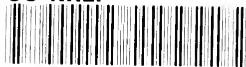
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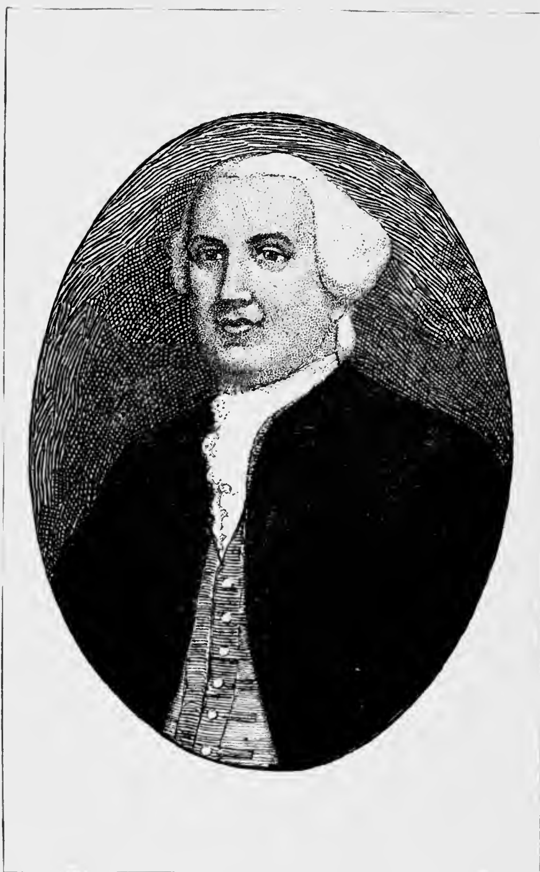

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

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SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

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FRANCIS BOWEN

JOSEPH WARREN

By

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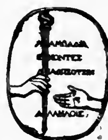

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LIFE

OF

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

BY

FRANCIS BOWEN

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

CHAPTER I.

His Birth and Early Occupation. — Goes to Boston as a Ship-Carpenter. — His Marriage — Visits England and obtains the Command of the Algier-Rose. — Unsuccessful Cruise. — Sent out again by the Duke of Albemarle. — Returns with a Spanish Treasure. — Receives the Honor of Knighthood.

It is often difficult for the historian to distinguish between rash adventure and well-concerted enterprise. Judging rather from success in the execution of a plan, than from the inventive genius and foresight displayed in its formation, mankind are apt to give to wild but fortunate daring the praise, which is due only to judgment, activity, and skill, even when unsuccessfully exerted. It has been well observed of Columbus, that, had he yielded to the entreaties of his crew but a few hours sooner than he had determined to do, his name, if it had survived at all, would have been remembered only as that of a half insane projector;

and the lives of many others, who have risen from obscurity and indigence to distinction and wealth, afford full proof, that the allotment of fame has been as arbitrary as the distribution of the other gifts of fortune. A mere accident has formed the turning point in the life of many an adventurer, and given him that success, which he had vainly sought in many better conceived endeavours.

The truth of these remarks is clearly shown in the life of one of the early governors of New England, — a man, who, in an age far less favorable than the present for the promotion of talent, sought his fortune in many schemes boldly planned and resolutely executed, and found it, at last, by fishing for ship-wrecked treasure among the rocks and shallows of the Spanish Main. But imperfect accounts of the early part of his career have been preserved; and these, from the strangeness of the incidents recorded, resemble rather the fragments of a nursery tale, than the materials of sober history. A narrative of his life may assist in doing justice to the character of the man, and throw perhaps some light on the features of the times in which he lived.

William Phips was born February 2d, 1651, at Woolwich, Maine, a small settlement near the mouth of the river Kennebec. His father, James Phips, a gunsmith by trade, emigrated from Bristol, England, at an early period in the history of

the colonies, and fixed his residence on the very borders of the settlements. He had twenty-six children, all of one mother, of whom twenty-one were sons. Of these, William was one of the youngest, and, by the death of his father, he was left at an early age to the exclusive management of his mother. The lowness of his parents' situation, and the dangers and hardships incident to their residence in a half-reclaimed wilderness, surrounded and frequently harassed by the natives, did not admit of their bestowing much care upon the education of their children.

While yet very young, without being taught even to read, William was employed in tending sheep, and he continued in this occupation till he was eighteen years of age. But this business was too easy and uniform to satisfy a boy of a restless and adventurous disposition. The sea was to be his element, and a sailor's life of wandering, novelty, and hardship, was the only one which possessed any attractions for his active temperament.

Even at this early period, the colonists had en gaged to some extent in navigation, to which, indeed, they were invited by the peculiarity of their situation, at so great a distance from the rest of the civilized world, and by the possession of the noblest harbors and navigable streams. The forests, which covered the banks of the rivers, offered facilities for ship-building, which were not allowed to

remain long unimproved. Unable to procure a situation on board a vessel, Phips apprenticed himself, as the next best resource, to a ship-carpenter, in whose employment, probably diversified by an occasional coasting trip, he remained for four years.

At the expiration of this time, his relatives would fain have persuaded him to settle among them, but, if we may credit his friend and biographer, Cotton Mather, some visions of future greatness had already visited his mind, and tempted him to seek, in a wider field of action, the fulfilment of his dreams. He would privately hint to his friends, that he was born for greater matters; and, as the best means of putting himself in the way of fortune, he removed, in 1673, to Boston. At this place, he worked at his trade about a year, and employed his leisure hours in learning to read and write. Here also he had the address or good fortune to recommend himself to the notice of a fair widow, and, by marrying her soon after, laid the foundation of his future success in life.

His wife was the widow of a merchant by the name of Hull, and the daughter of Captain Roger Spencer, a person who had once possessed considerable property, but had lost the greater portion of it by misplaced confidence. The wife of Phips had the advantage of him, both in years and fortune; and the world, which, in such cases, is apt to

suspect the existence of mercenary motives in one of the parties, was not, perhaps, in this particular instance, much mistaken in its conjecture.

The marriage, however, seems to have been a happy one. The lady was pleased with his person and address; he did not dislike her fortune, and was not disposed to complain of her other qualifications; and if he remained abroad during a considerable portion of the rest of his life, we may well consider the calls of his profession and a roving disposition as a sufficient reason for his wanderings, without supposing that there was any want of peace and comfort at home.

The addition to his pecuniary means enabled him to extend his business; and he entered into a contract with some merchants of Boston to build them a vessel on Sheepscot river, at a place a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Kennebec. Having launched the ship, he engaged to procure a lading of lumber, and return to Boston. But unforeseen circumstances prevented the completion of this design.

The Eastern Indians, either from the imprudent conduct of the settlers, or the incitements of the French, had always looked with a jealous eye upon the English settlements in Maine. The frequent outbreak of hostilities was followed only by a hollow peace, sure to be broken whenever the natives had recovered their spirits after a defeat

or found an opportunity for striking a cruel blow upon an unguarded village. Such an event occurred immediately after Phips had launched his vessel. The attack of the savages caused the immediate flight of the defenceless inhabitants, and they took refuge on board the ship, which was yet in the stream. Thus compelled to relinquish his purpose of obtaining a cargo of lumber, Phips immediately sailed away, and conveyed the distressed people, free of charge, to Boston.

The interruption of his plans by this incident caused considerable derangement in his affairs, and it is not unlikely, that for some time he felt the sharp pressure of pecuniary difficulties. But his sanguine temperament preserved him from despondency; and it appears, indeed, that his dreams of future success were most frequent, when present embarrassments were at their height. We are told, that he would frequently console his wife with the assurance, that he should yet obtain the command of a King's ship, and become the owner "of a fair brick house in the *Green Lane* of North Boston." How much of the quaintness of these expectations is to be attributed to the man, and how much to the biographer, we cannot determine. He had ingenuity enough to form magnificent schemes, and, as his subsequent history proves, credulity sufficient to mistake his own sanguine anticipations for mysterious presentiments.

The realization of these golden hopes was post-poned for a length of time, which, on a less san guine mind, must have produced all the bitter effects of entire disappointment. Hardly any account is preserved of his history for the next ten years. They were probably spent mostly at Boston, in the industrious exercise of his profession as a ship-builder, and in short trading voyages, attended only with such success as was sufficient to preserve him from want, and diversified by the creation of projects, which perished either in the formation, or in the earliest stages of execution.

It was not till about the year 1684, that a prospect of obtaining wealth, if not distinction, was opened to him; and that came from a quarter, to which few men but himself would ever have dreamed of looking. We cannot tell how much judgment he manifested in embarking in such a scheme, without regarding the peculiar light in which such enterprises appeared to the men of his own times.

The sudden influx of wealth into Spain, during the sixteenth century, from her colonies in the West India Islands and South America, had a strange effect in heating the imaginations and exciting the cupidity of all the nations of Europe, who, at that time, had paid any attention to maritime affairs. This effect was increased by the peculiarly brilliant and tempting form, in which the wealth was

displayed. It consisted not so much in the increase of territory and in the extension of commerce, as in the actual importation of large quantities of bullion and coin. As the first in the field, the Spaniards enjoyed the entire command of these sources of affluence, and the subjects of other European powers could share the gains only by secret, contraband expeditions, or by open war and piracy.

The skill and daring of British seamen made them foremost in such attempts, and their success was sufficient to dazzle, though not enrich, the nation at large. The half piratical expeditions of Drake and Raleigh were only the most important in a series of such enterprises. Englishmen also had a large share in the wealth and guilt of the Buccaneers; and strange stories were current among the vulgar, concerning the wild adventures of men, who returned to their country after a long absence, and made the most ostentatious display of their riches. The ordinary means of gaining wealth appeared tame and insipid, compared with a daring enterprise for acquiring heaps of Spanish gold by the plunder of villages, or the capture of

> "argosies with portly sail,
> The signiors and rich burghers of the flood."

At a comparatively late period, the reputation of persons even of high rank was affected by some of these proceedings. The connexion of the Earl of

Bellamont, and of Lords Rumney and Somers, with the voyage of the celebrated Kidd, has never been fully explained. For private individuals to make a mere commercial enterprise of a project, not to commit piracy, but to bring pirates to justice, to take shares in such an attempt, and agree upon a division of the profits, was, to say the least, a rather singular course. Indeed, the whole history of this daring pirate's career, of the objects for which he was despatched, and of the instructions which he received, is enveloped in mystery.

The success of the Spaniards at the South excited the most confident expectations among the English people of discovering mines of the precious metals also in the Northern part of the American continent. The mania of hunting for gold and silver gave rise to the scheme of the Virginia colony; and subsequently, by diverting the attention of the colonists from agriculture and the other arts, by which alone an infant settlement could be maintained, the same cause nearly proved its ruin. Even when repeated disappointments had shown the futility of such expectations, individuals were found credulous enough, on the slightest encouragement, to renew the search for mines with the same eagerness, with which the attempt had formerly been prosecuted by the whole colony.

At the close of the seventeenth century, though the supply of precious metals from the Spanish

colonies had materially diminished, exaggerated stories were circulated, especially among seafaring men, of the immense wealth which was transported in galleons from the New to the Old World; and an occasional account of a wreck excited wild hopes of recovering the lost treasure, even from the bottom of the ocean.

A report of the wreck of a Spanish vessel, somewhere about the Bahamas, reached the ears of Phips, and induced him to make a voyage thither, in a small vessel, which he owned and commanded. He succeeded in finding the wreck, though the value of what was recovered from it, proved insufficient to defray the expense of the voyage. He was told, however, of another and more richly laden vessel, which had been wrecked near Port de la Plata, more than half a century before.

Unable from his own slender means to prosecute the search, he resolved upon a voyage to England, in the hope of inducing the government to fit out an expedition for the recovery of the treasure. He arrived in London in the year 1684, where he made such representations to the Admiralty, that, before the expiration of the year, he was appointed to the command of the Rose-Algier, a ship of eighteen guns and ninety-five men.

What circumstances favored his application, there are no means of ascertaining He must have

had the assistance of influential friends; otherwise, it is hardly probable, that a New England sea captain, of little education and no property, and who held no office under the crown, could have obtained the command of a national vessel, for such a Quixotic purpose, as a search after the wreck of a vessel which had been lost some fifty years before. Nor is it easy to perceive how he found patrons in London, or how his friends at home could assist him, since New-Englandmen could hardly have been in favor at the court of James the Second. We can account for the extraordinary success of Phips, only by supposing that his project was approved by the King himself, who was fond of naval enterprise, and who was pleased with the direct application of a blunt and gallant sailor. Subsequent events render it not unlikely, that Phips enjoyed the personal favor of the monarch.

The commission which he received, must have imposed upon him some other duties than the mere search after ship-wrecked treasure; for it was unlimited as to time, and was held by him during a two years' cruise in the West Indies, at the close of which period circumstances obliged him to return.

Unacquainted with the precise spot where the wreck was to be found, and unprovided with fit implements to prosecute the search, success in the

main object of the voyage could hardly have been expected. Great embarrassments were also experienced from the mutinous character of the crew. Sailors had been easily collected for a cruise, the express object of which was the acquirement of Spanish gold. But they were a motley and lawless set, unused to the restraints of a ship of war, and eager for an opportunity to realize the hopes, which had induced them to embark. Fatigued by severe duty, and weary of groping unsuccessfully for riches in the depths of the ocean, they at last openly demanded the relinquishment of their original purpose, and the use of the ship for a piratical expedition against the Spanish vessels and smaller settlements. But the courage and presence of mind of their commander enabled him to avoid the danger.

On one occasion, breaking out into open mutiny, the crew came armed to the quarter-deck, that they might compel the adoption of their measures. Though unarmed and taken by surprise, Phips contrived to secure two or three of the ringleaders, and to awe the rest into submission.

But a more dangerous and better concerted plot was soon afterwards formed. The ship had been brought to anchor at a small and uninhabited island, for the purpose of undergoing some repairs To admit of careening the vessel, a great part of the stores were removed, and placed under cover

in an encampment on the shore. The ship was then hove down by the side of a rock stretching out from the land, to which a small bridge was constructed, that afforded the means of passing to and fro.

Under the pretext of amusing themselves, the greater part of the crew retired to the woods at a short distance from the encampment, and there entered into an agreement to stand by each other in an attempt to seize the captain, and make off with the vessel. The plan was to return about seven o'clock that evening, to overpower Phips and the seven or eight men who were with him, and leave them to perish on the barren key, while the mutineers, who were about a hundred in number, were to make a piratical expedition to the South Sea. A mere chance discovered and defeated the conspiracy.

