of the bet. It was soon whispered about that Ethan Allen was in the city and a large concourse of people collected about the Tavern—among whom was the Sheriff of Albany county. Allen, however, remained apparently unconcerned. Having finished his punch, he went to the door, mounted his horse and after giving a hearty “huzza for Vermont” departed, unharmed before the astonished and gaping multitude had time to collect their scattered senses.

The following anecdote, derived from a source entitled to credit, exhibits good evidence of the singularity as well as the firm resolution of Colonel Allen. He was a resident of Tinmouth, Vermont, for a short time and was as celebrated among his townsmen for acts of boldness and a perfect contempt of everything pertaining to cowardice as he had been during his previous military career. Being one day on a visit to a neighboring town (Middletown Springs) he happened in at the house of a gentleman who, though not a regular dentist, was nevertheless in the habit of extracting teeth. A woman came in suffering from the

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pain of a decayed tooth, but without sufficient courage to permit an extraction. Several times she approached the "fatal" seat assigned for that purpose, and as often retreated. Allen, in the meantime, a very uneasy spectator, could restrain his feelings no longer. "Here," he said to the dentist, "take out one of my teeth." "But they are all sound, General." "Never mind,—do as I direct you." A tooth was extracted. "Now take courage, madam, from the example I have given you," said Allen, to the trembling woman. Pride overcame her fears and she was soon relieved from apprehension and pain.

An idea of the honesty and love of veracity of Colonel Allen may be obtained from the following anecdote: A certain individual, to whom he was indebted, had commenced a suit against him and he had engaged a lawyer to attend to it, seeking to get judgment postponed if possible. As an easy method to effect this the lawyer denied the signature of the note, knowing it would be almost impossible for the plaintiff to prove it genuine. Allen, who was present, could not submit to this trick of the law. Walking forward through the crowd he thus addressed the astonished lawyer: "Mr.—, I did not employ you to come here and lie; I employed you to tell the truth. The note is a true one; the signature is mine. All I ask of the court is to grant me sufficient time to meet the payment." It is almost needless to add that the plaintiff acceded to his wish.

While Allen was on his way to lay his schemes before the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, he visited Bennington where the Reverend Mr. Dewey, an ancestor of Admiral George Dewey, preached. In his prayer Mr.

Dewey, with much fervor, poured forth his thanks to the Lord for having given possession of Fort Ticonderoga into the hands of a people struggling for their liberty and the defense of their property. Allen was considerably displeased and as the preacher continued in this strain of thanksgiving, the bluff old hero cried out, "Parson Dewey!" The reverend gentleman gave no heed to the interruption. Allen exclaimed still louder, "Parson Dewey!" But as the minister pursued his prayer, Allen sprang to his feet and roared out in a voice of thunder, "Parson Dewey." The clergyman opened his eyes and gazed with astonishment at Allen. The latter exclaimed with great energy, "Parson Dewey, please make mention of my being there."

Burgoyne's defeat gave Ethan Allen a welcome opportunity to return the ridicule with which the (British officers had been accustomed to speak of the Continental troops, and he was not the man to keep silent against biting sarcasms hurled against his countrymen. Like Paul Jones, he was not the man to speak deprecatingly of his own merits either. He seldom lost an opportunity of placing himself in the most favorable position before his superiors. On one occasion, during his captivity, while boasting of the impossibility of conquering the Americans, he boastingly spoke of himself and his brothers, all of whom were in the Continental army, as patriots of uncompromising valor, saying there was never a woman who had seven sons that could equal those of his mother. A British officer tartly insisted that Allen ought to except Mary Magdalen, who also was delivered of seven devils.

A man named John Redding had been convicted of

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supplying the British with provisions and had been sentenced by a jury of six to be hung on the following Friday. A lawyer interposed for a new trial, as twelve and not six must constitute a legal jury. The public was disappointed at the reprieve. Allen addressed them with an oath, advising patience, and to wait for the day suggested by the lawyer, promising, "You shall see somebody hung at all events, for if Redding is not then hung, I will be hung myself." Redding was later convicted and hanged within the month.

An anecdote of a different character is told of Allen's sojourn in New York. Rivington, the King's printer, a forcible and venomous writer, had incurred Allen's enmity by his caustic allusions to him, and the hero of Ticonderoga swore he would whip Rivington the very first opportunity he had. How the printer escaped the threatened chastisement is narrated in his own words: I was sitting (says Rivington) after a good dinner, alone, with my bottle of Madeira before me when I heard an unusual noise in the street and a huzza from the boys. I was in the second story and stepping to the window, saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with a large cocked hat and an enormously long sword, followed by a crowd of boys who occasionally cheered him with huzzas of which he seemed insensible. He came up to my door and stopped. I could see no more. My heart told me it was Ethan Allen. I shut my window and retired behind my table and my bottle. I was certain the hour of reckoning had come. There was no retreat. Mr. Staples, my clerk, came in paler than ever and, clasping his hands, said, "Master, he has come!" "I know it." He en-

tered the store and asked whether James Rivington lived there. I answered, "Yes, sir." "Is he at home?" "I will go and see, sir," I said; "and now, master, what is to be done? There he is in the store, and the boys peeping at him from the street." I had made up my mind. I looked at the Madeira, possibly took a glass. "Show him up, said I; and if such Madeira cannot mollify him, he must be harder than adamant. There was a fearful moment of suspense. I heard him on the stairs, his long sword clanking at every step. In he stalked. "Is your name James Rivington?" "It is, sir, said I, and no man could be more happy than I am to see Colonel Ethan Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga. "Sir, I have come—" "Not another word, my dear Colonel, until you have taken a seat and a glass of old Madeira." "But, sir, I do not think it proper—" "Not another word, Colonel. Taste this wine. I have had it in glass for ten years. Old wine, you know, unless it is originally sound, never improves by age." He took the glass, swallowed the wine smacked his lips, and shook his head approvingly. "Sir I come—" "Not another word until you have taken another glass, and then, my dear Colonel, we will talk of old affairs, and I have some queer events to detail." In short, we finished two bottles of Madeira, and parted as good friends as if we had never had cause to be otherwise.

Levi, one of Ethan Allen's brothers, joined the Tories and fled with them to Canada. This greatly incensed Ethan and he applied to the proper authorities for the confiscation of his brother's property for the benefit of the State. Levi heard of this and challenged his brother

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to fight a duel. This Ethan refused to do on the ground that it would be disgraceful to fight a tory!" Levi, however, abandoned the royal cause and became a staunch patriot. The following is a literal copy of Ethan Allen's complaint, concerning his brother:

Bennington, County, ss.—Arlington, 9th of January 1779.

To the Honorable the Court of Confiscation, come, Colonel Ethan Allen in the name of the freemen of this State, and complaint makes that Levi Allen, late of Salisbury, in Connecticut, is of tory principles, and holds in fee sundry tracts and parcels of land in this State. The said Levi has been detected in trying to supply the enemy on Long Island, and in attempting to circulate counterfeit currency, and is guilty of holding treasonable correspondence with the enemy, under cover of doing favors to me when a prisoner at New York and Long Island; and in talking and in using influence in favor of the enemy, associating with inimical persons to this country, and with them monopolizing the necessaries of life, in endeavoring to lessen the credit of the continental currency, and in particular, hath exerted himself in the most falacious manner, to injure the property and character of some of the most zealous friends to the independency of the United States, and of this State likewise; all which inimical conduct is against the peace and dignity of the freemen of this State. I therefore prey the Honorable Court to take the matter under their consideration, and make confiscation of the estate of said Levi Allen, before mentioned, according to the laws



and customs of this State in such case made and provided.

ETHAN ALLEN.

Colonel Allen talked and wrote much on the subject of religion, and expressed his skeptical views on all convenient occasions. At one time, while he was at Westminster, Vermont, Judge Sessions and Stephen R. Bradley, who were zealous Christians, were discussing the affairs of the Church. Allen, who entered the room at the time, interrupted them by an argument against the divine origin of the Bible. Judge Sessions, not liking to hear his reasoning, said, "Mr. Bradley, I think we had better retire and not hear this man talk." Allen exclaimed, "Deacon Sessions, you belong to the church militant. I belong to the church military; and without that," he continued with an oath, "you can never belong to the church triumphant."

Colonel Allen's kindness of heart was proverbial, and he was always ready to afford relief to the suffering. At one time, two little girls, daughters of one of the pioneers of Vermont, wandered into the woods. The distressed parents with a few neighbors, commenced a search, which was continued through the night without success. The next day a large number of persons from the neighboring towns joined them and the search was continued till the afternoon of the third day, when it was relinquished, and the people who had been out were about to return to their homes. Among them, however, was one who thought the search should not be abandoned; this was Ethan Allen. He mounted a stump, and soon all eyes

were fixed upon him. In his laconic manner, he pointed to the father and mother of the lost children, now almost terrified with grief and despair—and bade each individual present, and especially those who were parents, make the case of these parents his own, and then say whether they could go contentedly home without one further effort to save those little ones who were probably now alive but perishing with hunger and spending their last strength crying for father and mother to give them something to eat. As he spoke, his giant frame was agitated; the tears rolled down his cheeks, and in the assembly of several hundred men, but few eyes were dry. "I'll go! I'll go!" was at length heard from every part of the crowd. They betook themselves to the woods, and before night the lost children were restored in safety to the arms of the distracted parents.