It occurred to the party that, in their contemplated voyage, they would need the services of the carpenter, who was still on board the vessel. Sending for him on some pretence, they acquainted him with their plan, and threatened him with instant death, if he did not join in its execution. He prevailed upon them, however, to grant him half an hour's delay to consider of the matter, and to permit him to return to the ship for the purpose of procuring his tools. Two or three of the seamen attended him to watch his motions. A few

minutes after he came on board, he pretended to be suddenly taken sick, and ran down, as if for some medicine, to the cabin, where he found the captain, and in a few words informed him of the danger. Phips immediately told him to return to the shore with the others, to appear to enter fully into their plan, and leave the rest with him.

No time was now to be lost, for it wanted but two hours of the moment fixed for the execution of the conspiracy. Calling round him the few that remained in the vessel, and finding them warm in their professions of fidelity, he commenced his preparations for defeating the project of the disaffected. A few of the ship's guns had been removed with the stores to the land, and planted in such a manner as to defend the tent. He caused the charges to be drawn from these, the guns themselves to be turned, and all the ammunition to be removed to the frigate. The bridge was then taken up, and the ship's guns loaded and trained so as to command all approaches to the encamp ment. The mutineers soon made their appear ance from the woods, but were hailed by Phips, who threatened to fire upon them if they came near the stores. The bridge was then again laid, and the few faithful hands set about transporting the articles from the land to the vessel. The others were obliged to remain at a distance, being told that they were to suffer the fate which they

had intended for the captain, and be abandoned to perish upon the island.

The prospect of such an end, and the impossibility of making any resistance, soon brought the crew to terms. They threw down their arms, protested that they had no cause for disaffection, but the refusal of the captain to accede to their piratical scheme; this they were now willing to abandon, and begged for permission to return to their duty. This request at length was granted, though suitable precautions were taken, by depriving them of their arms and keeping a strict watch while they remained in the vessel.

With such a crew, it was dangerous to spend any more time in the prosecution of the original design, and Phips accordingly weighed anchor and sailed to Jamaica. Here he discharged the greater part of the men, and shipped a small number of such other seamen as he found in port.

The search had thus far proved unsuccessful, from his imperfect knowledge of the circumstances under which the vessel was lost. With the view of obtaining further information, he sailed for Hispaniola, where he met with an old Spaniard, who pointed out to him the precise reef of rocks, a few leagues to the north of Port de la Plata, where the ship had been wrecked. Phips immediately proceeded to the spot, and examined it for some time, but still without success. Before he could satisfy

himself that the place was sufficiently explored, the condition of the Rose-Algier, which was out of repair and not more than half manned, obliged him to relinquish the attempt for the time, and return to England.

By the Admiralty he was received with greater favor, than, considering the ill success of his scheme, he could reasonably have expected. The energy which he had displayed, in executing the secondary objects of the voyage, and in defeating the mutinous designs of the crew, relieved him from any imputation of unskilfulness as a naval officer, though the government would not again intrust him with the command of a national vessel. Undismayed by failure, Phips renewed his solicitations for further aid, alleging the necessarily imperfect examination of the reef, on which there was every reason to hope that the wreck might be found. But the experiment already made was considered as having demonstrated the impracticability of the plan, and the application was unsuccessful.

Finding there was no hope of obtaining a ship of war, he endeavored to interest private individuals in the undertaking, and at last induced the Duke of Albemarle, in connexion with a few other gentlemen, to fit out a vessel and to give him the command. A patent was obtained from the King, giving to the associates an exclusive right to all

the wrecks that might be discovered for a number of years to come. A tender was provided for making short excursions in waters where they might not venture the ship; and, as the former failures were in great part attributed to the want of proper means of making submarine researches, some time was employed in constructing implements, which Phips contrived and partly executed with his own hands. No account is given of these contrivances; they consisted of nothing more, probably, than a few rough drags and hooks.

Having equipped his vessel, he sailed for Port de la Plata, where he arrived without accident. Here the first object was to build a stout boat, capable of carrying eight or ten oars, in making which Phips used the adze himself, in company with the crew. A number of the men, with some Indian divers, were then despatched in the tender, while the captain remained with the ship in port. Having anchored the tender at a convenient distance, the men proceeded in the boat to examine the rocks, which they were able to do with ease, from the calmness of the sea.

The reef was of a singular form, rising nearly to the surface, but the sides fell off so precipitously, that any ship striking upon them must, as it seemed, have bounded off and sunk in deep water. Hoping to find the wreck lodged on some projecting shelf, they rowed round the reef several times,

and sent down the divers at different places. The water was clear, and the men hung over the sides of the boat, and strained their eyes in gazing downwards to discover, if possible, some fragment of the ship. All was in vain, and they prepared to return to the tender. But just as they were leaving the reef, one of the men, perceiving some curious sea-plant growing in a crevice of the rocks, sent down one of the Indians to obtain it. When the diver returned, he told them that he had discovered a number of ship's guns lying in the same spot. Other divers were immediately sent down, and one soon brought up a large ingot of silver, worth from two to three hundred pounds sterling. Overjoyed at their success, they marked the spot with a buoy, and then returned with the boat and tender to the port.

Phips could not believe the story of their success, till they showed him the ingot, when he exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, we are all made." The whole crew were immediately set to work, and, in the course of a few days, they fished up treasure to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds. They had lighted, at first, on the part of the wreck where the bullion was stored, but they afterwards found the coin, which had been placed in bags among the ballast. It had remained there so long, that the bags were found covered with a calcareous incrustation of considerable thick

ness, which being broken open with irons, the pieces of eight showered out in great profusion. Besides the gold and silver, precious stones were found of considerable value.

In the course of the search, they were joined by one Adderley, a ship-master of Providence, who had been of some assistance to Phips in the former voyage, and who now met him by appointment in a small vessel. With his few hands, he contrived, in a day or two, to load his vessel with silver to the amount of several thousand pounds. This success fairly upset the reason of the poor Providence sea-captain, and, a year or two afterwards, he died in a state of insanity at Bermuda.

The failure of provisions obliged the party to think of departure, before the examination of the wreck was complete; the last day that the men were at work, they raised about twenty heavy lumps of silver. With the view of revisiting the spot and completing the work, an oath of secrecy was imposed upon Adderley and his men, and a promise exacted, that they would content themselves with what they had already acquired. But through the imprudence of these persons, the secret leaked out, the Bermudans visited the wreck, and when Phips returned, after the lapse of a year or two, it was found that every article of value had been removed.

Besides the want of provisions, other considera

tions induced the captain to hasten his departure The crew, though not so mutinously disposed as those who formerly manned the Rose-Algier, were by no means trustworthy; and the knowledge of such a vast treasure, yet contained in the ship, and which had been acquired by their own exertions, was enough to excite the cupidity of the men, and to induce them to attempt the seizure of the vessel. Every precaution was taken, by keeping a strict watch and promising the men, that, in addition to the stipulated wages, they should receive a portion of the profits, even if Phips should thereby be obliged to sacrifice his own share. Not daring to stop at any nearer port to obtain the necessary supplies, he sailed directly for England, where he arrived safe with his lading, in the course of the year 1687.

After making a division of the profits, and paying the promised gratuity to the seamen, there remained to Phips only about sixteen thousand pounds, though, as a token of satisfaction with his conduct, the Duke of Albemarle presented his wife with a gold cup of the value of a thousand pounds. The King was advised to seize the whole cargo, instead of the tenth part, which had been reserved by the patent, on the pretence, that the grant had been obtained only by the suppression of some information possessed by the parties. But King James refused to take such an ungenerous course

He avowed his entire satisfaction with the conduct of the enterprise, and declared, that Phips had displayed so much integrity and talent, that he should not henceforth want countenance. In consideration of the service done by him in bringing such a treasure into the country, and as an earnest of future favors, he received the honor of knighthood, and was requested to remain in England, with the promise of honorable employment in the public service.

But his home was still New England; and though he had never received much encouragement there, but, on the contrary, supposed he had good reason to complain of some of his countrymen, still, as the colony was now in a distressed state, and he was able to afford some aid, he was too patriotic to absent himself for ever from his native land. For the remainder of his life, his history is closely connected with that of the colonies.

CHAPTER II.

State of Affairs in New England. — Phips returns thither as High Sheriff. — Goes to England again. — Deposition of Andros at Boston. — Phips returns. — French and Indian War. — Successful Expedition against Acadia. — Particulars respecting the Plunder taken at Port Royal.

In 1687, the affairs of New England were in a most perturbed condition. The taking away of the charter of Massachusetts, in the previous year, had been followed by the appointment, as governor, of Sir Edmund Andros, a man well qualified, by his imperious temper and grasping disposition, to execute the arbitrary designs of the English court. The loss of the charter was held to involve the forfeiture of the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by the colonists, and to have subjected them entirely to the discretionary government of the crown.

No house of assembly was in future to be convoked, and the governor, with any four of the council, was empowered to make laws, and to levy such sums upon the people as were sufficient to meet the wants of the government, or to satisfy

the cupidity of himself and his adherents. It was no small aggravation of the loss of their privileges, that Edward Randolph, the old and constant enemy of the colonists, whose repeated complaints had supplied a pretext for the forfeiture of the charter, had been appointed one of the governor's council; and it was understood, that Andros relied chiefly upon his advice in the management of affairs

The former magistrates were removed from office, the freedom of the press was abridged by the appointment of a licenser, a tax of a penny on the pound was levied on all estates, exorbitant sums were exacted for fees; and, to crown the whole, the people were informed, that the titles to their estates were made void by the loss of the charter, under which they were granted, and could only be renewed by the payment of large fines. Some discretion was used, it is true, in the exercise of the power, which this declaration threw into the hands of the council, since its direct enforcement could only have ruined the colony. Notices were served from time to time upon the owners of large estates, requiring them to show cause, why the titles to their lands should not be vested in the crown; and, to avoid a trial before packed and subservient juries, the proprietors were glad to compound with the payment of a fourth or fifth part of the value of their property.

Such things were not endured without murmurs, and an attempt at redress. The people were generally peaceable, though a few persons were arrested and held to trial, on the significant charge of using disrespectful and rebellious language against his Majesty's government. Representations from private sources were made in England; but they were urged with little stress, from the want of an agent in London. At last Increase Mather, then president of Harvard College, was induced to undertake a voyage to England, to plead the cause of the colony in person. The governor and his agents used all their efforts to prevent the voyage, and a sham prosecution was got up by Randolph, that Mather might be arrested on the eve of embarking. But some of his parishioners carried him on board in the night, and in May, 1688, he arrived in England, where he found a zealous coöperator in Phips, who was still lingering about the court.

What little countenance Mather received from James the Second, is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the influence of Sir William, who now enjoyed considerable reputation at court, and some personal favor with the King. This assistance was not forgotten at a later period, when, from a change in their respective situations, Mather had an opportunity of repaying, with interest, the favors which he had received.

A petition was presented, praying "that the rights, which the people had to their freeholds, might be confirmed; and that no laws might be made, or moneys raised, without an assembly." This petition was referred to the Committee on Foreign Plantations; but the King absolutely refused to consider the article respecting the levying of taxes by act of assembly, and the committee would not propose it. On another occasion, upon an intimation that any request from him would be favorably received, Phips applied directly for a restoration of privileges to the colony; but the King replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William." Indeed, the successful war, which James had waged with the chartered rights of the English corporations, left hardly a ground of hope, that he would respect the privileges of the colonies, when a decree of the Court of Chancery had placed them entirely in his power.

Unable to succeed in his primary object, Sir William began to think of some other way, in which he might be useful to his country. A lucrative office under the Commissioners of the Navy was offered to him; but his domestic and patriotic feelings still pointed homeward, and he determined, probably with the advice of Mather, to apply for the office of sheriff of New England The power, which such an appointment would give him, over the selection of jurors, would enable him to

aid such of his countrymen as were obliged to defend, in a court of law, the titles to their estates.

By an application to the King, backed by a considerable expenditure of money, he succeeded in obtaining the office; and, with his commission in his pocket, he sailed in the summer of 1688, in company with Sir John Narborough, for New England. On his way thither, he visited the place where he had discovered the wreck; but, from reasons already mentioned, found nothing to repay the cost of another search.

On his arrival at Boston, he soon ascertained, that his patent as sheriff would not secure him the possession of the office, or enable him to oppose effectually the measures of Andros and his party. He gratified, however, his wife's ambition and his own, by building "the fair brick house in Green Lane," which he had promised her five years before, when his only fortune consisted in a sanguine and active temperament and an enterprising disposition. The name of Green Lane was subsequently changed, in compliment to him, to Charter Street. The house stood at the corner of this street and Salem Street. It was afterwards used as the "Asylum for Boys," and remained standing till within a few years, when it was pulled down to make room for modern improvements.

Sir William's ignorance of the forms of law, arising from his imperfect education, prevented his

prosecuting successfully a claim to office, which, in the hands of another, might have produced impor tant results. I find, on some documents of a later period, his signature, made with the awkward strokes and imperfectly formed letters of a child just learning to write. But his roving and adventurous life had given him that knowledge of mankind, and confidence in his own powers, which so frequently supply the loss of early opportunities. Without such qualities, he could hardly have sought and obtained, within the compass of a few years, the captaincy of a man-of-war and the office of high sheriff, and finally of governor of New England.

Not only were all his attempts to exercise the office of sheriff frustrated by the artifices and delays of the council, but, if we may credit Cotton Mather's account, an attempt was made by some creatures of the governor to assassinate him before his own door. But the story is not a probable one. Very likely it arose from some scuffle, in which the hasty disposition and sailor-like habits of Phips may have involved him. The policy of Andros seems to have been pacific enough, at least as far as actual outrage to the persons of individu als was concerned; and the advantage to be gained by removing a troublesome claimant for office was hardly sufficient to counterbalance the risk. His failure at home induced Sir William to make an

other voyage to England, where he arrived at the commencement of the year 1689.

The revolution had taken place, and he found his old patron in exile, and William and Mary on the throne. With the view, probably, of retaining the same interest in the American colonies, which he yet possessed in Ireland, the exiled monarch, through one of his adherents in London, offered Phips the government of New England. But Sir William showed both his good sense and patriotism by refusing it. With his knowledge of the disposition of the colonists, he must have foreseen the events, which actually occurred in Boston when they heard of the expedition of the Prince of Orange, and which would have made void his commission, before he could arrive to execute it. By remaining in London, and uniting his efforts to those of Mather and the other agents for the recovery of the charter, he had a fairer prospect of doing service to the colony, and ultimately obtaining some employment for himself.