Colonel Allen, who at times had resided at Bennington, Arlington and Tinmouth, at last took up his residence on the Winooski river not far from Bennington. His first wife had never removed from Connecticut, but died there during the war. His courtship with his second wife was characteristic. During a session of the court at Westminster, Allen appeared with a magnificent pair of horses and a colored driver. Chief Justice Robinson and Stephen R. Bradley, an eminent lawyer, were there, and as their breakfast was on the table they asked Colonel Allen to join them. He replied that he had breakfasted, and while they were at the table he would go in and see Mrs. Buchanan, a handsome widow who was visiting there at the time. He entered the sitting room, and at once said to Mrs. Buchanan, "Well, Fanny, if we

are to be married, let us be about it." "Very well," she promptly replied, "give me time to fix up." In a few minutes she was ready, and Judge Robinson was at once called upon by them to perform the customary ceremony. Said Allen, "Judge, Mrs. Buchanan and I have concluded to be married. I don't care much about the ceremony, and as near as I can find out, Fanny cares as little for it as I do. But as a decent respect for the customs of society require it of us, we are willing to have the ceremony performed." The gentlemen present were much surprised, and Judge Robinson replied, "General Allen, this in an important matter. Have you thought seriously of it?" "Yes, yes," exclaimed Allen, looking at Mrs. Buchanan, "but it don't require much thought." Judge Robinson then rose from his seat and said, "Join your hands together. Ethan Allen, you take this woman to be your lawful and wedded wife; you promise to love and protect her according to the law of God and—" "Stop, stop, Judge. The law of God," said Allen looking forth upon the fields, "all nature is full of it. Yes, go on. My team is at the door." As soon as the ceremony was ended, General Allen and his bride entered his carriage and drove off.

On one occasion Allen's temerity came very near resulting in his capture, or perhaps death. While traveling along the shores of Lake Champlain opposite Crown Point, with but a single companion, he stopped at the house of a Mr. Richards. It happened that at the same time a party of six or eight soldiers from the neighboring fortress, Ticonderoga, fully armed, were at the house, with the intention of remaining during the night. Know-

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ing Allen, they determined to arrest him, and thus obtain the liberal reward offered by the New York authorities for his apprehension. Mrs. Richards, a staunch patriot, overheard enough of their conversation to warrant her in warning Allen of their designs, which she did while conducting him and his companion to their room. Upon reaching their room they quietly raised their window, and dropping to the ground they hurriedly made their escape.

When the soldiers discovered that Allen and his companion had fled, they threatened Mrs. Richards for aiding the "rebels" in escaping; but she apologized on the ground that if she had failed to do so, the settlers would have torn down her house and driven herself and family out of the country.

Notwithstanding the frequency of proclamations and the offering of rewards for the capture of the leaders, both colonist and tory, it is not known whether any one was ever apprehended in consequence of their being issued, which is a proof that the people residing near the boundary lines of New York, Vermont and the New Hampshire Grants were more favorable to the settlers than were the appointees from the Crown, otherwise the allurements of the rewards would have been an incentive for seizing individual offenders, particularly as the people were required by law to assist the sheriffs in the execution of their office. Allen never denied that the conduct of himself and his mountaineer neighbors was properly called riotous, but he contended that they were driven to this extremity by the oppression of their tory neighbors; that no other means was left by which they

could defend their property, and that, under such circumstances, they were perfectly justified in resorting to this means. It has not been shown that the settlers encroached upon the possessions of other people, but remained on their own lands, and if riots existed, they were caused by those who sought to deprive them of their lands by writs of ejection issued by the New York authorities—appointees of the Crown.

Viewing things in this light, Allen thought it hard that he should be called a rioter, afterwards a criminal, and lastly denounced as a felon, with a price set upon his liberty and life. But being brave, even to rashness, he was in no degree intimidated by the rewards offered for his apprehension, as has been shown in his visit to Albany, the very seat of royal and tory power and influence in America. As often as the New York authorities issued a proclamation or offered a reward for any of the Green Mountain Boys, Allen and his associates issued one to counteract its effect, which tended to increase the hilarity of the occasion. Among the most conspicuous characters at Albany who either held appointments from the Crown or served in some capacity under the royal governors none were held in greater contempt by the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants than James Duane and John Kempe, and Allen nearly always included the names of these two men when offering rewards; in fact their names were "posted" about every ninety days. Allen did not wish to be outdone by the New York authorities even in the matter of offering rewards for the apprehension of persons particularly offensive; doubtless the act of issuing rewards was never

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taken seriously by either party, particularly the Green Mountain Boys, who were without sufficient funds to meet the requirements of life, not to mention the paying of rewards for the apprehension of their enemies. It is altogether probable, however, that the only compensation the average Green Mountain patriot would have accepted, should they have chanced upon either Duane or Kempe, would have been the thanks of their acknowledged leaders, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, Robert Cockran, and others, and a further opportunity to render substantial aid in behalf of the cause for which they had sacrificed everything they had acquired through years of patient toil in the settlement of a new country.

It was doubtless in a spirit of mockery—a satire upon royal and tory presumption—that, in exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty, Allen and his associates issued the following reward in retaliation presumably for the one offered by the General Assembly of New York, increasing the bounty already “posted” for Allen to £150 and a proportionate increase for five others.

### ADVERTISEMENT £25 REWARD.

Whereas James Duane and John Kempe of New York, have by their menaces and threats greatly disturbed the public Peace and Repose of the honest Peasants of Bennington and the settlements to the northward, which peasants are now and ever have been in the Peace of God and the king, and are patriotic and liege subjects of George the Third—any person that will apprehend those common disturbers, viz., James Duane and John Kempe,

and will bring them to Landlord Fays at Bennington, shall have £15 reward for James Duane and £10 or John Kempe paid by

ETHAN ALLEN,  
REMEMBER BAKER,  
ROBERT COCKRAN.

Dated at Poultney,  
Feb. 5th, 1772.

## CHAPTER XV.

### CHARACTER—RELIGIOUS VIEWS—DEATH.

When peace was again restored, and the colonies, now united, took their places among the recognized nations of the world, there was nothing left for Ethan Allen but to retire to the green hills of his beloved Vermont and leave the settlement of international and state questions to those who championed the cause of freedom by voice and pen—Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock and others.

Allen was a practical farmer, accustomed to labor with his own hands, and submit to the privations and hardships which necessarily attend the condition of pioneers in a new country. He moved to Burlington in the spring of 1787, with the view of devoting himself to farming, having selected for his residence the beautiful tract of intervale north of the village, now generally known as the Van Ness farm. He removed his family there in the course of the summer, and that was their home till the time of his death, which took place less than two years later.

In this retirement he published a work on a series of topics very different from those which had heretofore employed his pen. The book is entitled, "Reason the Only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion." It was published at Bennington in the year 1784.



The preface is dated July 2, 1782. In this preface Allen states that he had been from his youth addicted to contemplation and had from time to time committed his thoughts to paper. This book purports to be the result of his labors, revised, arranged and prepared with much labor for the press. In its literary execution it is much superior to any of his other writings and was evidently prepared with care and reflection. It is nevertheless, a crude and worthless production, in which truth and error, reason and sophistry, knowledge and ignorance, ingenuity and presumption are mingled together in a chaos, which the author denominated a "system." Some of the chapters on natural religion, the being and attributes of God, and the principles and obligations of morality, should, perhaps, be excepted from this sweeping assertion, for, although they contain little that is new, yet they are written in a labored tone, and express sentiments which may screen them from so heavy a censure.

Founding religion on the attributes of the Deity and the nature of things, as interpreted by reason, Allen took it for granted that there was no necessity for a revelation and hence inferred that the Christian Revelation and miracles were false. He also argued against Old Testament teachings upon the same principles. Historical facts and internal evidence, the only basis of correct reasoning on this subject, are passed over in silence. There is no proof or reason to believe that the author ever examined this part of the manuscript after its first draft. It is thought, however, that he mistook some of the errors of Christian sects for the true doctrines of revealed religion, and that his views, as to the reality and nature

of the system itself, were perverted by this misapprehension.

If we may judge also from various passages in this book, some of his biographers have not done him strict justice in regard to his religious opinions. Some have affirmed that he believed in the metempsychosis of the ancients, or the transmigration of souls after death into beasts, or fishes, and that he often informed his friends that he himself expected to live again in the form of a large white horse. If Allen was absurd and frivolous enough to say such a thing in conversation, he has certainly expressed very different sentiments in his writings. No person could declare more explicitly his belief in a future state of rewards and punishments and a just retribution than he has done in the following passages contained in this book on Natural Religion:

“We should so far divest ourselves of the incumbrances of this world, which are too apt to engross our attention, as to acquire a consistent system of the knowledge of our duty and make it our constant endeavor in life to act conformably to it. The knowledge of the being, perfections, creation and providence of God, and the immortality of our souls, is the foundation of our religion.” Again, “As true as mankind now exists and is endowed with reason and understanding, and has the power of agency and proficiency in morals good and evil, so true it is that he must ultimately be rewarded or punished according to his respective merits or demerits; and it is as true as this world exists, and rational and accountable beings inhabit it, that the distribution of justice therein is partial, unequal and uncertain; and it is con-

sequently as true as that there is a God, that there must be a future state of existence, in which the disorder, injustice, oppression and viciousness, which are acted and transacted by mankind in this life, shall be righteously adjusted, and the delinquents suitably punished." To what extent these doctrines bear out the charge of a belief in the transmigration of souls, let the reader himself judge.

It has been reported that in his youth Allen was fitted for college, but was denied admission on account of his well-known atheistic opinions. But, says the Rev. Zadock Thompson, I never found any substantial corroborations of this statement, and since it is totally inconsistent with what Allen has said of himself, I believe it to be wholly unfounded. In his *Oracle of Reason*, page 426, he says: "I do not understand Latin or Greek or Hebrew." And in his introduction to that work he further says that his knowledge of grammar and language had been acquired by his practice of scribbling. But notwithstanding these statements, I think it not at all improbable that he at one time contemplated getting a college education, and that he dabbled a little in Latin. I was told by the late Mr. Jehial Johns, who died in Huntington in 1840, aged 85 years, and who knew Ethan Allen in Connecticut, that he was certain that Allen spent some time studying with the Reverend Lee of Salisbury, with a view of fitting himself for college; and the occasional occurrences of Latin phrases in his writings strongly corroborate this opinion. Mr. Johns also informed me that Allen was about that time on very intimate terms with that noted infidel and historical writer, Dr. Thomas

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Young, and that from him he derived his own infidel notions, and the principal arguments by which he defended them.

Of the history of Allen's greatest work, his book on theology, even his biographers seem to be entirely ignorant. From information derived from various sources, principally from the late Mr. Johns, I am enabled to make the following statements, which I am inclined to regard as substantially true:

At the time of Ethan Allen's youth there were in Litchfield County, Connecticut, and in Dutchess County, New York, which lies adjacent, a number of professed infidels, among whom a Dr. Thomas Young was prominent, both on account of his education and abilities, and also on account of his daring profaneness, amounting sometimes to blasphemy, for which he was once prosecuted, convicted and punished. Young was living on what was called the Oblong in Dutchess County, and very near the Connecticut state line. At the time Jonathan Edwards proposed his famous theological questions, Young engaged in their discussion, and boldly espoused the infidel side, and argued in opposition to the necessity of a Divine Revelation. Ethan Allen had previously to this time been on very intimate terms with Young; he had spent much time at his house, and fully imbibed all of his infidel notions. Allen, therefore, entered at once upon this discussion, supporting the same views with Young, and spending a large share of his time in writing. Mrs. Wadhams, in whose family he resided, said some years later that Ethan Allen spent one summer at her house and was employed nearly the whole

time in writing. She did not know what he was writing, but she recollected that once when she called him to dinner he said that he was very sorry she called so soon, for "he had got clear up into the upper regions." It seemed to be generally understood at this time that he and Young were engaged in the preparation of a work in support of infidel principles, and that there was an agreement between them that the one who outlived the other should publish it. When Ethan Allen went to Vermont his manuscripts were left in possession of Young. The latter engaged, soon after this, very warmly in the cause of the American colonies, and became distinguished as a political writer. He spent some time in Albany and after that a while in Boston, and at the time of the commencement of the Revolution removed with his family to Philadelphia. In April, 1777, he wrote his celebrated letter to the people of Vermont, advising them to form forthwith a state government; for God, said he, had fairly put it in their power to help themselves. He died in Philadelphia in the latter part of the year, and his family returned to their residence in Dutchess County, New York. On Allen's return to Vermont, after his exile in the spring of 1778, he called upon Young's family, procured his own and Young's manuscripts and took them with him to Vermont. These, as he had leisure, he re-wrote, altered and arranged in the form of a book with this title, "Reason the Only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion." It was published by Anthony Haswell in 1784. But a few copies of this work were bound at first, and while the bulk of the edition was stored in Mr. Has-

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well's office in sheets, the office and its contents were consumed by fire, and Mr. Haswell, to the hour of his death, regarded this calamity as a judgment upon him for being concerned in publishing an infidel work, and as an interposition of Divine Providence to prevent its circulation. In consequence of this destruction of the sheets, copies of the original edition are exceedingly rare.

Allen took much pains to circulate his Oracle among the literati of America and in foreign countries. He sent copies not only to the learned men but to several literary and scientific societies of England. In a letter to the Hon. Mr. Johns, a copy of which I have in my possession, says the Rev. Mr. Thompson, Allen writes, "I transmit to you my Theological book, styled "Oracle of Reason," which you will please to lay before the Academy of Arts and Science of Paris, by whose sentence I expect to stand or fall." Allen, although never renouncing his infidelity, changed his views, somewhat, after the publication of his Oracle, and toward the close of his life he spent much time in preparing an elaborate appendix to it. This appendix, in his own handwriting, is now, or was recently, in the possession of Udney H. Penniman, Esq., of Colchester, a son of Ethan Allen's widow, after her marriage to Dr. Penniman. On the cover of this manuscript is written as follows:

"This appendix is to be published whenever it can be without infringing upon my present or future living.

(signed) ETHAN ALLEN."

The substance of Allen's theology may be expressed

in few words. It consisted in a belief in the existence of a Supreme Creator and Governor of the Universe; in a belief that man would be rewarded or punished in a future state, in accordance with his doings in this life; that reason is a sufficient guide for man, and that a revelation is unnecessary; and, being unnecessary, has never been made and is not to be expected. Whether the "Oracle of Reason" was the sole production of Ethan Allen, or the joint production of him and Dr. Young, may, perhaps, never be ascertained.

No person who is familiar with Allen's other writings, can read the "Oracle of Reason" without suspicion that some other person was concerned in its composition.

Allen prided himself very much upon this, his great work on theology, and would not patiently brook anything said to its disparagement. A clergyman, in the course of his religious services, at which Allen was present, once read Dr. Watts' version of the 119th Psalm, beginning thus:

"Let all the heathen writers join,  
To form one perfect book,  
Great God, if once compared with Thine,  
How mean their writings look."

Allen hearing this and supposing the relation made with reference to himself, is said to have been very indignant and to have left the house in rage.

Illustrative of the difference often met by the historian in the narration of the same anecdote, the author gives another version of the above: Allen, who prided him-

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self upon his hospitality, kept an open door for the clergy visiting his neighborhood—professedly on his wife's account (his first wife being a religious woman), but apparently as much from his predilection for argument and pride of his talent in a theological debate. At one time a Methodist preacher, says our narrator, came on a missionary tour into the place, who proposed to hold a meeting at Allen's house. Ethan readily assented and notice was sent around to the neighbors. However, as the people began to gather, the old hero's love of controversy and fun began to awaken, and he assured the minister very positively that if he preached in his house it must be out of his bible—no definite answer was given to the proposition—the time for the opening of the meeting had arrived. Allen defiantly laid his Oracle of Reason on the stand. The preacher without a remark took out a Testament and Watts' hymns from his side pocket; the Testament laid by the side of Allen's "bible"; he opened the hymn-book and commenced significantly to read,

"Let all the heathen writers join,  
To form one perfect book—

(pointing to Allen's work as he read, and then to the work of God beside),

Great God, when once compared with Thine,  
How mean their writings look."

It is said Allen snatched his book, with an oath, from the table, and the preacher proceeded without further interference to fulfill his appointment.



There is also another very general anecdote bearing upon the theology of Allen, embodied in the following verses, clipped from a nameless fragment of an old newspaper:

“THE INFIDEL AND HIS DAUGHTER.”

Suggested by reading a recent newspaper paragraph describing the scene between the brave old Ethan Allen and his daughter Lorain on the eve of her death, when she asked the stern infidel in whose faith he would have her to die, his or her mother's:

“The damps of death are coming fast,  
 My father, o'er my brow;  
 The past with all its scenes has fled,  
 And I must turn me now  
 To that dim future which in vain  
 My eyes seek to descry;  
 Tell me, my father, in this hour,  
 In whose belief to die.

“In thine? I've watched thy scornful smile  
 And heard thy withering tone,  
 Whene'er the Christian's humble hope  
 Was placed above thine own;  
 I've heard thee speak of coming death  
 Without a shade of gloom,  
 And laugh at all the childish fears  
 That cluster round the tomb.

“Or, is it in my mother's faith?  
 How fondly do I trace  
 Through many a weary year long past,  
 That calm and saintly face!  
 How often do I call to mind,  
 Now she's beneath the sod,  
 The place, the hour, in which she drew  
 My early thoughts to God!

“ 'Twas then she took this sacred book,  
 And from its burning page  
 Read how its truths support the soul  
 In faith and failing age,  
 And bade me in its precepts live  
 And by its precepts die,  
 That I might share a home of love  
 In worlds beyond the sky.

“ ‘My father, shall I look above,  
 Amid this gathering gloom,  
 To Him whose promises of Love  
 Extend beyond the tomb?  
 Or curse the Being who hath blessed  
 This checkered heart of mine?  
 Must I embrace my mother’s faith,  
 Or die, my sire, in thine?’

“The frown upon that warrior brow  
 Passed like a cloud away,  
 And tears coursed down the rugged cheek,  
 That flowed not till that day.  
 ‘Not, not in mine,’ with choking voice,  
 The skeptic made reply—  
 ‘But in thy mother’s holy faith,  
 My daughter, may’st thou die.’”

With regard to the general character of Ethan Allen, the conspicuous and commendable traits upon which his fame rests were his unwavering patriotism, his love of freedom, his wisdom, his boldness, courage, energy, perseverance, his aptitude to command, his ability to inspire those under him with respect and confidence, his high sense of honor and probity and justice, his generosity and kindness and sympathy in the afflictions and sufferings of others. Opposed to these good qualities

were his self-sufficiency, his personal vanity, his occasional rashness and his sometimes harsh and vulgar language. All of these characteristic traits could be abundantly proved by well-known facts and authentic anecdotes. Many have formed the opinion that Ethan Allen was a barbarian, a well-nigh savage, that he was cruel and revengeful, and as a warrior, delighted in the massacre and destruction of his enemies; but such opinions are entirely erroneous. Instead of being cruel, he was a man of remarkably susceptible and tender feelings, and instead of seeking the lives of his enemies who fell into his power, there is no proof that he ever took the life of a human being with his own hand.

Ethan Allen, like all other men, had his good and bad qualities, his virtues and his vices, and these were all exhibited in him in bold relief, like the objects in a picture which is well wrought and true to nature. The lights and shades, the beauties and deformities of his character stand out with remarkable prominence and distinctness, and it is necessary to consider all these in connection, in order to form a true estimate of the man. Those who look only at his generosity, his honesty, his bravery, and his unconquerable love of freedom, will be disposed to regard him as a paragon of great and god-like qualities; while others who look chiefly at his self-confidence, his personal vanity and his often profane and vulgar language, will regard him as the personification of vice and meanness. Allen's character, as a whole, was not unlike that of our native mountain forest scenery. It was wild and uncultivated, and at the same time exhibited much of the sublime and beautiful. We find in it

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very much to approve and admire, and not a little to condemn and despise. We are at one time surprised and astonished at his heroism and magnanimity, and at another disgusted and made ashamed by his profanity and vulgarity. Or, he may be compared to the stately oak, growing in all its luxuriance and majesty in the midst of our native forests, and whose form was never made symmetrical by the judicious application of the pruning knife, whose asperities were never removed by the hand of cultivation; the roughness and extravagance of his character were only the natural excrescences which resulted from the uncommon vigor of his growth.

Vermont is indebted for her independence and the establishment of her government mainly to three individuals; these were Ethan and Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden. Thos. Chittenden was her chief magistrate, Ira Allen, her diplomatist and Ethan Allen her military chieftain. Each deserves honorable commemoration by the state, especially the first and last. As Washington was the father of his country so was Thomas Chittenden the father of Vermont, and as Washington was a terror to the enemies of American Independence, so was Ethan Allen a terror to the enemies of Vermont.