News soon arrived from Massachusetts, which changed the grounds of application, and facilitated the exertions of the agents. Notwithstanding the efforts of Andros and his party, the colonists received early notice of the change in the English government.

A copy of the Prince of Orange's declaration was first obtained by way of Virginia; and, though

the governor imprisoned the man who brought it the people were apprized of the facts, and not a little agitation ensued. The more considerate among them were in favor of postponing any active measures, till they could hear of the settlement of affairs in the mother country. But the inhabitants of Boston could not be restrained. Rumors were circulated of the intention of the governor to suppress, by violent means, any symptoms of disturbance, and that the armament of the Rose frigate, which was then lying in the harbor, would be used for that purpose. Nearly all business ceased, the inhabitants collected in groups, and the governor, becoming alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, sheltered himself and a few of the council within the walls of the fort.

On the 18th of April, the explosion took place. The drums beat and the inhabitants collected together, probably without any concert among themselves. Companies of soldiers were organized, the officers of the frigate, who happened to be on shore, were seized, and a summons was sent to Andros, demanding the surrender of the fort. Unable to offer any effectual resistance, he submitted; and, before nightfall, the frigate was secured a provisional government formed, and the inhabitants, having gained their object without shedding a drop of blood, quietly dispersed. Bradstreet, the former governor under the old

charter, and the other magistrates, were soon persuaded to return to office.

A report of these proceedings, transmitted through the colony agents to the King, was favorably received, and a commission was issued, empowering the government to act under the provisions of the old charter, till the principles, on which colonial affairs were in future to be administered, could be definitively settled. Thus, instead of applying for a redress of present grievances, the agents had only to solicit a confirmation of existing privileges; and this gave them greater hopes of ultimate success. But the necessity of awaiting the action of Parliament, and the delays which were, intentionally perhaps, caused by King William, proved wearisome to Phips, who also felt the loss of that personal influence with the king which he formerly enjoyed. The condition of the colony, also, was now such, that he had a prospect of active employment at home, and he accordingly resolved on an immediate return.

He arrived in the summer of 1689, when an Indian war was raging on the frontiers. It had broken out the previous year, and had been aggravated by the inefficient prosecution of it by the former government. Though entirely unacquainted with military affairs, the hope of being engaged in the management of this war had induced Sir William to return, and he soon made an offer of his services to Governor Bradstreet

In the mean time, he contracted an intimacy with Cotton Mather, whose advice seems to have had much influence over him during the remainder of his life. By attendance on the spiritual instructions of Mather, he was induced to make a public profession of his religious faith, and on the 23d of March, 1690, he became a member of the North Church in Boston. Previously however, he was obliged to receive the rite of baptism; and, on occasion of this ceremony being performed, he handed to the clergyman a paper, which was afterwards published. A portion of it is here inserted, not only on account of the confirmation which it gives of the history of his early life, but as the only authentic production of his own pen, which I have been able to find. Some suspicion would rest upon the authenticity even of this piece, did not Cotton Mather declare, that the original was in Sir William's own handwriting and that he had not altered a word in copying it.

"The first of God's making me sensible of my sins was in the year 1674, by hearing your father preach concerning '*The day of trouble near.*' I did then begin to think what I should do to be saved, and did bewail my youthful days, which I had spent in vain; I did think that I would begin to mind the things of God. Being then some time under your father's ministry, much troubled with my burden, but thinking on the scripture, '*Come*

unto me, you that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' I had some thoughts of drawing as near to the communion of the Lord Jesus as I could. But the ruins which the Indian wars brought on my affairs, and the entanglements which my following the sea laid upon me, hindered my pursuing the welfare of my own soul as I ought to have done.

"At length, God was pleased to smile upon my outward concerns. The various providences, both merciful and afflictive, which attended me in my travels, were sanctified unto me, to make me acknowledge God in all my ways. I have diverse times been in danger of my life, and I have been brought to see, that I owe my life to Him that has given a life so often to me. I have had great offers made me in England, but the churches of New England were those which my heart was most set upon. I knew, that if God had a people anywhere, it was here; and I resolved to rise and fall with them. My being born in a part of the country, where I had not in my infancy enjoyed the first sacrament of the New Testament, has been something of a stumblingblock unto me. That I may make sure of better things, I now offer myself unto the communion of this church of the Lord Jesus."

The circumstances in which Sir William was now placed, the possession of family and friends,

of considerable reputation, and of a competent fortune, would have disposed most other men to quiet enjoyment and a life of ease. But he had acquired his fortune by adventure, and he could not enjoy it in domestic privacy. In conversation with Mather, he frequently expressed his feelings on this point.

"I have no need," he would say, "to look after any further advantages for myself in this world; I may sit still at home, if I will, and enjoy my ease for the rest of my life; but I believe that I should offend God in doing so; for I am now in the prime of my age and strength, and, I thank God, I can endure hardship. He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 't is my duty to venture my life in doing good, before a useless old age comes upon me. Wherefore I will now expose myself where I am able, and as far as I am able, for the service of my country; I was born for others, as well as for myself."

There is good sense and good feeling in these remarks; and, if they do not prove that his sole object in his future active life was to benefit his countrymen, they show, at least, that he was able to appreciate honorable motives, and prepared to make considerable sacrifices, when duty called The exigencies of the war soon opened a fair field for honorable exertion.

The hostilities with the natives, besides the terror

excited by the common barbarities of such a war, had now become more alarming from the fact, that the French coöperated with the Indians, supplied them with arms, and instigated them to more extensive operations. The successful labors of the Roman Catholic priests had given them great power over the savages, a power which they did not hesitate to turn to political purposes, and which frustrated all attempts of the English to divert the chiefs from their alliance with the French, and to induce them to form a separate peace.

The winter of 1690 was signalized by the capture of Schenectady in New York, and Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, the destruction of which places was accompanied by circumstances even of unusual atrocity; while the capture of Fort Pemmaquid, in Maine, rendered the situation of the settlements in that quarter extremely dangerous.

Since the kind of partisan warfare, which had heretofore been practised against the savages, proved insufficient against the combined efforts of the French and Indians, the colonists were induced to attempt the capture of the places whence the enemy obtained their supplies. Port Royal, the capital of the French province of Acadia, was conveniently situated for carrying on intercourse with the Eastern Indians, and for affording a shelter to the privateers, which annoyed the English shipping, and, occasionally, the smaller settlements on the coast.

The province had been in possession of the French more than thirty years; a small fort had been erected for the security of Port Royal; and from the advantageous situation of the place for carrying on a trade in lumber and fish, the population of that and the other settlements had increased to six or seven thousand. But so little apprehension was felt of the ability of the English tc conduct against it an enterprise by sea, that a force only of sixty men was maintained in the fort.

In fact, the resources of the English had been so much exhausted in the unsuccessful prosecution of the war by Andros, that it was deemed impracticable to make any attempt upon the place at the public charge. It was thought, however, that the prospect of obtaining considerable plunder, and the advantages that would accrue from an exclusive privilege of trading from the place after it was captured, would induce private individuals to undertake the enterprise; and as early as the 4th of January, 1690, the following order was passed by the General Court. "For the encouragement of such gentlemen and merchants of this colony as shall undertake to reduce Penobscot, St. John's, and Port Royal, it is ordered, that they shall have two sloops of war for three or four months at free cost, and all the profits which they can make from our French enemies, and the trade of the places which they may take, till there be other orders

given from their Majesties." This was an extension of the privateering system to the land service, which it would be hard to reconcile with the principles of nice morality. But the exigencies of the case, and the peculiar nature of a French and Indian war required, if they did not justify, such a course.

This offer engaged the attention of Sir William Phips, and finally induced him to embark in the enterprise himself, and to use all his exertions to persuade others to follow his example. In this he was unsuccessful. Such a commercial speculation was of too novel and daring a character, to suit merchants less fond of adventure than himself. But the annoyance caused by the enemy, soon proved so serious, that it was resolved to make the attempt "at the public charge and with all speed." A committee was raised, and every means used to induce troops to volunteer for the service; but with no great success.

On the 22d of March, the General Court resolved that, "if, upon the encouragement given, men do not offer themselves voluntarily for the expedition against Nova Scotia and L'Acadie, the committee be empowered to impress men, as many as may be necessary, not exceeding five hundred. And, the Honorable Sir William Phips having offered himself to that service, he is desired to take the chief command of all the forces that shall be raised for

that expedition, and of the shipping and seamen employed therein." Authority was also given to impress merchant vessels for the transportation of the troops, and a sufficient number of seamen. By these means, a small fleet was prepared at Nantasket, of seven or eight vessels, having on board about seven hundred men.

Sir William's instructions were made out, signed by Governor Bradstreet, and delivered to him on the 18th of April. He was ordered "to take care that the worship of God be maintained and duly observed on board all the vessels; to offer the enemy fair terms upon summons, which if they obey, the said terms are to be duly observed; if not, you are to gain the best advantage you may, to assault, kill, and utterly extirpate the common enemy, and to burn and demolish their fortifications and shipping; having reduced that place, to proceed along the coast, for the reducing of the other places and plantations in the possession of the French into the obedience of the crown of England; to consult and advise with Captain William Johnson, Mr. Joshua Moody, Captain John Alden, and the other captains of the several companies, who are hereby constituted and appointed to be of your council."

Furnished with these instructions, Phips sailed from Nantasket on the 28th of April, and arrived at Port Royal on the 11th of May. The French

governor, M. de Meneval, was taken completely by surprise, and the condition of the town, which was situated upon the water's edge, exposed to the fire of the ships, and fortified only by a single palisade, together with the smallness of the garrison, precluded the idea of offering any effectual resistance. But the place held out till the troops landed, and an assault took place, when the governor agreed to surrender, on condition, as he afterwards asserted, that private property should be respected, and that the prisoners should be transported to some French port. If such promises were given, in one important particular they were certainly disregarded.

Sir William took possession in the name of the English government, demolished the fort, and administered the oath of allegiance to those of the French inhabitants, who chose to remain. He then appointed a governor of the town with a small garrison, and set sail on his return, carrying with him all the public property that could be found, and a considerable quantity of private effects. On his way home, he landed at the various settlements, and took formal possession of the seacoast from Port Royal to Penobscot. The whole province of Acadia was thus subdued, and remained in possession of the English till the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, when it was restored to the French.

During the absence of Phips, the Indians and Canadians had carried on the war with much success in Maine. In the early part of May, the fort at Casco was surprised, and more than a hun dred men taken prisoners. This was the strongest post in that quarter, and its loss compelled the weaker garrisons along the coast to fall back upon Saco, and ultimately upon Wells, leaving the whole Eastern country, either in actual possession of the enemy, or entirely defenceless. When the news of these events arrived at Boston, much alarm was excited. A small vessel was hastily prepared, and despatched with a letter from Governor Bradstreet to Sir William, ordering him to make a descent on Casco, annoy the enemy, and endeavour to rescue the captives.

The vessel, which carried this letter, unfortu nately missed the fleet from Port Royal, which arrived at Boston on the 30th of May, when it was too late to make any attempt upon Casco On his arrival, Sir William took his seat at the Board of Assistants, to which he had been elected two days before.

Immediately after the return of the shipping, an order was passed, appointing a committee to take charge of the property brought from Port Royal, to sell the same, and, from the proceeds, to defray the expenses of the expedition; should there be any surplus, to divide the same into two equal

parts, — one moiety to be reserved for the use of the colony, and the other to be applied to the benefit of the officers and soldiers, who had been engaged in the service.

The invoice, which was taken of the plunder, is still preserved among the papers in the office of the Secretary of State in Massachusetts, and a curious document it is. Many of the articles enumerated were undoubtedly public property, and, as such, subject to the chances of war. Others were evidently taken from private houses, and by the modern rules of warfare, whether the town surrendered on capitulation or not, ought to have remained untouched.

Among the articles enumerated, were seven hundred and forty pounds in gold and silver; twenty-one pieces of artillery, mostly four-pounders; fifty casks of brandy, twelve of claret wine; and a large quantity of flour. The miscellaneous articles were hastily packed in hogsheads; and the exact inventory, which was made of the contents of each cask, is equally amusing from the nature of the articles, and from the entire want of assortment in the packing. A brief specimen will suffice. "Twenty-four girdles; two caps; one hood; twenty-four canonical gowns; four more gowns with silver clasps and laced; beds and bedding; one white coat; two pair of shoes; one red waistcoat; fourteen old kettles, pots, and stew-

pans." The doughty band seem to have plundered even the kitchens.

The total proceeds were probably sufficient to pay all the cost of the armament, and to leave a considerable surplus.

Some unsuccessful attempts were made to re cover a portion of the property thus unjustly appropriated. After De Meneval had remained a prisoner of war in Boston nearly seven months, the following paper was transmitted by him to the Council.

"Seeing that Mr. Phips, and Madam his wife, have circulated a report, that every thing that was taken from me at Port Royal has been restored to me, I have thought it necessary to show the contrary to the Governor and the Gentlemen of his Council, that they may have the goodness to have justice done me, as regards my fair rights, such as I demand them, according to the present memoir; upon which, I pray them to let me be heard before them, by the means of a good and faithful interpreter; offering to prove by his writing, and by good English witnesses, that he made a capitulation with me, which it is just should be observed; in default of which, I protest for all damages and interest against him, who has done, or caused to be done, all the wrongs mentioned here below, which he is obliged to repair in strict justice, and according to the rules of war and reason."

A list is then given of articles taken from De Meneval himself, the most important item of which is the following; "four hundred and four pisto es, the balance of five hundred and four, which I confidently put into his hands." Fifty other articles are enumerated, mostly of silver plate, furniture, and wearing apparel. The paper goes on to say;

"Further, he ought to render an account of the silver, effects, and merchandise, in the warehouse of Mr. Perrot, who, as a citizen, could not be pillaged according to the capitulation; of the effects, money, and cattle of the inhabitants, who have been pillaged contrary to the promise given; of the money and effects of the soldiers, that have been taken from them; of the sacred vessels and ornaments of the church, and every thing that has been broken, and the money and effects of the priests.

"All which things I demand should be restored in virtue of my capitulation. Also, as is just, that their arms and liberty should be given to the soldiers of my garrison, and their passage to Quebec or France, as he promised me."