In considering the various events in the life of Colonel Allen, we must concede that he was a staunch friend of his country, a brave soldier, a good citizen and an honest and just man. To the poor his hand was ever open, and in behalf of the oppressed, his energies were ever directed. He was, in brief, of that class of men who freely offered up their all in defense of the liberties of this now happy and prosperous nation, and as such, his

deeds and his fame are associated with all our political and civil privileges and blessings.

Washington's masterly knowledge of human nature gives value to this brief portrait of Allen. Immediately on being released from captivity Colonel Allen, visited Washington at Valley Forge. Shortly thereafter Washington addressed the Congress in regard to Allen as follows:

“His fortitude and firmness seem to have placed him out of the reach of misfortune. There is an original something about him that commands admiration, and his long captivity and sufferings have only served to increase, if possible, his enthusiastic zeal. He appears very desirous of rendering his services to the States and of being employed, and at the same time he does not display any ambition for high rank.”

Senator Edmunds of Vermont says: “Colonel Ethan Allen was a man of gifts rather than acquirements, although he was not by any means deficient in that knowledge obtained from reading and from intercourse with men. But it was the natural force of his character that made him eminent among the worthiest who founded the republic, and pre-eminent among those who founded the State of Vermont.”

Colonel John A. Graham, who knew Allen well the last two or three years of his life, published a book in England a few years after Allen's death, and therein says: “Ethan Allen was a man of extraordinary character. He possessed great talents but was deficient in education. In all his dealings he displayed the strictest sense of honor, integrity and uprightness.”

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The Honorable Daniel P. Thompson attributes to him "wisdom, aptitude to command, ability to inspire respect and confidence, a high sense of honor, generosity and kindness."

Jared Sparks calls him "brave, generous, consistent, true to his friends, true to his country, seeking at all times to promote the best interests of mankind."

Governor Hiland Hall says: "He acquired much information by reading and observation. His knowledge of the political situation of the state and country was general and accurate. As a writer, he was ready, clear and forcible. His style attracted and fixed attention and inspired confidence in his sincerity and justice."

John Jay speaks of Allen's writings as having "wit, quaintness and impudence."

In all the trying scenes of his life; in all the vicissitudes of a long and cruel captivity, Allen was never forgetful of the rights of his fellow men, or of the cause of his country's liberty. He nobly spurned, the honors which were offered him to join the royal standard, as unworthy of the principles which governed him. He stood firm in his resolution to see his country free or die in its defense. The last years of his life were spent in Burlington, Vermont, where he pursued the avocation of a farmer. Several letters written by him and his father Ira during that period are still preserved. From them it appears that on account of a partial failure of the crops and the great ingress of settlers into that part of the country, there was a distressing scarcity of food, both for man and beast. Colonel Ebenezer Allen, who commanded a

company of rangers during the Revolution and who rendered himself famous by many daring exploits, was at this time located at the place now called Allen's Point. He and Ethan were on terms of intimacy, and hay being scarce in the winter of 1789, and Ethan's supply being short, Ebenezer told him that if he would come over to the island with his team and make him a visit, he would furnish him with a load of hay on his return. Accordingly on the 10th of February, Ethan, with his sleigh and a span of horses and his colored driver, crossed over on the ice to the island. Ebenezer invited in some neighbors, who were old acquaintances of Ethan's, and the afternoon and evening were passed very agreeably in recalling past incidents and telling stories. Ethan had intended to return in the evening, and the hay was loaded and in readiness, but on account of the urgency of Ebenezer, he remained till nearly morning, when he got upon the load of hay and with his driver started for his home in Burlington. The driver called to him several times on the way, but received no answer; he did not suspect that anything unusual was the matter until he arrived at Ethan's residence. He then went to his master and found him dead, or in a fit, from which he shortly afterward died. Ira Allen in a letter to Levi (then in London), says, in relation to this event: "I arrived at Burlington on the 12th of February and was surprised with the solemn news of the death of General Allen, who departed this life that day in a fit of apoplexy. On the 16th his remains were interred with the honors of war. His military friends from Bennington and parts adjacent attended, and the procession was truly

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solemn and numerous." His remains rest in a pleasant valley near the little city of Winooski on the banks of the beautiful Winooski river, where his grave is surrounded by those of many of his kindred. His burial place is marked by a marble slab on which is the following inscription:

The  
Corporeal Part  
of

GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN

Rests beneath this stone

The 12th day of February, 1789,

Aged 52 Years.

His spirit tried the mercies of his God,  
In whom he believed, and strongly trusted.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### CORRESPONDENCE—STATE PAPERS—DOCUMENTS.

The character of Ethan Allen is so plainly manifest all through this narrative, which, is to a large extent a memoir, that little need be said in conclusion. A few letters, state papers, etc., that have been overlooked in the general discussion may, with propriety, form the concluding chapter of the life story of one of the most striking characters that the Revolution produced.

The following letters written by Colonel Allen furnish us with additional information on the taking of Fort Ticonderoga, which makes the incident stand out more vividly for twentieth century readers, few among whom remember little more than the name of this hero of Green Mountain fame:

Ticonderoga, May 11, 1775.

To the Massachusetts Congress:

Gentlemen:—I have to inform you with pleasure unfelt before, that on break of day of the 10th of May, 1775, by the order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, I took the fortress of Ticonderoga by storm. The soldiery was composed of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. The latter was under the command of Colonel James Easton,

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who behaved with great zeal and fortitude not only in council, but in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury, that they so terrified the King's Troops that they durst not fire on their assailants, and our soldiery was agreeably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancor when they leaped into the Fort; and it must be confessed that the Colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that Fortress, as well as John Brown, Esq., Attorney at Law, who was also an able counselor, and was personally in the attack. I expect the Colonies will maintain this Fort. As to the cannon and warlike stores, I hope they may serve the cause of liberty instead of tyranny, and I humbly implore your assistance in immediately assisting the Government of Connecticut in establishing a garrison in the reduced premises. Colonel Easton will inform you at large.

From, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

Ticonderoga, May 12th, 1775.

To the Honorable Congress of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay or Council of War.

Honorable Sirs:—I make you a present of a major, a captain, and two lieutenants in the regular establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston, and particularly for Captain Brown of Rhode Island. A party of men under the command of Captain Herrick has taken possession of Skenesborough, imprisoned Major Skene, and seized a schooner of his. I expect in ten days' time

to have it rigged, manned, and armed with six or eight pieces of cannon, which, with the boats in our possession, I propose to make an attack on the armed sloop of George the Third, which is now cruising on Lake Champlain, and is about twice as big as the schooner. I hope in a short time to be authorized to acquaint your Honor that Lake Champlain and the fortifications thereon, are subject to the Colonies. The enterprise has been approved by the officers and the soldiery of the Green Mountain Boys, nor do I hesitate as to the success. I expect lives must be lost in the attack, as the commander of George's sloop is a man of courage, etc. I conclude Captain Warner is by this time in possession of Crown Point, the ordinance, stores, etc. I conclude Governor Carleton will exert himself to oppose us, and command the Lake, etc. Messrs. Hickok, Halsey and Nichols have the charge of conducting the officers to Hartford. These gentlemen have been very assiduous and active in the late expedition. I depend upon your Honor's aid and assistance in a situation so contiguous to Canada. I subscribe myself your Honor's ever faithful, most obedient and humble servant.

ETHAN ALLEN.

At present Commander of Ticonderoga.

To the Honorable Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., Captain  
General and Governor of the Colony of Connecticut.

St. Johns', May 18th, 1775.

To Mr. James Morrison and the Merchants that are  
friendly to the Cause of Liberty in Montreal.

Gentlemen: I have the pleasure to acquaint you that

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Lakes George and Champlain, with the fortresses, artillery, etc, particularly the armed sloop of George the Third, with all water carriages of these lakes, are now in possession of the Colonies. I expect the English merchants, as well as all virtuously disposed gentlemen will be in the interest of the Colonies. The advanced guard of the army is now at St. Johns' and desire immediately to have a personal interview with you. Your immediate assistance as to provisions, ammunition, and spirituous liquors is wanted and forthwith expected, not as a donation, for I am empowered by the Colonies to purchase the same; and I desire you would forthwith and without further notice prepare for the use of the army those articles to the amount of five hundred pounds, and deliver the same to me at St. Johns,'or at least a part of it, almost instantaneously, as the soldiers press on faster than provisions.

I need not inform you that my directions from the Colonies are, not to contend with or in any way injure or molest the Canadians or Indians; but on the other hand, treat them with the greatest friendship and kindness. You will be pleased to communicate the same to them, and some of you immediately visit me at this place, while others are active in delivering the provisions.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

On May 24th, 1775, Allen addressed the following letter to the Indians of Canada:

## Headquarters of the Army, Crown Point.

By advice of council of the officers, I recommend our trusty and well-beloved friend and brother, Captain Abraham Ninham of Stockbridge, as our ambassador of peace to our good brother Indians of the four tribes, viz., the Hoenaurigoes, the Surgaches, the Canesdaugas and the Saint Fransawas.

Loving brothers and friends, I have to inform you that George the Third, King of England, has made war with the English colonies in America, who have ever until now been his good subjects, and sent his army and killed some of your good friends and brothers at Boston, in the Prince of the Massachusetts Bay. Then your good brothers in that Province, and in all the Colonies of English America, made war with King George and have begun to kill the men of his army, and have taken Ticonderoga and Crown Point from him, and all the artillery, and also a great sloop which was at St. Johns', and all the boats in the lake, and have raised and are raising two great armies; one is destined for Boston, and the other for the fortresses and department of Lake Champlain, to fight the King's troops that oppose the Colonies from Canada; and as King George's soldiers killed our brothers and friends in a time of peace, I hope, as Indians are good and honest men, you will not fight for King George against your friends in America, as they have done you no wrong, and desire to live with you as brothers. You know it is good for my warriors and Indians too, to kill the Regulars, because they first begun to kill our brothers in this country without cause.

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I was always a friend to the Indians, and have hunted with them many times, and know how to shoot and ambush like Indians, and am a great hunter. I want to have your warriors come and see me, and help me fight the King's regular troops. You know they stand all along close together rank and file, and my men will fight as the Indians do, and I want your warriors to join with me and my warriors like brothers and ambush the regulars; if you will, I will give you money, blankets, tomahawks, knives, paint and anything there is in the army, just like brothers; and I will go with you into the woods to scout, and my men and your men will sleep together and eat and drink together, and fight Regulars because they first killed our brothers and will fight against us; therefore I want our brother Indians to help us fight, for I know Indians are good warriors and can fight well in the bush.

Ye know my warriors must fight, but if you, our brother Indians, do not fight on either side, we will still be friends and brothers; and you may come and hunt in our woods, and come with your canoes in the lake, and let us have venison at our forest on the lake, and have rum, bread, and what you want, and be like brothers. I have sent our friend Winthrop Hoit to treat with you on our behalf in friendship. You know him, for he has lived with you, and is your adopted son, and is a good man; Captain Ninham of Stockbridge and he will tell you about the whole matter more than I can write. I hope your warriors will come and see me. So I bid all my brother Indians farewell.

ETHAN ALLEN,  
Colonel of the Green Mountain Boys.

On May 29th, 1775, from Crown Point, Allen addressed the Continental Congress as follows:

An abstract of the action of Congress has just come to hand: and though it approves of the taking the fortress on Lake Champlain and the artillery, etc., I am, nevertheless, much surprised that your Honors should recommend it to us to remove the artillery to the south end of Lake George, and there to make a stand; the consequences of which must ruin the frontiersettlements, which are extended at least one hundred miles to the northward from that place. Probably your Honors were not informed of these settlements, which consist of several thousand families who are seated on that tract of country, called the New Hampshire Grants. Those inhabitants, by making those valuable acquisitions for the Colonies, have incensed Governor Carleton and all the ministerial party in Canada against them; and provided they should, after all their good service in behalf of their country, be neglected and left exposed, they will be of all men the most consummately miserably.

If the King's troops be again in possession of Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, and command the Lake, the Indians and Canadians will be much more inclined to join with them and make incursions into the heart of our country. But the Colonies are now in possession and in actual command of the Lake, having taken the armed sloop from George the Third, which was cruising in the Lake, also seized a schooner belonging to Major Skene at South Bay, and have armed and manned them both. The Canadians (all except the noblesse) and also the Indians appear at present to be very friendly to us; and it

is my humble opinion that the more vigorous the Colonies push the war against the King's troops in Canada, the more friends we shall find in that country. Provided I had but 500 men with me at St. Johns' (18th May) when we took the King's sloop, I would have advanced to Montreal. Nothing strengthens our friends in Canada equal to our prosperity in taking the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and should the Colonies forthwith send an army of two or three thousand men and attack Montreal, we should have little to fear from the Canadians or Indians, and should easily make a conquest of that place, and set up the standard of liberty in the extensive province of Quebec, whose limit was enlarged purely to subvert the liberties of America. Striking such a blow would intimidate the tory party in Canada, the same as the commencement of the war at Boston intimidated the tories in the Colonies. They are a set of gentlemen that will not be converted by reason, but are easily wrought upon by fear.

By a council of war held on board the sloop the 27th inst., it was agreed to advance to Point Auferre with the sloop and schooner, and a number of armed boats well manned, and there make a stand, act on the defensive, and by all means command the lake and defend the frontiers. Point Auferre is about six miles this side of forty-five degrees north latitude, but if the wisdom of the Continental Congress should view the proposed invasion of the King's troops in Canada as premature and impolitic, nevertheless I humbly conceive, when your Honors come to the knowledge of the before-mentioned facts, you will at least establish some advantageous situ-



ation toward the northerly part of Lake Champlain, as a frontier, instead of the south promontory of George. Commanding the northerly part of the lake, puts it in our power to work our policy with the Canadians and Indians. We have made considerable proficiency this way already. Sundry tribes have been to visit us, and have returned to their tribes to use their influence in our favor. We have just sent Captain Graham Ninham, a Stockbridge Indian, as our ambassador of peace to the several tribes of Indians in Canada. He was accompanied by Mr. Winthrop Hoit, who has been a prisoner with the Indians and understands their tongue. I do not imagine, provided we command Lake Champlain, there will be any need of a war with the Canadians or Indians.

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Honorable Provincial Congress, New York.

Crownpoint, 2d of June, 1775.

Respectable Gentlemen: Before this time, you have, undoubtedly, received intelligence not only of the taking of the fortified places on Lake Champlain, and also the armed sloop and boats therein, and the taking possession of a schooner which is the property of Major Skene,—and armed and manned it, and of the conversion of them,—with a large train of artillery, to the defense of the liberty and constitutional rights of America. You have, likewise, undoubtedly, been informed that the expedition was undertaken at the special encouragement and request of a number of respectable gentlemen in the Colony of Connecticut. The pork forwarded to subsist the army, by your Honors' directions, evinces your approba-

tion of the procedure, and as it was a private expedition, and common fame reports that there are a number of overgrown tories in the province, your Honors will the readier excuse me in not first taking your advice in the matter, lest the enterprises might have been prevented by their treachery. It is here reported, that some of them have lately been savagely converted, and that others have lost their influence. If, in those achievements, there be anything honorary, the subjects of your government, viz., the New Hampshire settlers, are justly entitled to a large share, as they had a great majority of numbers of the soldiery, as well as the command in making acquisitions; and, as your Honors justify and approve the same, I desire and expect your Honors already have, or soon will, lay before the grand Continental Congress, the great disadvantage it must eventually be to the Colonies to evacuate Lake Champlain and give up to the enemies of our country those invaluable acquisitions, the key of either Canada or of our country, according as which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours as yet; and, provided the Colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men into Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them in the extensive Province of Quebec, except reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a diversion would weaken General Gage, or insure us of Canada. I wish in God, America would, at this critical juncture, exert herself agreeable to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry. She might rise, on eagles' wings, and mount up to glory, freedom and immortal honor if

she did know and exert her strength. Fame is now hovering over her head. A vast continent must now sink to slavery, freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame. I will lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men and a proper artillery, I will take Montreal; provided I could thus be furnished; and if an army could command the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec. This object should be pursued, though it should take ten thousand men to accomplish the end proposed, for England cannot spare but a certain number that are disciplined, and it is as long as it is broad, the more that are sent to Quebec, the less they can send to Boston or to any other part of the continent, and there will be this unspeakable advantage in directing the war into Canada, that instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us (as is wrongly suggested by many), it would unavoidably attain and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us, till we first help them, except in a passive or inactive manner. There are now but about seven hundred regular troops in Canada. I have lately had sundry conferences with the Indians; they are very friendly. Captain Abraham Ninham, a Stockbridge Indian and Mr. Winthrop Hoit, who has sundry years lived with the Cachnewagas, in the capacity of a prisoner, and was made an adopted son to a motherly squaw of that tribe, have both been gone ten days to treat with the Indians as our ambassadors of peace and friendship. I expect, in a few weeks, to hear from them. By them I sent a friendly letter to the Indians which Mr. Hoit can explain to them in Indian. The thing that

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so unites the temper of the Indians to us, is our taking the sovereignty of Lake Champlain. They have wit enough to make a good bargain, and stand by the strongest side; much the same may be said of the Canadians. They have no personal controversy with us, but act on political principles. If we evacuate Lake Champlain and retire to Lake George, Governor Carleton can and will by intrigue draw them into his interest. If we hold the supremacy we shall do the same, for cunning and power are but the same thing, be it exercised either by Carleton or by us; but cunning without power can hold no equal contest with that which is armed with it. It may be thought that to push an army into Canada would be too premature and imprudent; if so, I propose to make a stand at the Isle aux Noix, which the French fortified by entrenchment the last war, and greatly fatigued our enemy to take it. It is about fifteen miles this side of Saint Johns', and is an island in the river, on which a small artillery, placed, would command it. An establishment of a frontier so far north would not only better secure our own frontier, but put it into our power to better work our policy with the Canadians and Indians; or, if need be, to make incursions into the territory of Canada, the same as they could into our country, provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected headquarters at, or near, Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power to thus make incursions into Canada might probably be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do, even if the Canadians should prove more refractory than I think for. Lastly with submission, I would propose to your Honors to raise a small regiment

of rangers, which I could easily do, and that mostly in the counties of Albany and Charlotte, provided your Honors should think it expedient to grant commissions, and thus regulate and put the same under pay. Probably your Honors may think this an important proposal. It is truly, the first favor I ever asked of the Government; and if it be granted, I shall be zealously ambitious to conduct for the best good of my country, and the honor of the Government.

I subscribe myself, Gentlemen, with due respect, your Honors' most obedient, humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

P. S. Gentlemen, in the narrative contained in the enclosed was too materially omitted the valor and intrepidity of Colonel James Easton, and forty-six veteran soldiers from the Massachusetts Bay, who assisted in the taking of Ticonderoga. Colonel Easton is just returned from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay to this place, and expects he will soon have the command of a regiment from that province.

Yours, etc.,

ETHAN ALLEN.

Ticonderoga, the 4th of June, 1775.

To our worthy and respectable friends and country,  
and the French People of Canada.