The request contained in the above paper seems reasonable enough, yet it was but partially granted I cannot find from the records of the Council, that De Meneval was admitted to the hearing which he claimed, or even allowed to adduce evidence of what was the most important fact, namely, that

the articles of capitulation guarantied the safety of private property. The only notice which the Council took of the paper, was to order the restoration of his chest and clothes, which still remained in the custody of Sir William. Some delay took place in the execution even of this resolve, as appears by a note from Governor Bradstreet to Phips, dated January 7th, 1691; in which he was reminded, that the order for delivery had been notified to him, yet the Frenchman had only the day before complained, that he had not received the clothes, of which he was in great want. The note contained a positive injunction, that the articles should be immediately given to their former owner.

The force sent against Port Royal was certainly sufficient to compel the garrison to surrender unconditionally. Had it done so, it might be unreasonable to censure, in strong terms, the seizure of private property. The French had universally adopted the practices of their Indian allies; and any severity at Acadia, short of actual massacre, would have been no more than fair retaliation for the cruelties suffered the preceding winter, by the defenceless people of Schenectady and other towns. Unluckily, it appears, that articles of capitulation were granted at the taking of Port Royal; and, consequently, that taking plunder from private persons was a shameful breach of the public faith.

Phips had received no military education, and seems to have had little idea of military honor. It is but fair to add, however, that the responsibility of the affair rests no more upon him, than upon the Governor and Council of the colony. The property was taken in their name, delivered to them, and by them retained to defray the cost of the expedition, though repeatedly demanded back by the French. The poverty of the colony at that time accounts for, though it does not justify such a proceeding.

There was little reason for the other complaints, respecting the unjust detention of the prisoners. The Council were anxious, in this respect, to redeem the pledges which had been given. Shortly after the return of the fleet, the following order was passed: "Whereas, the French soldiers, lately brought to this place from Port Royal, *did surrender on capitulation*, liberty is granted them to dispose themselves in such families as shall be willing to receive them, until there be opportunity to transport themselves to some of the French king's dominions in Europe." This order is dated June 14th, 1690, and we hear nothing more of the matter till October 18th, 1691. At this time, the Chevalier de Villebon, on occasion of restoring some English prisoners, complained that "Sir William Phips, against the rights of war, had carried away prisoners, M. de Meneval and fifty-nine

soldiers, after having given them his word to send them into some port of France;" and required, that the said men should be now returned.

This letter was not answered till the March following. It was then admitted, that such promise had been given; "but the men themselves voluntarily waved the performance of it, and of their own choice and desire were brought hither; where they have not been held prisoners, but left at their own liberty, to dispose of and transport themselves to France, or to the French plantations in the West Indies. Many have embraced the same, and are gone. The others we will now send."

CHAPTER III.

Naval Expedition under Phips against Quebec — Its Failure. — Disasters to a Part of the Fleet on its Return.

The complete success of the first considerable attempt against the French, encouraged the colonists to prosecute the design, which had been previously entertained, of an expedition against Lower Canada. The annoyance which they continued to experience from the Indians and their allies, proved that nothing could secure them entirely, but the capture of this last strong-hold of the enemy. The want of pecuniary means had hitherto proved an insurmountable obstacle, but the reduction of Acadia had shown that a war might be made to support itself. A number of men could be easily levied, and the want of arms and ammunition could be supplied by an application to the government of the mother country.

Could some English frigates also be obtained, to attack Quebec and Montreal by water, while the colonists should undertake an expedition over land, success seemed highly probable. Count Frontenac, it was true, still commanded at Que-

bec; and, though advanced in years, proofs had been received of his enterprising disposition and military talent. But the number of French, capable of bearing arms, was known to be relatively small; and, in the defence of a fortified town, little use could be made of their Indian allies. Despatch was all-important, both to prevent the French taking the alarm from the capture of Port Royal, and to protect the frontier settlements.

The first hint of the design is contained in a letter, dated April 1st, 1690, from Deputy-Governor Danforth to Sir H. Ashurst, the agent of the colonies in England, requesting him to obtain an immediate supply of powder and muskets. On the 28th of May, two days before the return of Phips, a bill for "the encouragement of volunteers for the expedition against Canada," passed the House of Deputies in Massachusetts. It appointed Sir William Phips commander-in-chief, and Major John Walley, his second in command. To induce men to enlist, it was ordered, that, in addition to the stated pay, "one just half part of all plunder, taken from the enemy, should be shared among the officers, soldiers, and seamen stores of war excepted."

On the 6th of June, a loan of several thousand pounds was authorized; and, to encourage persons to subscribe to this loan, the House voted, that, "besides the repayment of their money, after

all charges of the expedition were defrayed, and the proportion of plunder assigned to officers, seamen, and soldiers, the remainder should be equally divided between the country and the subscribers." The next day after the passage of this order, Sir William Phips, Major Elisha Hutchinson, and seven others, were "appointed a committee to manage and carry on the expedition against Quebec, and to impress ships and stores."

The resolutions given above are curious, as evincing the entire destitution of means, under which the inhabitants of Massachusetts, without any promise, hardly a reasonable hope, of obtaining assistance from England, resolved upon so important an expedition as that against Quebec. The colony was already in debt, and the taxes were as high as the people could bear. But Acadia had been acquired without expense to the country, and they trusted that Canada might be gained in the same way.

The prospect of plunder was an inexhaustible bank, and they drew upon it without hesitation or reserve. Exaggerated reports were spread of the wealth obtained by those who shared in the former expedition, and the expectation of serving under so successful a commander soon filled the ranks with volunteers. The government had not ships enough, and the merchants were unwilling to trust their property on so hazardous a venture;

but they were compelled to do so, by the order for impressment By the middle of July, a fleet of thirty-two vessels, having on board about twenty-two hundred men, was ready for departure.

Some delay intervened from the want of pilots, and the expectation of receiving from England a further supply of ammunition and arms The English seamen were not acquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and Capt. Alden, in the sloop Mary, had been despatched, on the 26th of June, to Port Royal, in the hope of finding there some seamen who had traded to Quebec, and would be qualified to act as pilots. He was unsuccessful, however; and, after waiting nearly a month for the expected supplies from England, the lateness of the season obliged the fleet to sail, relying on chance for their guidance up the river, and but scantily furnished with the munitions of war.

An arrangement had been made with the governors of New York and Connecticut, by which a land expedition from these colonies was to march in such season, as to appear before Montreal at the same time that the fleet under Phips threatened Quebec. Could this plan have been executed, it would have caused a division of the enemy's forces, and well nigh have ensured success.

Leisler the acting governor of New York, en-

tered zealously into the scheme. A force of a thousand men was raised, and the coöperation of fifteen hundred Indians of the Five Nations had been promised. But various difficulties interposed. Disputes arose between the commanders of the New York and Connecticut forces, which retarded the setting out of the troops. When they at last reached the borders of the Lake, it was found that the arrangements for providing boats had failed, and there were no means of transportation.

The emissaries of the French, also, were busy among the Indians, who began to desert in such numbers, that it was evident that the whites would soon be left alone. Under such circumstances, the commanders concluded to abandon the attempt, and the troops returned.

Sir William's fleet left Nantasket on the 9th of August. It was divided into three squadrons, the largest of which, consisting of thirteen sail, was commanded by Capt. Sugars in the *Six Friends*, a ship of forty-four guns and two hundred men. It was not a government vessel, but belonged to some merchants of Barbadoes. The two other divisions, of nine sail each, were commanded by Captains Gilbert and Eldridge, in the *Swan* and the *America Merchant*. A few small prizes were taken by the way, and a foolish parade was made of landing occasionally, and setting up the English

flag, on a barren and uninhabited coast. The end of the month arrived before they reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Ignorant of the channel, they were compelled to proceed with great caution, while adverse winds still farther delayed their progress. The small-pox, which prevailed in Boston at the time of their departure, had got into the fleet, and, together with fevers, was making considerable ravages among the troops. Some unnecessary delay was created by the vessels anchoring, that the officers might hold a council of war, to fix regulations for the conduct of the troops, and to settle the plan of attack; points which ought previously to have been determined, or have been left to the discretion of the commander-in-chief. They attempted to do this at the Isle of Percy; but a storm came on, the fleet was thrown into great confusion, and they were obliged to relinquish their purpose.

On the 23d of September, they came to anchor at Tadousack, where proper orders were drawn up and read in every vessel. On the 27th, they were within twenty-five leagues of the point of destination; yet, to pass this short distance occupied them till the 5th of October, when they appeared before Quebec.

From the state of the enemy's preparations, these several delays were peculiarly important, and probably saved the city. At the end of Sep-

tember, Frontenac was still at Montreal, actively employed in strengthening that place against the expected attack from the New York and Connecticut forces. He heard of the failure and return of these troops, and of the appearance of the fleet under Phips in the river, at the same time. Leaving M. de Callières to bring down as many of the inhabitants as possible, he hastily embarked what troops he had in boats, and rowed night and day to get to Quebec before the English. In three days he arrived, and immediately ordered the weakest points to be fortified, and batteries to be raised, though there were but twelve pieces of artillery in the place, and but little ammunition.

While they were at work on the fortifications, regular troops, militia, and confederate savages were continually coming in, till the garrison swelled to a number equal, if not superior, to the English force. La Hontan, a French writer, who was on the spot, asserts, that had Sir William effected a landing before the arrival of Frontenac, or even two days afterwards, he might have taken the city without striking a blow. There were then but two hundred regular troops in the place, which was open and exposed in every direction.*

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* Voyages du Baron de la Hontan dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Amsterdam, 1705. Vol. I. p. 298.

Hontan was born in Gascony, in 1666, and served in Canada, first as a soldier then as an officer. From

Instead of making an immediate attack, nothing was done on the day of arrival, probably because it was Sunday. On the 6th, a major in the army was despatched to the shore, with a summons to the governor to surrender.

The messenger was introduced blindfold into the presence of the governor, who was surrounded by his officers. When the letter had been read, Frontenac was so much irritated at what he termed its insolence, and so confident of his own power of resistance, that, as Hontan asserts, he threatened the life of the officer who brought the summons. He could not have been serious in such a threat; at any rate, the interference of the bishop and others prevented its execution. Frontenac then flung the letter in the messenger's face, and gave his answer, "That Sir William Phips and those with him were heretics and traitors, and had taken up with that usurper, the Prince of Orange, and had made a revolution; which if it had not been

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Canada he was sent to Newfoundland as king's lieutenant, where he quarrelled with the governor and was cashiered. He retired to Portugal, and afterwards lived for some time at Amsterdam and at Copenhagen.

The edition referred to is not the earliest, since a translation of the work appeared at London in 1703 Two other editions of the original were printed in Holland before the year 1710. An abridgment may be found in Harris's "Collection of Voyages and Travels, in two volumes, folio.

made, New England and the French had all been one; and that no other answer was to be expected from him, but what should be from the mouth of his cannon."

When the officer returned, it was found that the state of the tide did not permit a landing that day, and a council was accordingly held, and arrangements were made to disembark the troops on the morrow. The soldiers were to be put ashore on a beach, about three miles below Quebec, and would be obliged to cross a small river, before they could reach the town. After they had landed, the troops were to advance as far as possible, and encamp for the night. When the night tide served, the smaller vessels were to land a supply of provisions, ammunition, and pioneers' tools, while the boats of the fleet were to ascend the smaller river, to ferry the troops across.

The command of the forces on shore was given to Walley, on account of his greater military experience; while Sir William, with four of the largest ships, was to sail up the river, and commence a cannonade on the lower town. In case the party on shore should succeed in passing the river St. Charles, two hundred men were to be landed from the ships, under cover of the guns, and a simultaneous attack be made on the upper and lower town.

On the 7th, though the weather was tempestu

ous, they attempted to put this plan in execution. The smaller vessels got under way, so as to come near the shore, and all the boats of the squadron were prepared for landing the troops. But the wind blew with such violence, that the boats were entirely unmanageable, and it became evident, that to persevere would spoil their ammunition and endanger the lives of the men. A bark, commanded by Captain Savage, with sixty men, ran aground, and, as the tide fell, remained immovable within a short distance of the land.

The enemy, perceiving the accident, immediately lined the shore, and commenced a sharp fire of musketry, while a field-piece was conveyed from the town, and brought to bear upon the vessel. The situation of Savage was now extremely hazardous, for no boats could come to his assistance; and the larger vessels durst not approach, for fear also of taking the ground. But he defended himself with obstinacy, his men returning the enemy's fire under cover, and with greater effect. Sir William's flag-ship at last got so near, as to throw a few shot among the French, who immediately dispersed; and, at the turn of the tide, the bark floated off without material damage.

The next day, the attempt at landing was renewed with better success. The number of effective men had been so far reduced by sickness, that only about thirteen hundred were put on shore,

and some of these were unfit for hard service Each man took with him but three quarters of a pound of powder, about eighteen shot, and two biscuits, as they relied on a full supply at night The beach shelved so gradually, that the men were obliged to wade a considerable distance; and, as the cold was already severe, they landed wet, chilled, and dispirited.

At a short distance from the landing-place was a bog overgrown with wood, in which were stationed, according to the French account, about two hundred forest rangers, fifty officers, and a number of Indians. Walley's men were suffered to advance about half way into this thicket, when a galling fire was opened upon them in front, and on both flanks. This caused a cry of "Indians! Indians!" and for a few moments the troops were in great confusion. But the New-Englandmen of that day had been well trained to this species of bush-fighting, and, after the moment of surprise was past, the men formed with firmness, and pushed the French and savages before them in every direction. In this skirmish, the English acknowledge a loss of five killed and twenty wounded, while they killed about thirty of the enemy.

A small village was on the right; and as the enemy were there sheltered in the houses, and the troops had already spent nearly all their ammuni-

tion, the commander determined to advance no farther than to a solitary house and barn, situated in the outskirts of the wood, and to encamp for the night. It would have been better, under all circumstances, to occupy the village, and thus to obtain shelter from the weather. It was two o'clock in the afternoon when they landed, and so much time had been occupied in skirmishing, that night came on when they had advanced only a mile from the landing-place.

The barn had been set on fire in the confusion that ensued from driving a few skirmishers out of it, and the house could shelter only a few of the officers. The men were obliged to bivouac in the open air, as no coverings had been brought from the ships, and to build large fires, to dry their clothing and protect them from the cold. The winter had set in unusually early and severe, and, during the night, the ice formed of sufficient thickness to bear a man. Besides other discomforts, the men had no provisions but the few biscuits, which they brought with them, for the inhabitants had driven all their cattle to the woods beyond the village.