GREETING

Friends and fellow-countrymen: You are, undoubtedly, more or less acquainted with the unnatural and unhappy controversy subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies, the particulars of which, in this letter,

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we do not expatiate upon, but refer your consideration to the justice and equitableness thereof, on the part of the colonies, to the former knowledge that you have had of this matter. We need only observe that the inhabitants of the colonies view the controversy, on their part, to be justifiable in the sight of God and all unprejudiced and honest men that have, or may have, opportunity and ability to examine into the merits of it. Upon this principle, those inhabitants determine to vindicate their cause, and maintain their natural and constitutional rights and liberties, at the expense of their lives and fortunes; but have not the least disposition to injure molest or in any way deprive our fellow subjects, the Canadians, of their liberty or property; nor have they any design to wage war against them; and from all intimations that the inhabitants of the said colonies have received from the Canadians, it has appeared that they were alike disposed for friendship and neutrality, and not at all disposed to take part with the King's troops in the present civil war, against the colonies. We were, nevertheless, surprised to hear that a number of about thirty Canadians attacked our reconnoitering party, consisting of four men—fired on them, and pursued them and obliged them to return the fire. This is the account of the party which have since arrived at Headquarters. We desire to know of any gentleman Canadian, the facts of the case, as one story is good till another is told. Our general orders to the soldiery was that they should not on pain of death, molest or kill any of your people, but if it shall appear, upon examination that our reconnoitering party commenced hostilities against your people,

they shall suffer agreeable to the sentence of a Court Martial, for our special orders from the colonies are to befriend and protect you if need be, so that if you desire their friendship, you are invited to embrace it, for nothing can be more undesirable to your friends in the colonies, than a war with their fellow subjects, the Canadians, or with the Indians. You are very sensible that war has already commenced between England and the colonies. Hostilities have already begun. To fight the King's troops has become a necessary and incumbent duty. The colonies cannot avoid it, but pray is it necessary that the Canadians and the inhabitants of the English colonies should butcher one another? God forbid! There is no controversy subsisting between you and them. Pray let old England and the colonies fight it out, and you, Canadians, stand by and see what an arm of flesh can do. We are apprehensive that the conduct of your people before complained of, had not a general approbation; and are still confident that your country, as such, will not wage war with the colonies or approve the aforesaid hostile conduct of your people, as we conceive it to be impolitic to the last degree, for the Canadians to enter into a bloody war without either a provocation or motive; and when at the same time, every motive of interest, virtue and honor, are ready at hand to dissuade you from it. In fine, we conclude Saint Luke, Captain McCoy, and other evil minded persons, whose interest and inclination it is that the Canadians and the people of those colonies should cut one another's throats, have enveigled some of the baser sort of your people to attack our said reconnoitering party. We expect, gentlemen, as to these

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particulars, you will in good time, inform us; and subscribe ourselves, your real friends.

ETHAN ALLEN, { At present, the principal commanders of  
JAMES EASTON, { the army.

A copy of the foregoing letter was, this day sent to Mr. Walker, our trusty friend, at Montreal, per favor of Mr. Jeffers, whose fidelity is unquestionable, and it is wholly left with Mr. Walker to make its contents the most public that he possibly can, whether by printing it and translating it into French, etc. We furthermore thought it expedient your Honors should have a copy communicated to you. Yours at command,

ETHAN ALLEN  
JAMES EASTMAN.

On June 9th Colonel Allen again addressed the Massachusetts Congress as follows;

These armed vessels are at present abundantly sufficient to command the Lake. The taking of these acquisitions has greatly attached the Canadians, and more especially the Indians, to our interest. They have no personal prejudice or controversy with the United Colonies, but act upon political principles and consequently are inclined to fall in with the strongest side. At present ours has the appearance of it; as there are at present but seven hundred regular troops in all the different parts of Canada. Add to this the consideration of the imperious and haughty conduct of the troops there should be no great difficulty in drawing the Canadians and Indians from them. Probably there may soon



be more troops from England sent there, but at present you may rely on it that Canada is in a weak and helpless condition. Two or three thousand men, conducted by intrepid commanders, would at this juncture make a conquest of the ministerial party in Canada with such additional numbers as may be supposed to vie with the reinforcements that may be sent from England. Such a plan would make a diversion in favor of the Massachusetts Bay, which has been too much burdened with the calamity that should be more general, as all partake of the salutary effects of their valor and merit in the defence of the liberties of America. I hope, gentlemen, you will use your influence in forwarding men, provisions, and every article for the army that may be thought necessary. Blankets, provisions and powder are scarce.

ETHAN ALLEN.

Ticonderoga, August 3, 1775.

Honored Sir:—General Schuyler exerts his utmost in building boats and making preparations for the army to advance, as I suppose, to St. Johns', etc. We have an insufficient store of provisions for such an undertaking though the projection is now universally approved. Provisions are hurrying forward, but not so fast as I could hope for. General Wooster's corps has not arrived. I fear there is some treachery among the New York tory party relative to forwarding the expedition, though I am confident that the General is faithful. No troops from New York, except some officers, have arrived, though it is given out that they will soon be here. The General tells me he does not want any more troops till more pro-

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visions come to hand, which he is hurrying and ordered the troops under General Wooster, part to be stationed in the meantime at Albany and part to mend the road from there to Lake George.

It is indeed an arduous work to furnish an army to prosecute an enterprise. In the interim, I am apprehensive, the enemy are forming one against us; witness the sailing of the transports and two men-of-war from Boston, as it is supposed for Quebec. Probably, it appears that the King's Troops are discouraged in making incursions into the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. Likely they will send part of their force to overawe the Canadians, and inveigle the Indians into their interest. I fear the Colonies have been too slow in their resolutions and preparations relative to this department; but hope they may still succeed.

Notwithstanding, my zeal and success in my country's cause, the old farmers on the New Hampshire Grants (who do not incline to go to war) have met in a committee meeting and in their nomination of officers for the regiment of Green Mountain Boys (who are quickly to be raised) have wholly omitted me; but as the commissions will come from the Continental Congress, I hope they will remember me, as I desire to remain in the service, and remain your Honors' most obedient and humble servant.

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Honorable Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut.

N. B. General Schuyler will transmit to your Honors a copy of the affidavits of two intelligent friends, who

have just arrived from Canada. I apprehend that what they have delivered is truth. I find myself in the favor of the officers of the Army and the young Green Mountain Boys. How the old men came to reject me I cannot conceive, inasmuch as I saved them from the encroachments of New York.

NOTE.—This same Jonathan Trumbull, it should be remembered, was the original "Brother Jonathan," Speaker of the House of Representatives, U. S. Senator and Governor of Connecticut.

St. TOURS, September, 20, 1775.

General Montgomery.

Excellent Sir: I am now in the parish of St. Tours, four leagues to the south; have two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms; as I march they gather fast. These are the objects of taking the vessels in Sorel and General Carleton. These objects I passed by to assist the army besieging St. Johns'. If this place be taken the country is ours; if we miscarry in this, all other achievements will profit but little. I am fearful our army may be too sickly, and that the siege may be hard; therefore choose to assist in conquering St. Johns', which of consequence, conquers the whole. You may rely on it that I shall join you in about three days with three hundred or more Canadian volunteers. I could raise one or two thousand in a week's time, but will first visit the army with a less number, and if necessary will go again recruiting. Those that used to be enemies to our cause come cap in hand to me, and I swear by the Lord I can raise three

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times the number of our army in Canada, provided you continue the siege; all depends on that. It is the advice of the officers with me, that I speedily repair to the army. God grant you wisdom, fortitude and every accomplishment of a victorious general; the eyes of all America, nay, of Europe, are, or will be, on the economy of this army, and the consequences attending it. I am your most obedient humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

P. S. I have purchased six hogsheads of rum, and sent a sergeant with a small party to deliver it at headquarters. Mr. Livingston, and others under him, will provide what fresh beef you need; as to bread and flour, I am forwarding what I can. You may rely on my utmost attention to this object, as well as raising auxiliaries. I know the ground is swampy and bad for raising batteries, but pray let no object of obstructions be insurmountable. The glory of a victory, which will be attended with such important consequences, will crown all our fatigue, risks and labors; to fail of victory will be an eternal disgrace; but to obtain it will elevate us on the wings of fame.

Yours, etc.,

ETHAN ALLEN.

General Prescott.

Honorable Sir:

In the wheel of transitory events I find myself a prisoner and in irons. Probably your Honor has certain reasons to me inconceivable, though I challenge an instance of this sort of economy of the Americans during the late war towards any officers of the crown. On my

part I have to assure your Honor that when I had the command I took Captain Delaplace and Lieutenant Felton, with the garrison, at Ticonderoga. I treated them with every rank of friendship and generosity, the evidence of which is notorious, even in Canada. I have only to add that I expect an honorable and humane treatment, as an officer of my rank should have, and subscribe myself your Honor's most obedient, humble servant.

ETHAN ALLEN.

It should be said to the praise of Allen, considering the scenes he had passed through, that on no occasion did he encourage or countenance laxness in government, or disobedience to the laws and magistrates, recognized as such by the people themselves. "Anyone who is acquainted with mankind and things, must know," says Allen, "that it is impossible to manage the political matters of the country without assistance of civil government. A large body of people destitute of it, is like a ship at sea without a helm or mariner, tossed by the impetuous waves. We could not enjoy domestic peace and security, set aside the consequences of a British war and the New York strife, without civil regulations. The last two considerations do, in the most striking manner, excite us to strengthen and confirm the government already set up by the authority of the people, which is the foundation of all temporal power, and from which the subjects of the State of Vermont have already received such signal advantages." These sentiments he repeatedly asserted, and even when he was stirring up strife, organ-

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izing so-called mobs in and about Bennington, declared it was in self-defence—the result of a necessity forced upon them by their enemies. He never ceased to urge submission to the laws, as essential to the prosperity and happiness of the community.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE ALLEN FAMILY.

The following unpublished lecture, delivered at Burlington, Vermont, by the Reverend Zadock Thompson, on the 16th day of March, 1852, has for us more than a passing interest, since it was delivered in the presence not only of many of the descendants of Ethan Allen, but many who knew him intimately. Notwithstanding the repetition (though in a condensed form) of the preceding chapter, Mr Thompson's address is here given almost in its entirety, to which is added short sketches of other members of the Allen family. Space forbids including many of the beautiful and noteworthy tributes to the brave and zealous Allen by the men and women who knew and loved him for his zeal and devotion to his country's liberty, and above all, to the section in which he resided. The poetic tributes, many exceedingly meritorious, and others possessing less merit, that have appeared from time to time, would be sufficient in themselves to make a volume little less pretentious than the present effort. One or two, however, are given, not because of especial merit, but because they were written more than a century ago, when the name and deeds of Ethan Allen had not yet passed into history:—

During the last few weeks you have had an opportunity of seeing and admiring the first heroic statue ever

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erected in Vermont. The subject of that statue is a name familiar to you all. There is no Vermonter who has not heard of the name and the fame of Ethan Allen. And, there are, perhaps, few who have not formed in their own minds an ideal of his personal appearance. And, I venture to say, that all who have long and carefully examined his statue, will admit that the artist, Mr. Kinney, our respected townsman, has embodied and presented to the eye the ideal in a most masterly manner.