About midnight, according to the plan agreed upon, the small vessels came up the river; but, instead of the expected supplies, they landed only six brass field-pieces, which, in the present situation of the troops, were a mere incumbrance The

place at which they were to cross the St. Charles was still at a considerable distance, and the intervening ground was marshy and broken with many deep gullies. It was vain to think of drawing the artillery by hand, and they had no horses. A message was sent for more ammunition and provisions, but they could obtain only half a barrel of powder and a hundred weight of bullets.

The cause of this failure in the arrangements was the strange eagerness of the commander-in chief to have his share in the engagement. The council had resolved, that no attack should be made on the lower town, till the land troops had crossed the St. Charles, and were ready to assault the heights. But the troops were no sooner ashore, than Sir William, with the four large ships, sailed up to the city, and opened his fire. Hardly any damage was done; for the houses were mostly of stone, and the sides too thick for a ball to penetrate, while the fire was returned with considerable effect from a small battery, which the enemy hastily erected. The ships anchored about a musket-shot off, and cannonaded till dark, when they had spent all their powder, except two rounds apiece, and the larger vessels had received considerable injury in the hull. They were then compelled to drop down the river, the admiral's ship leaving behind its best bower anchor and cable.

Having fired away much of their powder against

the rocks, no supply could be sent to the troops on shore. On the morning of the 9th, it was found, that several of the men were disabled, from having their hands and feet frozen, and some others had sickened of the small-pox. A council of war was held, to hear the information communicated by a French deserter, who came over in the course of the night. He informed them, that all the French forces had been concentrated at Quebec, with the exception of fifty men, who were left at Montreal; that there were more than three thousand troops in the city, besides a force of about seven hundred, who were concealed in a swamp close at hand; and that a battery of eight guns had been raised, to prevent the English from crossing the river. The account was evidently exaggerated, and subsequent events made it appear not improbable, that the man had been despatched for the express purpose of deceiving them.

Walley seems to have been frightened, and rendered incapable of forming or executing any plan whatever. Instead of pushing directly for the river and attempting to force a passage, or of returning immediately to the ships, he merely shifted the place of encampment to a spot where the men were better sheltered, and there assumed the best posture he could for defending himself. Parties were sent out to gain intelligence, and procure

provisions; but they brought back little but fearful accounts of the strength and preparations of the enemy. A small quantity of spirits and a biscuit apiece for the men were procured from the ships.

The enemy did not venture a direct assault, for which they had not sufficient strength on that side of the river; but they harassed the troops with continual skirmishing, in which a number of men were lost on both sides. The French account acknowledges, that the English generally fought well, and attributes the want of success to their imperfect discipline, and the inefficiency, if not the cowardice, of their commander.

On the next day, the men still remaining in their encampment, it was resolved, that the commander should go on board, to communicate their situation to Sir William, and receive his orders for the future disposition of the troops. The message would have been more properly intrusted to a subaltern; but, through the whole affair, Walley seems to have manifested a particular wish to withdraw himself from the line of fire. Phips received from him a full, if not exaggerated account of their present difficulties, and of the obstacles that prevented an advance. The banks of the St. Charles were steep, and commanded by a heavy battery; and if they succeeded in forcing their way across, it would be necessary to attack a walled town, garrisoned by more than twice their number.

Under such circumstances, the commander-in-chief could not hesitate. Walley was ordered to draw his men back to the beach, and be in readiness to reëmbark on the following day.

While the commanders were still in conference, they were alarmed by the sound of sharp firing from the shore. Walley hastily returned, and found the troops actively engaged by the French and Indians, who had assaulted the camp. Major Savage, who was left in command, had maintained his ground for some time; but, finding that the men acted to disadvantage in the swamps and thickets, a retreat took place, and the enemy hung on the rear. The pursuit ceased when they reached the open ground, and the men remained where they were till midnight, when they silently withdrew to the beach, where they had landed.

On the next morning the enemy assembled in force in the adjoining thicket, and fired occasionally with artillery, which they had brought from the city. It was judged hazardous to embark in open day, in the presence of so large a force; especially as the men were now so much disheartened, that they rushed tumultuously to the water's edge, the moment the boats touched the beach. The boats were therefore ordered off till nightfall, and strong detachments were sent to drive the enemy from the woods in their immediate vicinity. This service was successfully performed, and the troops

remained unmolested during the rest of the day. At night, the troops were safely conveyed to the ships, though in the hurry of the moment the guns were forgotten, and five pieces were left on shore.

The cowardice and incompetency of Walley are sufficiently apparent from his own account. Instead of being the last man to leave the shore, he was among the first to embark; and that too, when, according to the French account (though he does not allude to the fact), the enemy were keeping up a constant fire, which was the cause of the great confusion that prevailed. His authority was insufficient to quell the disorder, and he catches at a trivial pretence for rowing off to the ships, leaving the men and artillery to their fate.

On the 12th a council of war was held, and various plans were discussed for renewing the attack. The men were too much exhausted to be put upon immediate service; but it was agreed to wait till they had recruited their strength, and then to be guided by circumstances. In the mean time, a boat was despatched to the shore to propose an exchange of prisoners; and seventeen men, who had been captured at Casco, were released in exchange for as many Frenchmen, who had fallen into the hands of the English. The possibility of another attempt was at once precluded by a violent storm, which drove many of the vessels from their anchorage, scattered the fleet, and obliged them al to make the best of their way out of the river

The causes of the failure of this unlucky expedition are but too apparent. The time lost, in waiting for a supply of ammunition from England, delayed the arrival of the expedition till the cold weather set in; Phips, from his want of judgment and of experience in military affairs, was little qualified for the direction of such an enterprise; and the second in command was a coward. Many complaints were made of the conduct of Walley, but no one interested himself as prosecutor, and the investigation was suffered to drop.

The return of the fleet was even more disastrous than the voyage out. The weather was tempestuous, and no efforts could keep the fleet together. One vessel was never heard of after the separation; another was wrecked, though the crew were saved; and the third, a fire-ship, was burnt at sea. Four ships were blown so far from the coast, that they did not reach Boston for five or six weeks after the arrival of Sir William, when they had been given up for lost.

CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties created by the Failure of the Canada Expedition. — Issue of Paper Money. — Phips goes to England. — Negotiations respecting the Renewal of the Charter. — New Charter granted, and Phips appointed Governor. — His Return, and Reception at Boston. — Salem Witchcraft.

The unfortunate issue of the expedition against Quebec threw the government of the colony into great embarrassment. They had relied entirely upon the success of the attempt, and upon the plunder, which would thereby be obtained, for money to pay the soldiers, and defray all other charges. The treasury had been drained by the cost of fitting out the fleet, and the soldiers were clamorous for their pay, when the government had not a shilling to give them.

Bills were passed, imposing extraordinary taxes, the returns of which, in two or three years, would be sufficient to meet all demands. But this could not satisfy the soldiers, whose necessities were pressing and immediate.

To relieve them, recourse was finally had to an expedient at that time novel. Bills of credit were

issued, which the faith of the colony was pledged to redeem. The notes were of various denominations, from two shillings up to ten pounds sterling; and as no greater amount was issued, than would be brought into the treasury in a year or two by the taxes, and as express provision was made, that these notes should be received, even at five per cent advance, in payment of the rates, it was hoped, that the paper would circulate, as of equal value with gold and silver.

Such, in fact, would have been the case, had the country at the time been under a more settled government. But the people fancied the loss of the old charter a greater evil than it really was. They had not yet recovered it, and the prospect of such an event seemed every day more distant. The authorities existed only by sufferance; and, as the King could at any time remove the sitting magistrates, or refuse to sanction their acts, no guaranty issued by them was considered as perfectly safe. Every expedient was tried to keep up the credit of the notes, but with imperfect success. Sir William Phips, enjoying a large private fortune, and conscious that a portion of the blame for the present embarrassments might be imputed to him, exchanged a large amount of gold and silver for the bills at par. Still the credit of the bills fell so low, that the holders of the paper could not obtain more than fourteen shillings in the pound

When the taxes came to be paid, the paper of course rose to the value, at which the government were pledged to receive it. This benefited the persons who held the notes at that time, but was a mere aggravation of injury to the poor soldier, who had been compelled to pass his notes at the depressed value.

In the coming winter, that of 1690 – 91, much injury was to be expected from the incursions of the Indians. Fortunately, the tribes at the eastward showed themselves disposed for peace. A party of them came to Wells with a flag of truce, and proposed, that there should be a cessation of hostilities for six months. Commissioners from the General Court were despatched to meet them; and, on the 29th of September, they agreed upon a truce till the 1st of May ensuing.

This treaty took away from Sir William Phips all hopes of employment in the public service. He resolved upon another visit to England, with the view of laying before the King himself the considerations in favor of another attempt to wrest from the French all their North American possessions. He accordingly embarked in the depth of winter, and after a tedious passage arrived at Bristol, whence he hastened to London.

He there offered the King his services in the command of a second expedition; and in a paper, which he presented, strongly urged the importance

and feasibility of the scheme. He represented, that the success of the design would give the English the exclusive benefit of the fur trade, and secure from farther injury the Hudson's Bay Company, several of whose factories had recently fallen into the hands of the enemy. It would also secure the Newfoundland fisheries, and materially increase the number of ships and seamen engaged in that business. But, if the French were allowed to keep possession of the country, the constantly increasing influence of the priests must finally engage all the Indians in their interest; a result, which would endanger the safety, not only of New England, but of all the American colonies.

The experience of half a century was required, before the English government could perceive the force of these arguments; and the enterprise was then undertaken and carried through, at an expense of blood and treasure a hundred-fold greater than what would have been necessary, had they yielded at the time to the representations of the colonists. But King William was too busy with the war in Holland, to think of an enterprise against so remote a province as Canada.

By renewing his intimacy with Increase Mather, who was still in London forwarding the application to restore the Massachusetts charter, Phips was again induced to lend his assistance, in the hope once more of establishing the rights of his country-

men on a permanent basis. The utmost anxiety was felt at home upon this subject, for the recollection of what had been suffered under the former governor was still fresh in the minds of all; and the fact, that Andros was not censured after he was sent to England, seemed to prove, that the King and ministers regarded his administration as severe, but not illegal.

The proceedings of the agents were embarrassed by the existence of two parties at home on this subject, and by a corresponding difference of opinion among themselves. Attached to the old form, under which the affairs of the colony had been so long administered, many of the people would hear of nothing but the restoration of the ancient charter; and, if this could not be obtained, they would accept no new form, which would abridge, though not destroy, their former privileges. They preferred to rely on the moderation of the court. Since the Revolution, the government had been conducted on the old principles; and, though this was confessedly a temporary arrangement, and dependent on the pleasure of the King, they hoped it would be allowed to continue. The old charter or none, all or nothing, was the motto of the party. Among the agents in London, Cooke, Oakes, and Wiswall were firmly attached to these sentiments.

A more moderate and rather more numerous party, though they preferred the old form, were

yet willing to compromise, and to accept a new charter, which would secure the enjoyment of their most important rights. The former instrument was defective, and contained no grant of certain powers, which were essential to the very existence of the colony. It did not authorize the grantees to inflict capital punishment, to constitute a house of representatives, to impose taxes, or to incorporate towns or colleges. These powers had indeed been assumed, yet without any authority in the terms of the charter. It would be folly, then, to appeal to the Court of Chancery. Though the former sentence of that court might be reversed, on the ground of some defect in legal forms, a new writ might at any time be issued, and the charter be again adjudged void in a legal manner. It was better, then, to purchase, by the relinquishment of a few privileges formerly assumed, the confirmation and establishment of the most important immunities. Such was the opinion of Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather, the other colony agents, and Sir William Phips, whose name had considerable weight, assented to their views.

The hope of recovering the old charter now appeared to be entirely fallacious. Even the draft of a new instrument, which conferred all the former privileges, except the election of their own governor, was at once rejected by the Privy Council. Mr. Mather and Sir William accordingly

united their efforts to procure a new charter, though they met with nothing but opposition from the other agents. Mather was introduced to the King by the Duke of Devonshire, on the 28th of April, 1691. Among other reasons for restoring the privileges formerly enjoyed, and for appointing a New England man as governor, he then urged the great exertions made by the colonists to enlarge the English dominions. The expedition to Canada was particularly referred to, as "a great and noble undertaking."

Two days after this conversation, the King signified to the agents, "that he believed it would be for the advantage of the people in that colony to be under a governor appointed by himself. Nevertheless, he would have the agents of New England nominate a person, that should be agreeable to the inclinations of the people there; and, notwithstanding this, he would have charter privileges restored and confirmed unto them." The King departed for Holland the day after giving this promise; and the attorney-general was ordered to draw up the heads of a charter on the principles which he had heard approved by his Majesty.

This draft was finished and presented some time in June, and received the approbation of the Council, though Mather protested strenuously against it, and declared he would rather die, than consent to that, or any thing else, by which the liberties of

his country would be infringed. But the Council treated his objections very cavalierly, telling him, that the agents were not the plenipotentiaries of a foreign state, and must submit, or take the conse quences. The Queen, however, was induced to interfere, and to write to the King requesting that the minutes might be altered, or that the matter might be deferred till his return. But his Majesty signified his pleasure, that the charter should conform to the principles drawn up in writing by the attorney-general; and all that the unwearied solici tations of Mather could effect, was that a few important articles should afterwards be inserted.

The question respecting the acceptance of the instrument, in this form, was debated with heat among the agents and in the colony. The opposition to it became the great cause of the unpopularity of the new governor, and formed a considerable impediment to the success of his administration.

Early in September, 1691, Mr. Mather was desired to give in his recommendation of a candidate for the office of governor. His own mind had long been made up, though many had applied to him. The fact that Sir William Phips was a native of New England, that he possessed a high rank and considerable estate, that he had already served the crown in several important capacities, and had obtained the favor of the King without forfeiting his popularity at home, pointed him

out as far the most eligible person for the office. His name was accordingly presented to the Council by Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather; and the latter, when he obtained an audience of his Majesty a few days afterwards, addressed him as follows.

"Sir, I do, in the behalf of New England, most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased by a charter, to restore English liberties unto them, to confirm them in their properties, and to grant them some peculiar privileges. I doubt not, but that your subjects there will demean themselves with that dutiful affection and loyalty to your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your favors towards them. And I do most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased to give leave unto those that are concerned for New England to nominate their governor.