And, while they remember Ethan Allen as the first of heroes, they will regard this, his statue, as alike honorable to him and to the mind which conceived and the hand which fashioned it. The subject and the author of this statue are both Vermonters, and they are both an honor to our State. The one is now beyond the reach of our personal attentions, the other is with us, and I trust he will receive from us, that honor and that patronage too, which he so justly merits. I hope in this case at least, the well-known saying of Poor Richard, that "Honor buys no meat in the market," will not be forgotten, and that it will also be remembered that in this world, creative genius must be nourished and supported by corporeal as well as intellectual sustenance.

Mr. Kinney spent some time in Burlington, in perfecting the work and exhibiting his statue of Ethan Allen. The statue was examined by several aged people, who had known Allen personally, and all pronounced it an excellent likeness of him.

The exhibition of Mr. Kinney's statue of Ethan Allen, has led me to think that some reminiscences of him and the Allen family might be acceptable at the present



time. I have therefore thrown together in a desultory manner, a few of the materials which I happen to have on hand, which relate to these subjects. Whenever we know or hear of a man who has distinguished himself any way considerably in the affairs of the world, we are always anxious to gain some information concerning his origin, his family, and particularly in regard to his childhood and youth; and to learn whether these shadowed forth those peculiar traits which were the characteristics of his maturer years. And hence, the first subjects which we expect to have presented to us in his biography are those of his parentage, his birth and his childhood. But upon none of these subjects do we find anything satisfactory in the published biographies or memoirs of Ethan Allen.

They all agree that he was born somewhere in Connecticut; but none of them seem to have any reliable information, either with regard to the place or the time of his birth. Indeed, they furnish scarcely any knowledge of him previous to his making himself conspicuous in the celebrated controversy between New York and the New Hampshire grants. And at that time he was about thirty years old, and as he died at the age of fifty-two, near three-fifths of his life is a blank in all the histories and memoirs of it. For myself, I should like exceedingly to see a minute history of Ethan Allen. The history of the last twenty years of his life is all interwoven with the history of Vermont, and is as familiar to the people as household words. And the characteristics which were so conspicuously manifested through this period, warrant the conclusion that there must have been

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something marked and peculiar in his character previous to his entering upon his public career. But the associates of his childhood and youth, have, with him, all gone to their graves. And however desirable it might be to trace minutely his early history, it is doubtless already too late to obtain material needful for a full and satisfactory biography of him. Still I believe that something might yet be done to supply this deficiency by suitable efforts. I have no doubt that many interesting and important facts and incidents in the early history of Ethan Allen, might yet be rescued from oblivion. A few of these which have never yet appeared in print, I am happy in having it in my power to supply. Having instituted a careful inquiry with regard to the time and place of his birth, I succeeded several years ago in obtaining from the town clerk of Litchfield, in the state of Connecticut, a certified copy of records in the town clerk's office in that town, from which I derive the following facts, viz.: That Joseph Allen, father of Ethan Allen, resided in that town in 1728, with his mother, Mercy Allen, who was then a widow; that on the 11th day of March, 1736, he was married to Mary Baker by the Reverend Anthony Stoddard of Woodbury.

Succeeding these facts in the records of the town of Litchfield, we here give the following statement, verbatim et literatim:

“Ethen Allen ye son of Joseph Allen and Mary, his wife, was born January ye 10th, 1737.” Litchfield, Cornwall, Salisbury, Roxbury, and, I think, Woodbury, Connecticut, have all been honored as the birthplace of Ethan Allen. But the records of the town of Litchfield, which

I have cited, make it certain that he was born there. Joseph Allen, the father of Ethan, removed with his family to Cornwall, Connecticut, about the year 1740, and in that town were most of his children born, and there he died on the 14th of April, 1755.

Soon after Joseph Allen's death, Heman, his second son, engaged in mercantile business in Salisbury, and after that period his house became the home of the family. Joseph Allen had six sons, of whom Ethan was the eldest. Their names were as follows in the order of their birth: Ethan, Heman, Levi, Zimri and Ira. He also had two daughters, Lydia and Lucy. Lydia married a Mr. Finch and lived and died in Goshen, Connecticut; Lucy married a Dr. Bebee, and lived and died in Sheffield, Mass. Heber and Zimri, unlike their brothers, never rendered themselves conspicuous in connection with political affairs. Heber died many years ago in Poultney, Vermont. He had two sons, Heber and Heman. Heber went into the western country and I know nothing further of his history. Heman, the late Hon. Heman Allen of Highgate, after the death of his father, was adopted into the family of his uncle Ira. Zimri died at Sheffield, Mass.

Heman Allen, the second son of Joseph Allen was, as already remarked, a respected merchant of Salisbury, Connecticut. He is represented to have been a man of more than ordinary natural abilities and of sound judgment, but cool and deliberate, free from the eccentricities and that impetuosity which was manifest in the character of several of his brothers. He never settled permanently in Vermont, but being engaged with his brothers in Vermont, in land speculations, he spent considerable time here

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about the period of the organization of our government, and was one of the delegates from Rutland to the convention which met at Westminster on the 15th of January, 1777, that declared the independence of Vermont. He afterwards returned to Salisbury, where he died, leaving a widow and one daughter, Lucinda, who afterwards became the wife of Moses Catlin, Esq., for many years and at the time of his death a respected inhabitant of Burlington. After the death of Heman Allen, his widow married a Mr. Wadhams, and resided in Goshen, Connecticut. And Mrs. Catlin, who died in Burlington a few years since much respected, was her daughter by her second marriage.

Levi Allen, the fourth son of Joseph Allen, if he was not the most remarkable, was certainly the most eccentric of the six brothers; and as his history is much less generally known, I will here allude to a few of the incidents of his life. A faithful biography of him would exhibit romance in real life as fully, perhaps, as that of any individual who ever lived. It was my good fortune some years ago to get possession of the greater part of the letters, journals and MSS. left by Levi Allen; among which were about thirty letters from Ira Allen; several from Ethan and many from other prominent individuals, besides numerous copies which he had preserved of his own letters. From these and other manuscripts I gathered the following facts: He was born in Cornwall, Connecticut, January 16th, 1745, and by his own acknowledgement, was a very obstinate and wayward youth. When he grew up, he, like his brothers, engaged in land speculations in Vermont, but did not come here to reside.

At the commencement of the Revolution, while his brothers engaged with ardor in the cause of liberty, and independence, he espoused the cause of the enemy, or in other words was a tory, and was advertised as such in the Connecticut Courant, and other newspapers, and was declared to be a man who was dangerous to the country. Being detected in supplying the British ships, which lay at Long Island, with provisions, he was arrested and confined as a prisoner in the jail at New London. At about this time, at the instigation and on the complaint of his brothers Ethan and Ira, his large estate in Vermont was advertised for sale, agreeably to the confiscation act of this state. After lying in jail six months and three days he obtained his enlargement, but by what means it was effected I have not been able to ascertain. He was, however, no sooner at his liberty than he sent to his brother Ethan a formal challenge to single combat with pistols. I do not find that Ethan took any notice of this challenge, but I find Levi, in one of his letters long afterwards, apologizing for him by saying: "I have no doubt he would have fought me, but all his friends jointly put in their arguments that Levi was only mad through long confinement, etc." Soon after Levi obtained his liberty he joined the British forces in South Carolina, and remained with the army till the close of the war in 1783. After the peace which established the independence of the United States, Levi Allen returned to the North, and being abused, as he thought, in attempting to collect some small debts in New England, he swore that he would not reside in the United States. He accordingly proceeded to Canada, where he purchased a house, and in 1789, after

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a residence of four years in Canada, he went to England on some commercial speculation, where he spent the most of three years. While there he took offense at something said to him by a Maj. Edward Jessup, and challenged to fight a duel. Jessup declined the challenge, whereupon Allen, in a note, proclaimed him to the world as a coward. I have in my possession a copy of the challenge and Jessup's reply in the original. After Levi Allen returned from England he had no permanent resting place, but called himself a citizen of the world. And notwithstanding his oath to the contrary, resided for the most part in Burlington. He made several journeys to Pennsylvania, where he had placed his daughter for education in the Bethlehem school, and to the Southern states to attend to his land speculations. In the fall of 1801 he died in Burlington and was, if I have been rightly informed the first person ever buried in the village graveyard. Whether there is any stone there that bears his name and marks the spot where he lies, I cannot say. I once searched, but searched in vain, to find one.

Levi Allen was in jail for debt at the time of his death. Under that interpretation of the law which claimed that by the removal of the body of the debtor, dead or alive, the debt was transferred; after his death, the village graveyard was surveyed and "laid out" before his burial, that he might be interred within the limits of the jail. Thus all question is removed as to his being the first person buried therein.

Ira Allen, the diplomatist and manager in civil affairs—the ablest and most successful speculator of the brothers,—with them at one time, claimed nearly all of the lands

for fifty miles along Lake Champlain. Ira probably did more toward the settlement and interests of this part of the country than any other man. By his unwearied efforts and profuse generosity the Vermont University was located in Burlington. He was the secretary of that well-nigh omnipotent body, the "Council of Safety," who recommended to the Council the confiscation of tory property to support the military forces of the state; he was the chief negotiator with the British in Canada, by which a large army was kept inactive on our northern frontier the last three years of the Revolution; and lastly he was the first treasurer of Vermont.

As already remarked, very few of the incidents of Ethan Allen's youth have been preserved and handed down to our time. But from what is known of him during that period, as well as from all traditions, it would appear that he was generally regarded as a bold, spirited and somewhat reckless young man, possessing unusual energy and independence of character; and that then, among the associates of his own age, he put himself forward, and was tacitly acknowledged as leader, a distinction to which he thought himself entitled at all periods of his life. It would appear that personal subordination on his own part never once entered into his thoughts. Much less did he feel any want of confidence in his own ability to plan, and execute, too, any enterprise which was within the sphere of human achievement.