"Sir William Phips has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council Board. He hath done a good service for the crown, by enlarging your dominions, and reducing Nova Scotia to your obedience. I know that he will faithfully serve your Majesty to the utmost of his capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a farther obligation on your subjects there."

A commission was accordingly prepared under

the great seal, by which Sir William Phips was appointed Captain-general and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Massachusetts-bay in New England. By the new charter, there were included under this title the whole of the Old Colony, also the Colony of new Plymouth, the Province of Maine, of Nova Scotia, and all the country between the two last-mentioned places, as far north as the River St. Lawrence. His commission also appointed him Captain-general of the Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Sir William was admitted with Mr. Mather to kiss the King's hand on his appointment on the 3d of January, 1692. Early in the spring, he sailed for New England in the *Nonsuch* frigate, and arrived at Boston in May.

The General Court, then in session, immediately, though with some opposition, passed a vote, appointing a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, "for granting a safe arrival to his Excellency our Governor, and the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavored the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favor and goodness."

On the Monday following his arrival, the new governor was conducted from his own house to the town-house by a large escort of military, and a number of the principal gentlemen of Boston and

the vicinity. The ceremony was opened with prayer by Mr. Allen, a minister of Boston. The charter was first read, then the governor's com mission, after which the venerable Governor Brad street resigned the chair. The commission of the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Stoughton, was read, and Sir William was then conducted with the same parade to a public dinner, and afterwards to his own house.

The affairs of the province were in a disorder ed state, and immediate action was required to defend it against the public enemy, and to settle some domestic troubles. The Indians, who had failed to perform their promise the year before, to come in at the conclusion of the truce and make a general treaty of peace, were now ravaging the frontiers, and the French privateers, which swarmed upon the sea-coast, gave great annoyance to the shipping.

With respect to internal affairs, it was necessary for the General Court to act immediately upon the statutes; for the colony laws under the old charter nad been annulled by the publication of the new. In the various proceedings on these subjects, the opposition party among the people, and in the Assembly, found little reason to complain of the conduct of their new governor. Either from embarrassment arising from the novelty of his situation, or from a wish to conciliate the favor of the

people in the outset, Sir William gave up the exercise of certain powers that belonged to him by the charter. Thus, at the first meeting of the council, for the appointment of civil officers, he permitted them to be nominated by the members present, he himself only voting on the question of their approval. But this practice would have materially lessened the influence of the office, and it was soon abandoned.

The representatives were treated in a manner no less conciliatory. Cotton Mather affirms, that he was accustomed to hold the following language towards them; and though, from such a reporter, the words themselves cannot be received as very authentic, they are sufficiently indicative of the general tenor of his administration. "Gentlemen, you may make yourselves as easy as you please for ever. Consider what may have any tendency to your welfare, and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer me, consistent with the honor and interest of the crown, I will pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you; had it not been for the sake of this, I had never accepted the government of this province; and whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall not desire one day longer to continue in the government."

The commencement of Sir William's adminis

tration was distinguished by a series of events, which left the darkest spot that rests upon the early history of New England. I refer to the prosecutions, which took place at Salem and other towns, for the supposed crime of witchcraft. After all the allowance, that can be made for the peculiar character of the times and the men, and for the blighting effect upon all natural feeling of a stern and unenlightened sense of religious duty, there will yet be cause to wonder at the infatuation, which could lead pious, learned, and well-meaning men so widely astray.

The history of this remarkable delusion falls not within the design of the present work. To trace Sir William's personal agency in the affair, and to ascertain his individual opinion on the subject of witchcraft, would be interesting, did any materials exist for such a purpose. But he was neither a journalist nor a letter-writer, and we are left to gather his opinions from the casual notice taken by contemporary writers of his public acts.

I have attributed the strength of the delusion and its lamentable consequences to religious feeling; and the fact, that the pastors of the churches had the principal share in creating the excitement, and in supplying matter for the prosecutions, seems to corroborate this statement. The first trial for witchcraft arose from some occurrences in the family of a clergyman; and Parris and

Noyes, ministers of Salem, and the Mathers, father and son, were most active in every stage of the proceedings. The laity also were engaged, but their zeal was fanned and directed by exhortation and instruction from the pulpit.

Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, who presided in the trials at Salem, was certainly an active prosecutor; but there is no evidence that the governor furthered the proceedings in any other way, than by sufferance. Sir William, however, was not a man of sufficient reflection and judgment, to form opinions contrary to the prevailing belief; and, as on all subjects he was much under the influence of Cotton Mather, it is not unlikely, that he agreed with his spiritual adviser on this point.

When Phips arrived with the new charter, the prisons were crowded with suspected witches, and his first act was one of evil omen to the accused. The jailers were ordered to put them all in irons. The government were driven upon this act by the outcries of the accusers, who, thinking the arrival of a new governor a fine opportunity to show their zeal, immediately complained, that they were afflicted by those in prison, though formerly, their sufferings had ceased upon the commitment of the guilty. Sir William seems not to have been in earnest in the proceeding; for the officers were permitted to evade the order, by put-

ting on the irons indeed, but taking them off again immediately.

The extravagance of the accusers had at last its proper effect, in opening the eyes of the public. Emboldened by success, they hesitated not to denounce all, of whatever rank or respectability in life, who dared to resist the prevailing opinion, or manifest any opposition to the proceedings Thus, they intimated, if they did not openly assert, that the lady of the governor was a witch. Hutchinson tells a story, on the authority of a manuscript letter, which supplies a reason for so strange a charge.

"In Sir William's absence," says the writer of the letter, "his lady, I suppose on account of her name's being Mary, (William and Mary,) was solicited for a favor in behalf of a woman committed by one of the judges, on accusation of witchcraft, by a formal warrant under his hand and seal, and in close prison for the trial the next assizes, then not far off. The good lady, *propriâ virtute*, granted and signed a warrant for the said woman's discharge, which was obeyed by the keeper, and the woman lives still, for aught I know. Truly I did not believe this story, till I saw a copy of the mittimus and discharge under the keeper's hand, attested a true copy, for which discovery the keeper was discharged from his trust, and put out of his employment, as he himself told me."

The whole delusion respecting the practice of witchcraft was as short-lived, as it was violent. Some time elapsed, before the clergy were able to perceive, or frank enough to acknowledge, their error. But the people were awakened by a sense of common danger; and, though a few infatuated individuals continued to urge prosecutions, the juries refused to convict. The last act of Sir William Phips, as governor of the country, was to issue a general pardon to all those, who had been convicted or accused of the offence. This act had particular reference to several individuals, who, in the heat of the excitement, had been charged with the crime and committed to prison, but through the connivance of the jailers, or the exertions of their friends, had made their escape, and taken refuge in a neighboring province

CHAPTER V

Legislative Acts. — Indian War. — Attack upon Wells. — Building of Fort William Henry. — Elections in May, 1693. — Unpopularity of Phips. — Peace concluded with the Indians at Pemaquid. — Phips quarrels with Short and Brenton. — Recalled to England. — His Death and Character.

When the officers under the new charter entered upon the performance of their duties, the affairs of the province were embarrassed, and the confusion was increased by the necessity of postponing much pressing business, till the excitement caused by the witchcraft affair had a little subsided. I have already said, that the old colonial laws were vacated by the provisions of the new charter. The General Court, which met in June, 1692, merely passed an act, that the former laws should continue in force till November of the same year, and then adjourned till the second Wednesday of October.

When they again assembled, no attempt was made to frame a body of laws, which might at once be transmitted to England for approval, and form a basis for all subsequent legislation; but acts were successively framed and passed, as the emergencies of the moment called for them Ac-

customed to legislate only on the basis of existing laws, the members of the Council and the Assembly were only confused by a call to frame, as it were, the government *de novo*, and the govern or had not the skill nor the information neces sary to direct them. Some of their laws were ap proved by the King, others were sent back for alteration, while the country suffered from the delay. The proceedings were further embarrassed by the existence of a large party opposed to Phips, who threw every obstacle they could in the way of the administration.

The old attachment to their liberties, and desire for their complete ratification, were conspicuous in the first actions of the House. What was called a law, (but it was rather a declaration of rights, for most of its provisions were copied from *Magna Charta*,) was passed at an early period, and despatched to England. It declared, that "no aid tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatever," should be laid, under any pretence, but by the act and consent of the Governor, Council, and Representatives assembled in General Court. This bill met with the fate, which might have been expected. It was disallowed by the King, as were also some laws for the punishment of crimes, which were drawn up too closely in the spirit of the Jewish code.

Meanwhile the frontiers were suffering under

the barbarities of an Indian war. It raged chiefly in the eastern part of the province, where the savages, recruited in strength the preceding year by a six months' truce, were now carrying it on with fresh vigor. Major Hutchinson, who commanded the English forces, was at Portsmouth; he had distributed his small body of troops along the frontier line, which had been much contracted by the loss of York.

Captain Converse, with fifteen men, was posted at Storer's garrison-house, in Wells. Early in June, two sloops came up the small river at that place, with fifteen men on board, bringing a supply of ammunition. On the 10th, the garrison was alarmed by the running of wounded cattle from the woods. Thus informed of the approach of the enemy, preparations were made to receive them, by bringing the sloops as near as possible to the garrison, and keeping a strict watch during the night. The enemy, who consisted of about four hundred French and Indians, commanded by Monsieur Labocree, commenced the assault early in the morning. They kept up the attack more than forty-eight hours, when they retired with the loss of their commander and a number of men; while the garrison had but one killed by a musket-shot, and one was taken prisoner in passing from the sloops to the fort, and tortured to death.

This attack upon Wells was the only considera-

ble attempt made by the enemy, in the course of the year; but, by lurking in the vicinity of the settlements, cutting off every straggler whom they met, and watching for an opportunity to surprise a village, they created more general alarm than they could have done, had they acted in concert on some open enterprise. Agriculture was necessarily abandoned, and the frontier men were obliged to confine themselves and their families to the stockades and garrison-houses.

To restore confidence to the settlers, and to curb the Indians by the establishment of a strong fort in the centre of the territory, which formed their field of operation, became an object of paramount importance. Orders to this effect had been received from England, and late in the summer the governor prepared to carry them into execution.

A site was chosen on a point of land projecting into Pemaquid river, and so near the mouth, as to command all access by this stream into the interior of the country. The river at this place is about forty rods wide, and the tides rise from fourteen to sixteen feet. Andros had caused a stockade fort to be erected on the spot, but the Indians had destroyed it in 1789.

In August, Governor Phips, attended by Major Church and four hundred and fifty men, embarked at Boston, and taking Falmouth in his course, to obtain some large guns, arrived at Pemaquid

The fort was constructed in a quadrangular form, and the walls were built of stone. It was named Fort William Henry. Leaving Captains Wing and Bancroft, with two companies, to finish the works, Sir William despatched Major Church with the greater part of the troops to Penobscot, in search of the enemy, and returned himself to Boston. Church succeeded in taking only five of the enemy, and in burning the Indian town at Taconet.

Great discontent was caused by the building of Fort William Henry, and by the largeness of the sum expended. So far as the murmurs related to the construction of any fort, they were unreasonble, for such a measure was necessary for the protection of the frontiers. But it was said, that little judgment was shown in the choice of a site, and in the mode of building. The fort defended only one harbor, and that was not a very important one, and did not afford a convenient centre of operations ; as it was, it disturbed somewhat the operations of the French, who sent an expedition against it before the close of the year ; but the place was found to be stronger than they had expected, and they retired without risking an assault.

The appointment of Phips as captain-general of Connecticut and Rhode Island was the cause of some trouble. The object in giving him the command of the military in places where he held no civil authority seems to have been, that the

united forces of the New England provinces might act with greater unanimity and effect against the common enemy. But no law of these two governments required the submission of the people to an officer from Massachusetts, and the commission of Phips, in this particular, was rendered void. He visited Rhode Island, in the first year of his government, to regulate the militia there; he divided the colony into several regiments, and gave to Colonel Stanford, who was commander-in-chief, a number of commissions for the officers to be appointed. But most of these refused to take the commissions; and, as the people would pay no regard to them, the matter was allowed to pass over without notice.

At the elections in May, 1693, the people had an opportunity of testifying the opinion, which they entertained of Phips and his government. Ten of those, who had been counsellors the year before, having been nominated to that office by Mr. Mather and Sir William, were left out, and others were put in, some of whom were on bad terms with the governor. He refused his consent to the choice of Mr. Cooke, who had been one of the colony agents in England, and had opposed his own nomination. But Cooke was much esteemed by the people; and it would have been more politic in the governor, to suffer his presence at the council-board, than to ei danger his

own popularity, by putting a negative on the election.

It was evident, that Sir William's favor with his countrymen had declined. The dislike of the new charter, and of those who were concerned in obtaining it, together with the weight of taxes caused by the prosecution of the war, account but partially for this result. The governor's hasty temper led him into difficulties, which his real goodness of heart could not induce the people to overlook.

The project of another attempt upon Canada had been entertained during the winter, and repeated applications to the English government had at last induced the ministers to promise assistance, Sir Francis Wheeler, the English admiral in the West Indies, arrived in the early part of the summer, bringing with him a body of troops sufficient, when united with the New England forces, to capture Montreal and Quebec. Phips was to head the provincial troops, but to act under the orders of Wheeler. Unluckily, the arrangement was made in England, and notice of it was not conveyed to the province in time for the necessary preparations.

The plan was wholly defeated by a disease, which broke out in the fleet while in the West Indies, and proved so fatal, that by the 11th of June, when the admiral arrived at Boston, he had

buried thirteen hundred out of twenty-one hundred sailors, and eighteen hundred out of twenty-four hundred soldiers. The arrival of the fleet introduced the disease into the town, where it made greater ravages than any contagious disease, which had ever visited them before, and alarmed many families so much, that they withdrew to the country.

Thus exposed for another season to the ravages of the French and Indians, the provincial government made such preparations as they were able, in their own defence. Three hundred and fifty men were levied, and put under the command of Converse, who received a major's commission, in consideration of his good conduct the year before. Being informed of a party of Indians who were lurking in the woods near Wells, he surprised and killed the greater part of them, in retaliation for a family, whom they had murdered a short time before, at Oyster River. He then embarked for Pemaquid, and passing up Sheepscot river, marched through the woods to Taconet, which he found deserted by the Indians. Thence he repaired to Saco, and laid the foundations of a fort, which was afterwards finished by some of his officers, and proved of great service in the war.

These were the only military operations of the season. The Indians were by this time discouraged at the length of the war, and by the fact that the

French were not able to afford them so much assistance as formerly. They also feared an attack from the Five Nations, who espoused the cause of the English. A French missionary, who resided among them, used all his endeavours to prevent an accommodation, but he was unsuccessful.

The provincials, on their side, were no less eager to be rid of the war. The Indian sachems came to Pemaquid, the officers of which fort had been empowered to make an agreement, and on the 11th of August a treaty was signed.

While the peace continued, Sir William took all proper measures to conciliate the entire good will of the Indians, and induce them to break off all connexion with the French. In the summer of this year, he undertook a voyage to Maine for this purpose, and for regulating the trade. He took with him Nahauton, an Indian preacher, intending to leave him among them, that he might teach them Protestant Christianity. But the event showed, what might have been expected in the outset, that the diligence of the French Jesuits had been such, as to confirm the savages in some rude notion of the Roman Catholic doctrine, and to ally them inseparably with the people, who professed that faith. The sachems came to Pemaquid, however, received presents, expressed their satisfaction, and made large promises of future fidelity; with how much sincerity was shown by the renewal of the war in less than a year

The governor visited Pemaquid again in the course of a few months, when he had an interview with Madockewandos, one of their principal sachems, and obtained from him the grant of a considerable tract of land.

For the few remaining months of Sir William's administration, we hear little of him, except from the unfortunate controversies with individuals, in which he became involved. His favor with the people had so much declined, that, from the mere unpleasantness of his situation, he became peevish, irritable, and jealous of encroachments upon the dignity of his office. The first quarrel with a private person, though it arose from a controversy, in which Phips took the popular side, had a material effect in diminishing the respect, which the people were accustomed to pay to their governor.

The maritime affairs of the province had never been clearly regulated by the government of the mother country. The several governors were enjoined, under severe penalties, to see that the trade and navigation acts were duly observed; but though the admiralty jurisdiction was expressly reserved to the King, no admiralty officers had been regularly appointed, and no court established. Phips maintained, that, by virtue of his commission as vice-admiral, he had a right to sit as judge; and he ordered several prizes, which had been taken by a privateer among the Leeward Islands, to be brought before him for condemnation.

It had been usual for the governor to appoint a naval officer, and ship-masters entered and cleared their vessels with him. Sir William appointed a Mr. Jackson to this office. But in the course of the year 1693, Mr. Brenton, a young gentleman of good family, was commissioned by the King, as collector of the port of Boston, though no custom-house had as yet been established. The people resented this appointment, and complained that it only burdened them with unnecessary and unreasonable fees. They questioned Brenton's authority, and still continued to enter and clear their vessels with the naval officer, in which course they were supported by the governor.

In the spring of 1694, a vessel laden with fustic from the Bahama Islands arrived at Boston. No bond had been given for the cargo, and the collector consequently seized both ship and goods. The fustic had been purchased by Colonel Foster, a merchant of Boston and a member of the Council, who, loth to part with his bargain, complained to the governor. He immediately interposed, and sent an order to the collector to release the goods. When Brenton refused to obey, Sir William went to the wharf where he was, and after some altercation, actually chastised him with his own hands The vessel and goods were then taken from him, and delivered to the owners.

Another private quarrel of the governor occur-

red in the same year, and under similar circumstances. Some disagreemen had arisen between him and Short, the captain of the *Nonsuch* frigate, in which he had made his last voyage from England, and which was now lying in the harbor of Boston. Short complained, that the proceeds of a prize, which had been taken on the voyage, had been unfairly distributed, and that he and his men had been defrauded of their proper share. Phips was exasperated by such a charge, and the power vested in him by his commission enabled him to manifest his dislike. The captains of the men-of-war on the colony station were then required to follow the instructions of the governors, who had power even to suspend them from office, in case of great misdemeanors.

Information had been received, that a French man-of-war was expected at St. John's, and the governor ordered the *Nonsuch* frigate thither, to intercept it. An attempt seems to have been made to deprive Short of the command, at least for this voyage, and to leave the vessel in charge, either of the officer next in rank, or of a captain appointed by Sir William. But Short successfully resisted this attempt, and, incensed by such treatment, probably used no great despatch in the service for which he was sent. At any rate the French vessel had sailed before he arrived, and he returned without effecting any thing. Phips

warmly accused him of negligence and cowardice, and one day meeting him in the street, "warm words passed, and the governor at length made use of his cane, and broke Short's head." He then caused him to be arrested, sent to the castle, and thence on board a merchant vessel, giving the master a warrant to carry him as a prisoner to England.

By some accident, the vessel was compelled to put into Portsmouth, and Sir William, now convinced that he had acted too hastily, proceeded thither, and ordered the master of the vessel to return the warrant, which he tore in pieces. Short was set at liberty, and Sir Francis Wheeler, who arrived at Boston soon afterwards, sent for him and carried him to England, where he obtained the command of another ship.

These two quarrels were as impolitic, as they were undignified. They injured the respectability of the office, and impaired the popularity of the man. Both in the Council and the Lower House, the opponents of the governor, who were far more active than his friends, had now definite reasons fo dissatisfaction, and they were not backward in using them, to prejudice the minds of the people, and to give weight to the representations against Phips, which they sent to their English correspondents. On the other hand, his friends in the House of Representatives proposed an

address to the King, praying that the governor might not be removed; but, though they mustered all their strength, out of fifty members present, twenty-four voted against the proposition.

About this time, it so happened, that the friends of Phips, in their anxiety to strengthen the hands of the government, really secured an important privilege to the people. The qualifications for membership of the House had never been clearly determined, and some of the smaller towns, from the want of proper candidates among themselves, had adopted the practice of choosing gentlemen from Boston to represent them in the General Court. The governor was less popular in the town than the country, and most of these non-resident members belonged to the opposition. A bill was therefore introduced, and pressed through both Houses, that in future none but residents should be eligible as representatives. This measure excited some murmuring at the time, for it excluded a few of the most respectable and influential members; but it was soon considered as establishing an important safeguard for the rights of the people.

It was now generally understood, that Sir William's administration was drawing to a close. Besides his open enemies, he had many lukewarm friends, who did much to injure his interests. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, was very cold

towards him, and Mr. Dudley, a former governor of the province, who desired to recover the office, was pressing his suit in London. Short and Brenton had both preferred their complaints to the King, and the Lords of the Treasury together with the Board of Trade requested that the governor might be immediately displaced. The King refused to condemn him unheard, but ordered him to leave the province, and come to England to de fend himself. Sir William accordingly left Boston, on the 17th of November, 1694.

On his arrival, he was arrested by Dudley and Brenton in actions of twenty thousand pounds' damages. What were the grounds of such a proceeding on the part of Dudley, it is impossible to tell. He had not been in the province recently, and it is difficult to see how Phips could have injured him in London. The action was probably brought as a mere stroke of policy to increase the difficulties under which Phips labored, and embarrass the application for his return. Sir Henry Ashurst became his bail, and remained his friend to the last. It was urged in his defence, that Parliament had established no custom-house in Boston, but had recognised the existence of a naval office. No defence was necessary in the case of Captain Short; for, owing either to his absence from the country, or his forgetfulness of the provocation he had received, he had exhibited no articles of complaint.

Cotton Mather asserts, that Sir William's answer to the charges brought against him was triumphant, and that he received assurances of being restored to his government. But this is hardly probable. Though no proceedings strictly illegal may have been proved against him, the King would hardly desire to restore to an important station a man, who had so far forgotten the dignity of his office, as to cane a commissioned officer.

Unable to remain idle under any circumstances, Phips now engaged in the prosecution of two several designs. The one was a scheme for supplying the English navy with timber and naval stores from the Eastern parts of New England. The conception was plausible, and no person was better fitted than himself to carry it into execution.

The other project was of a more doubtful character, being nothing else than to return to his old business of fishing for shipwrecked treasure. He had heard, that the ship, which had on board the Spanish governor Bobadilla, with a large amount of gold and silver, had been cast away somewhere in the West Indies. The Duke of Albemarle's patent for all such wrecks had now expired; but he proposed to have it renewed in his own person, and to try if fortune would be as favorable, as on the former expedition.

But the execution of these designs was suddenly

cut short. About the middle of February, 1695, he found himself indisposed with a cold, which confined him to his chamber. It resulted in a malignant fever, which caused his death on the 18th of the month, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was honorably interred in the church of St. Mary, Woolnoth. Sir William left no children. Spencer Phips, whose name occurs frequently in the subsequent history of the colonies, was his nephew, whom he had adopted into his family. His widow married Peter Sargent, who was elected to the Board of Counsellors in Massachusetts, in 1702.

Hutchinson sums up the character of Sir William Phips in a few words. "He was an honest man; but by a series of fortunate incidents, rather than by any uncommon talents, he rose from the lowest condition in life to be the first man in his country."

Perhaps a candid review of the principal events in his career would prove this judgment to be too severe. Fortune befriended him only when he had earned her favors by ceaseless industry and the most indomitable perseverance. He succeeded in enterprises so hopeless at first sight, that men of sober judgment would never have engaged in them, and after failures and discouragements, which would have caused persons of ordinary prudence to give up the attempt in despair. He was better fitted to execute the orders of others, than to issue orders himself; and the reputation, which he lost

as a rash and unskilful commander, he might have gained as an active and daring subaltern. He was unfit to lead an army, or to govern a province, and the chance, which placed him in such situations, was an unlucky one; but a better education might have qualified him for either station, as his natural endowments were perhaps sufficient for both.

He enjoyed a large fortune, acquired solely by his own exertions; but he was neither purse-proud, parsimonious, nor extravagant. Far from concealing the lowness of his origin, he made it a matter of honest pride, that he had risen from the business of a ship-carpenter to the honors of knighthood, and the government of a province. Soon after he was appointed to the chief magistracy, he gave a handsome entertainment to all the ship-carpenters of Boston; and, when perplexed with the public business, he would often declare, that it would be easier for him to go back to his broad-axe again. He was naturally of a hasty temper, and was frequently betrayed into improper sallies of passion, but never harbored resentment long. Though not rigidly pious, he reverenced the offices of religion, and respected its ministers. He was credulous, but no more so than most of his better educated contemporaries. The mistakes, which he committed as a public officer, were palliated by perfect

uprightness of intention, and by an irreproacha ble character in private life; for even his warmest opponents never denied him the title of a kind husband, a sincere patriot, and an honest man

LIFE

OF

JOSEPH WARREN

BY

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT

JOSEPH WARREN.

CHAPTER I.

His Family and Education.

The name of Joseph Warren is one of the most conspicuous in the annals of the Revolution. His memory is cherished with even warmer regard than that of some others, who, from the greater length of their career, and the wider sphere in which they acted, may be supposed to have rendered more important services to the country. This distinction in his favor is owing in part to the chivalrous beauty of his character, which naturally excites a sympathetic glow in every feeling mind; and in part to that untimely but glorious fate, which consecrated him as the first distinguished martyr in the cause of independence and liberty.

It is much to be regretted, that the materials for the biography of one, in whom we feel so deep an interest, are not more abundant; but

the circumstances of his active life were not such as to create a large mass of written and published documents for the information of future ages. The short period of time during which he was prominent in public affairs, and the confined circle that limited his efforts, afforded no scope for the voluminous correspondence, which forms the basis of the biography of most distinguished men. It is chiefly, therefore, as the young martyr of Bunker's Hill, that he lives, and will for ever live, in the memory of his countrymen. What ambition could desire a more glorious destiny? In consequence of this deficiency of materials, the present brief notice will be necessarily confined, in a great measure, to a rapid sketch of the events that filled up, or immediately preceded, that memorable day. A few particulars of his early life, which have been preserved by the affectionate care of his family, may serve as an introduction.

Joseph Warren was born at Roxbury, in Massachusetts, in the year 1741. The house in which his father resided is still standing, near the centre of the principal village, in a street which has received his name. The father was chiefly employed in the cultivation of land, and particularly in raising fruit. He was the person who introduced into the neighborhood of Boston the species of apple denominated from him the

Warren Russet. One day in autumn, as he was walking in his orchard, after the apples had been mostly gathered, he saw one remaining upon the top of a tree, which tempted him by its uncommon beauty. He climbed the tree to pluck it; but, just as he was putting his hand upon the apple, the branch upon which he stood broke under him, and precipitated him to the ground a lifeless corpse. His youngest son, the late Dr. John Warren, of Boston, then four years old, who had been despatched by his mother to the orchard, to call his father to dinner, met the body borne by two laborers. By this fatal accident, the mother of Warren was left a widow, with the charge of four boys, of whom the eldest, Joseph, was then about sixteen years of age. The fidelity, with which she executed this arduous trust, is sufficiently attested by the eminent virtues and talents of her children. She lived to a very advanced age, at the house in Roxbury, surrounded by the younger members of the family, and reaping, in their affectionate attention, the best reward for the exemplary care with which she had herself discharged the maternal duties.

Joseph Warren was instructed in the rudiments of learning at the public school in Roxbury, one of the best endowed and most flourishing in Massachusetts, and entered Harvard College

at fourteen years of age. He was remarked at school and at college, as a young man of superior talents, gentle manners, and a frank, independent, and fearless character. A trifling incident, which occurred during his residence at Cambridge, and of which an account has been handed down by tradition, illustrates very agreeably the last of these qualities, and may, perhaps, be worth repeating.

A number of Warren's classmates were engaged in one of those youthful frolics, which occur periodically at all colleges, but of which they knew that Warren did not approve. The leaders, apprehending, that, if he were present at their meetings, his eloquence and influence would draw off their followers and defeat the plan, determined to prevent him from attending. They accordingly fastened the door of the room in which they met, and which was in the upper story of one of the college buildings. Finding that he could not get in at the door, and perceiving that there was an open window in the room, Warren determined to effect his entrance by that way, from the roof. He accordingly ascended the stairs to the top of the building, and getting out upon the roof, let himself down to the eaves, and thence, by the aid of a spout, to a level with the open window, through which he leaped into the midst of the conspirators

The spout, which was of wood, was old, and so much decayed, that it fell to the ground as soon as Warren relaxed his hold upon it. His companions, hearing the crash, rushed to the window, and, when they perceived the cause, loudly congratulated him upon his escape. He coolly remarked, that the spout had retained its position just long enough to serve his purpose, and, without further notice of the accident, proceeded to harangue his audience upon the matter in hand. We are not informed of the result; but it can hardly be doubted, that prudent counsels, advanced with so much fearlessness and address, were adopted.