About the year 1762, Ethan Allen was married to Miss Mary Bronson, of Woodbury, Connecticut. He resided with his family, first at Salisbury, and afterwards at Sheffield, Mass. He came to Vermont (then the New

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Hampshire Grants) about the year 1766, leaving his family at Sheffield, and from that time he regarded this state as his home. At the time Ethan Allen came to the New Hampshire grants, the controversy between the settlers and the claimants under New York had already commenced, and several actions had been brought in the courts at Albany, for the ejection of the settlers, under New Hampshire titles. Allen immediately espoused the cause of the settlers, and undertook their defense before the legal tribunals. He proceeded to New Hampshire where he procured the necessary documents. He then went to Connecticut, and engaged the services of Mr. Ingersoll, an eminent lawyer, and with these he appeared before the Court at Albany. But it was of no avail.

The causes had all been prejudged without regard to evidence, law or justice, and judgment was rendered in all cases against the defendants. Allen and his lawyer retired from the court, which was proceeding to annihilate the New Hampshire titles, to the lands of their employers; but they were waited on in the evening by Mr. Kemp, the King's attorney, and several lawyers and land speculators, who told Allen to go home and advise the settlers to make the best terms they could with their new landlords, signifying to him that might often prevails against right. Allen coolly replied, that the gods of the valleys were not the gods of the hills. Kemp asked an explanation, but Allen only answered that if he would accompany him to Bennington, the meaning of the phrase should be made clear. On Allen's return to Bennington, a convention of the settlers was called, their grievances discussed, and, although the whole number who had assembled did not



exceed 100 men, they formally resolved that they would defend their rights by force against the arbitrary proceedings of the colony of New York, since law and justice were denied them. And when the civil officers of New York came to the Grants, to carry into effect the decisions of their courts, they met with a determined opposition on the part of the settlers, and were not permitted to discharge their duties. The leading settlers were consequently indicted as rioters, and the New York sheriffs were sent to apprehend them. But these officers, as the writers of that period observe, were seized by the people and severely chastised with the twigs of the wilderness.

Ethan Allen was acknowledged everywhere by friends and foes to be the head and leader, the master spirit of the opposition to New York. He was, at all times, the resort and the confidence of the Green Mountain Boys, and the terror and dismay of the Yorkers. So great was their estimate of his power and influence, that the authorities of New York at first attempted to bribe him over to their interests, but failing in that, when they afterward offered rewards for the apprehension of the ring-leaders of the opposition on the Grants, the reward offered for Allen was £150, while only £50 was offered for either of the others.

There seems to be some difference of opinion with regard to the part taken by the noted Benedict Arnold in the capture of Ticonderoga. Dr. Williams and Ira Allen, in their histories of Vermont, both state that Arnold with the commission of colonel from the board of war in Massachusetts, arrived at Castleton before Allen left there with his Green Mountain Boys, and endeavored, without

success, to supplant him in the command of the expedition; and that the attempt was repeated on the morning of the 10th of May, just before they entered the fort; but that the troops decided that Allen should continue chief in command, and that Arnold might be second, with the privilege of entering the fort at Allen's left hand. On the other hand, Nathan Beeman, who was Allen's guide to the fort, asserts in the most positive terms, that Arnold did not accompany the expedition, was not present at the surrender of the fort, and that he did not arrive at Ticonderoga till some days after its capture. This statement of Mr. Beeman was confirmed by the late Mrs. Hitchcock, in a conversation I had with her on the subject several years ago. Allen, in his narrative, makes no mention of Arnold, till after the capture of Ticonderoga. From the time of the capture of the garrison at Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen considered himself enlisted in the cause of American freedom.

In regard to Allen's services and sufferings in the cause of his country, Congress conferred upon him the rank and emoluments of Lieutenant-colonel in the service of the United States; but he never after his captivity joined the continental army. But he engaged warmly in support of the government of Vermont, which had been organized during his absence, against the machinations of New York; and also in carrying on the negotiations with the British in Canada by which the operations of a powerful British army were three years paralyzed and rendered innocuous.

Allen was made brigadier-general of the state militia, and in 1783, at the requisition of the civil authority, led

over 100 Green Mountain Boys for the purpose of subjecting the disorganizing Yorkers in Guilford in the southeastern part of Windham county to the authority of Vermont. It was on that occasion that he put forth the following characteristic proclamation: "I, Ethan Allen, declare that unless the people of Guilford peacefully submit to the authority of Vermont, the town shall be made as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah."

Ethan Allen was twice married. By his first wife he had five children, one son and four daughters, all of whom were born, I think, before the family came to Vermont. The names of these children were Lorain, Joseph, Lucy, Mary Ann and Parmelia. Joseph died at Sheffield while his father was in captivity, being 11 years old. Lorain died unmarried, Lucy married the Hon. S. Hitchcock, and Parmelia married Eleazer W. Keyes, Esq., and these both resided and died at Burlington. Ethan's first wife died in Sunderland, in the early part of 1783, and was an excellent and pious woman. One of Ethan's few attempts at writing poetry was some lines on the death of his wife, published in the Bennington Gazette July 10th, 1783.

A monumental inscription for the tomb of Mary Allen, of Sunderland, wife of General Allen is said to have been written by him:

Farewell, my friends, this fleeting world, adieu,  
My residence no longer is with you,  
My children I commend to Heaven's care,  
And humbly raise my hopes above despair  
And conscious of a virtuous transient strife,  
Anticipate the joys of the next life;

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Yet such celestial and ecstatic bliss  
Is but in part conferred on us in this.  
Confiding in the power of God most high,  
His wisdom, goodness and infinity,  
Displayed, securely I resign my breath,  
To the cold, unrelenting stroke of death;  
Trusting that God, who gave me life before  
Will still preserve me, in a state much more  
Exalted mentally—beyond decay,  
In the blest regions of eternal day.

“From this poetry we might infer that Mars was no great favorite of the muses.”

Allen married his second wife in 1784. This marriage is thus pompously announced in the Vermont Gazette for February 21st of that year: “Married at Westminster, on the 9th of February, the Honorable General Ethan Allen, to the amiable Mrs. Lydia Buchanan, a lady possessing in an eminent degree every graceful qualification requisite to render the hymenial bonds felicitous.” There appears to have been a slight mistake in this announcement. The lady’s name was not Lydia, but Fanny. By his second marriage he had three children, Ethan A., Hannibal and one daughter, Fanny. Fanny, after she was grown up to womanhood, entered a nunnery in Canada, where she died. Hannibal and Ethan A. Allen both held offices in the United States Army. Hannibal died many years ago at Norfolk, Virginia, and his widow was not long since residing in the State of Michigan. Ethan A. Allen died in Norfolk County, Virginia, January 6th, 1845. He left one son, Ethan A. Allen, who now resides in the city of New York.

By a memorandum in the copy of the “Oracle of

Reason" in Ethan Allen's handwriting, it would appear that Ethan Allen was born January 21st, 1739; Fanny, his second wife, April 4th, 1760; married February 16th, 1784. Children: Fanny Allen, born November 13th, 1784; Ethan Voltaire, born February 3d, 1786; Hannibal, born November 24th, 1787. The difference between the ages of Ethan Allen and his second wife at the time of their marriage was 23 years,—he being 47 she 24. At the time of his death she was 29. She spent most of three years after his death with her mother at Westminster.

Ethan Allen's third daughter by his first wife, was Mary Ann. She died in Burlington about two years after the death of her father. When Ethan Allen lived on the Van Ness farm, horse teams were hardly known in this part of the country. Mrs. Forbes says there were three or four families near the lake shore, where Burlington village now is, and the settlement was called the Bay. When Ethan and his lady visited these families in the winter they used to ride in an ox sled, and it was with an ox sled that Ethan went over to Col. Ebenezer Allen's on the island for hay. She says that Ethan was alive, but in a fit, when the black man with the team arrived at home, and that he died at his house. Mrs. Stephen Law remembers her father was sent for and tried to bleed him, but without success, and he remained insensible till he died. Mr. Law practised extracting teeth and blood letting occasionally. The funeral was attended at Ira's in Colchester, and guns were fired over the grave, on the Burlington side of the river.

Heber Allen died in Poultney. He had five children,

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Heber, Sarah, Joseph, Lucy and Heman. Heber taught school in Milton, Georgia, and went west. Sarah married a Mr. Evarts, and settled in Georgia. Lucy married Orange Smith, and lived a while in Swanton, Vt. After Heber's death his widow kept house for Ira, until her death, about 1788. She was buried at the Falls. She says: "Ethan Allen was a man of remarkably tender feelings. The block house built by Ira Allen and Remember Baker, was southwest of Ira's log house, and nearer the river. Ethan's family came to Burlington about July, and lived at the Bay, at Mr. Collins', till after the birth of Hannibal, which was in November 24th, 1787."

In November, 1855, the Legislature of Vermont passed an act providing for the erection of a monument over Allen's grave at Burlington, which was completed in compliance with the act. It consists of a Tuscan column of granite, 42 feet in height and 4½ feet in diameter at its base, with a pedestal 6 feet square, in which are inserted four plates of white marble, having the following inscriptions, to wit:

(West side)—Vermont to Ethan Allen—born in Litchfield, Connecticut, 10th January, 1737, o. s.—died in Burlington, Vermont, 12th February, 1789—and buried near the site of this monument.

(South Side)—The leader of the Green Mountain Boys—in the surprise and capture of Ticonderoga, which he demanded "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."

A pamphlet containing the ceremonies of the erection of the monument has been published. Hon. F. E. Woodbridge delivered the oration, which eloquent tribute has

many times been re-read on national holidays and at the meetings of the State Historical Society, and numerous patriotic organizations.

THE GRAVE OF ALLEN.

“Upon Winooski’s pleasant shore  
Brave Allen sleeps.  
And there beneath the murmuring pine  
Is freedom’s consecrated shrine.  
And every patriot heart will swell  
. . . . .  
As bending o’er that lowly grave  
He pays his homage to the brave,  
. . . . .  
Then let it be our earnest aim,  
To cherish every noble name;  
That ages yet to come may read  
Each worthy name, each valiant deed,  
And know with what a fearless hand  
Our fathers struck for life and land.  
Their names are many: but among  
That matchless crowd, that fearless throng  
There’s one that shines for us alone,  
Whose deathless glory is our own.  
His memory then should ever be  
Dear to our hearts as liberty;  
And while our country has a name  
Let us preserve our Allen’s fame.”