This little anecdote was related fifty years after the occurrence of the incident described, that is, about the year 1807, by a person who was present at the time, and who pointed out the window, which was the scene of a part of the action. There is, therefore, little doubt of the correctness of the statement. It exhibits, on a small scale, the same combination of qualities, which afterwards led Warren, at the most eventful period of his life, first, to dissuade his more aged and experienced colleagues in council, from engaging in the attempt to occupy the heights of Charlestown; and, when his efforts proved ineffectual, to throw himself forward, into the midst of danger, and perish in endeavoring to

give effect to the plan, which he had vainly opposed. He seems, in fact, to have possessed by nature, and to have exercised through life, that precious union of valor and discretion, which is so rarely to be met with; and which, when it does exist, constitutes the perfection of practical wisdom.

CHAPTER II.

His Professional Studies and Practice. — Entrance into Political Life.

Warren left college at the close of the usual period of residence, and applied himself immediately to the study of medicine. At the age of twenty-three, he established himself at Boston, and commenced the practice of his profession, which he pursued with distinguished success.

He is represented as having been particularly fortunate in his treatment of the smallpox, which prevailed about this time in Boston, and was then a much more formidable disease than it is now. In fact, the zeal with which he entered upon the study and practice of his profession, his fine talents and finished education, together with his agreeable person and manners, and naturally frank and amiable character, opened before him an easy path to wealth and eminence. In quiet times, he would have risen rapidly to the highest rank as a physician, passed his life in the active and literary pursuits belonging to that profession, and bequeathed to posterity a name distinguished only by the peaceful triumphs

of science and letters. During the brief period of his professional career, he had acquired so much distinction, that, at the opening of the war, he was designated as Surgeon-General of the army; and it was after having declined this place, that he was elected Major-General.

But the circumstances, in which the country was then placed, almost necessarily directed the attention of Warren from professional pursuits, and concentrated it upon political affairs. The same superiority of talent, and ardor of temperament, which would have given him an easy success in any profession, rendered him more than ordinarily susceptible of the influences, which then operated upon the community; and threw him forward into the front rank of the asserters of liberal principles. The fact, however, that men like Warren, of the finest talents, and in every respect the fairest promise, were among the first to join in the opposition to the measures of the government, shows sufficiently how completely the whole mind of the colonies had given itself up to the cause, and how utterly impossible it was for the ministry to sustain their pretensions by any power that could be brought to bear upon the people of America.

The establishment of Warren in Boston, as a physician, coincided with the close of the Seven Years' War, which was terminated by the de

finitive treaty of Paris, of 1763. By that treaty, France, then in the last stages of that long disease of misgovernment, which finally produced, by reaction, the convulsions that marked the termination of the century, threw from her, as if in wantonness, the whole splendid domain, which she had previously possessed on this continent; and which, had it been retained, and well administered, must have ultimately rendered her mistress of the whole. The two Canadas and Florida were ceded to England. Louisiana, the boundaries of which were then unsettled, but which, as claimed by France, included the whole vast valley on both sides of the Mississippi, from the foot of the Alleganies on the east, to that of the Rocky Mountains on the west, was transferred to Spain. This arrangement, so fatal to the greatness of France, was generally considered, at the time, as securing to the British crown the dominion of the whole of North America. Possessing, already, an unbroken line of coast, from Hudson's Bay round to the mouth of the Mississippi, with nothing to oppose her inland progress, but a torpid Spanish colonial government, there was every reason to expect, that, as population and civilization advanced in the colonies, the British government would gradually, by conquest and purchase, push the unsettled boundary of Louisiana farther and farther to the westward,

until they had driven the Spaniards from the continent. The same career, in short, was anticipated for America, as an appendage to Britain, which she has already pursued, and is still pur suing, as a union of independent States.

This was one of those cases, in which the course of events belies the most probable conjectures. The cession of the Canadas to Great Britain, instead of increasing her power upon the continent, was one of the most active immediate causes of the dismemberment of the empire. While the French, in close alliance with the natives, over whom they have always exercised a much stronger influence than any other European nation, hung upon the rear of the colonies, and, whenever Great Britain and France were at war, carried fire and sword through their peaceful villages, their whole military and political activity was exhausted in efforts to ward off this imminent danger. The coöperation of the mother country in effecting this object, naturally generated good feeling between the parties; and, as long as this relation continued to exist, it did much to prevent any considerable difference upon any subject. Never had this coöperation between the parent country and the colonies been so cordial; and never had the colonies distinguished themselves so much by their zeal and success in supporting the pretensions of the

crown, against a foreign enemy, as in the brilliant campaigns of the Seven Years', or, as it has often been called, in this country, the Old French War, the great school in which our fathers disciplined and exercised themselves for the desperate struggles of the Revolution.

The cession of the Canadas to Great Britian, delivered the colonies from this dangerous neighborhood, and left them no employment for the intense political activity to which they had always been accustomed, but the adjustment of their relations with the parent country. By a sort of fatality, the ministry seized the moment to enter upon a new system of policy, involving pretensions and principles, which had never been put forth before, and to which the colonies could hardly be expected to give a quiet assent. Till now, they had paid no taxes, except such as were imposed by their own legislatures, for the purpose of defraying their own colonial and municipal expenses. They were now called upon to contribute to the general expenses of the empire, by taxes imposed, without their participation, by the general government. The effect was electric; and the magnitude of the results is hardly less astonishing, than the rapidity with which they were brought about.

Between the conclusion of the definitive treaty

of peace, which terminated the French war, and the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, which opened that of the Revolution, there intervened a period of only eleven years. Many of the officers, who had distinguished themselves in the preceding wars, were still surviving, in the full vigor of their faculties, to give their countrymen the benefit of their experience and skill in this new struggle. The same unerring eye, which, at the first capture of Louisburg, on the 17th of June, 1745, directed the shell, which fell upon the citadel, and occasioned the surrender of the place, was employed, on the thirteenth anniversary of that day, in laying out a position for the first regular engagement between the colonial and British armies. So rapid, in some cases, are the movements that regulate the fortunes of nations, and change the aspect of the world.

This period of eleven years, which intervened between the close of the French war, and the opening of that of Independence, was filled up by a succession of interesting events, many of which occurred in the neighborhood of Boston. The Stamp Act; the tumults which followed it; its repeal; the Tea Act; the troubles which attended its enforcement, and which terminated in the celebrated Boston *Tea Party;* the military occupation of Boston by the British army;

the hostile encounters, that occurred so frequently between the troops and the citizens, including the fatal events of the 5th of March, 1770; these occurrences, with various others, of less importance but similar character, were the preludes to the far-famed tragedies of the 19th of April, and the 17th of June, 1775. A detailed review of these events, would, of course, be irrelevant to the present occasion. They belong to the history of the country. It may be proper, however, to advert to the part taken by General Warren, on one or two of these occasions, before proceeding to a somewhat fuller account of the brief period, during which he may be said to have been the leading spirit of the colony, and which will be for ever distinguished in our annals by the memorable battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

CHAPTER III.

Events of the 5th of March, 1770.—Warren's Anniversary Addresses.

THE great authority and influence, which Dr. Warren exercised over his fellow citizens a few years afterwards, evidently show, that he must have taken an active and zealous part in political affairs, from the commencement of his residence at Boston, which coincided, as has been remarked, with the close of the French war. For some time, however, his activity must, of course, have been confined to a secondary sphere. The foreground of the stage was already occupied by the great men, who will figure in history as the fathers of the Revolution, John Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, James Otis, Josiah Quincy.

While these eminent characters were on the spot, and in full activity, the patriots of a younger class labored, of course, under their direction. This was the position of Warren for the first seven or eight years of his residence at Boston. At the close of that time, accidental circumstances removed, or deprived of their capacity for usefulness, at once, nearly all the persons who had acted as leaders in Massachusetts. Otis lost

his health, and retired into the country. Quincy left the colony to visit Europe, and returned the next year, only to breathe his last sigh upon the shores of his beloved country. Hancock and the two Adamses, with Robert Treat Paine and Elbridge Gerry, represented the colony in the Continental Congress. In their absence, the direction of affairs passed, of course, into the hands of the prominent patriots of the next succeeding generation; and it was then, that the commanding genius of Warren carried him, at once, to the helm, and rendered him, for the brief period of his subsequent life, both in civil and military affairs, the most prominent man in New England.

It was one of the distinguishing traits in the character of Warren, that he combined in a remarkable degree the qualities requisite for excellence in civil pursuits, with a strong taste and aptitude for war. In this particular, he stood alone among the leading patriots of Massachusetts; and the circumstance, had his life been prolonged, would have contributed very much to establish and extend his political influence. He also possessed, in high perfection, the gift of eloquence; and, in exercising it, he is represented as having exhibited the discretion, which, in all respects, tempered so honorably the ardor of his character. His voice was often raised in

public, for the purpose of dissuading the people from tumultuous movements, and exhorting them to seek redress for their wrongs, as much as possible, according to the forms of law, and without detriment to the rights of individuals, or a breach of the public peace.

The first occasion, however, on which the name of Dr. Warren appears in connexion with any public proceedings, was one when his eloquence was exerted for a purpose more congenial to the feelings of an ardent patriot. I allude to the addresses which he delivered on the 5th of March, 1772 and 1775, in commemoration of the sanguinary scene which was exhibited in Boston, on the same day of the year 1770.

The riots, which followed the attempt to enforce the new revenue laws at Boston, however natural under the circumstances, produced, as must have been expected, the military occupation of the place by British troops. In the course of the year 1768, two regiments, which had previously been stationed at Halifax, and two from Ireland, making, with part of a regiment of artillery, a corps of about four thousand men, arrived at Boston. They were placed under the command of General Gage, an officer who had honorably distinguished himself in the preceding French war. The General, whose head-quarters were at New York, came to Bos-

ton, to superintend the arrangements for quartering the troops, which were not effected without great difficulty, and much opposition from the inhabitants. It was, in fact, found impossible to induce them to furnish barracks, agreeably to the act of Parliament, providing for the occupation; and the General was compelled to hire houses for the accommodation of three of the regiments. The fourth, with the artillery, was quartered in tents upon the Common.

The military occupation of Boston, although, on the view of things which was taken by the ministry, a matter of indispensable necessity, led, of course, to frequent quarrels between the troops and the citizens. In these, the latter were, probably, from the nature of the case, pretty often in the wrong. This was certainly the fact on the famous occasion of the 5th of March, 1770.

On the evening of that day, a mob of citizens, armed with clubs, without any previous provocation, insulted, and finally assaulted, the soldiers, who were on guard at the Custom House, in King Street, now State Street. The guard exhibited great forbearance, and it was not until one of their number had been actually knocked down at his post by one of the mob, that they fired; whether with or without orders was afterwards disputed. The first discharge killed three persons on the spot, and mortally

wounded two others. Here the affray terminated; and, so clearly were the citizens in the wrong, that Captain Preston, who, as commanding officer of the guard, had been brought to trial, was acquitted by a verdict of the jury, having been defended by the two great leaders of the patriotic party, John Adams and Josiah Quincy.

But, whatever might be the merits of the case on this occasion, as between the parties immediately engaged, it was impossible, on a general view of the subject, not to regard the occurrence as one of the unfortunate results of the new line of policy adopted by the British government. If the bloody retribution, which unreflecting citizens had brought upon themselves, by excesses growing out of the exasperation produced by the ministerial measures, were in itself technically, and even substantially, as between the immediate parties, just, this was only an additional reason for regretting and reprobating a policy, which almost inevitably drew the people into that worst of all misfortunes, the commission of voluntary wrong; which first led them into temptation, and then punished them for yielding to it. Considering the occurrence under this aspect, the leading patriots determined to set apart the day for an annual celebration; and it was accordingly so observed for several years, until the

anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was finally substituted for it, as furnishing, on the whole, a more suitable occasion for commemorating the great results of the controversy between the mother country and the United Colonies This arrangement has been continued ever since, and will probably never be abandoned, while the union of the States is permitted to endure.

On the second of the anniversary celebrations of the 5th of March, in the year 1772, Samuel Adams was invited to deliver the address. He declined the task, which was then committed to Dr. Warren, who acquitted himself with great ability. On a similar occasion, three years afterwards, he again delivered an address, which has attracted more attention than the former one, from the thrilling interest of the circumstances in which the orator was placed, and the more excited state of the whole community.

The mutual exasperation between the troops and the citizens had then reached a very high point; and it had come to be considered as a service of a somewhat critical character, to deliver the anniversary oration. Warren volunteered to perform the duty. When the day arrived, the aisles of the church, the pulpit stairs, the pulpit itself, were occupied by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who were

doubtless stationed there to overawe the orator and, perhaps, prevent him, by force, from proceeding. Warren, to avoid interruption and confusion, entered from the rear, by the pulpit window; and, unmoved by the hostile military array that surrounded him, and pressed upon his person, delivered the bold and stirring address, which we have in print. It combines, with a somewhat exuberant display of imagination, a firm exposition of the rights of the colonies, and the sternest denunciation of the previous excesses of the troops, in whose presence he stood. Such was the influence of his courage and eloquence, that he was listened to without a murmur.

I am informed, however, by the Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, Massachusetts, who was present on this occasion in the Old South Church, where the address was delivered, that there was, at least, one silent but not wholly insignificant demonstration of feeling, from the military part of the audience. While the oration was in progress, an officer, who was seated on the pulpit stairs, held up one of his hands, in view of the orator, with several pistol bullets on the open palm. Warren observed the action, and, without discontinuing his discourse, dropped a white handkerchief upon the officer's hand. How happy had it been for the country, if this gentle and

graceful admonition could have arrested the march of violence, and averted the fatal presage afforded by this sinister occurrence of the future fate of the patriotic speaker; a presage too soon and too exactly realized, on the following 17th of June!

CHAPTER IV.

Political Organization of Massachusetts.—Warren is elected President of the Provincial Congress, and Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety.—Events of the 19th of April, 1775.

The first public appearance of Dr. Warren, in connexion with the political affairs of the day, was, as I have remarked, on the occasion of the delivery of the anniversary address of 1772. In that year, the Committee of Correspondence was formed at Boston; an institution which exercised, in a private way, a very strong influence in promoting the progress of the Revolution.* Of this Committee, Dr. Warren was an original member. The earliest active proceedings, of a

* This Committee was designed for corresponding with the several towns in Massachusetts. The plan was first suggested by James Warren, of Plymouth. The Committees of Correspondence for the Colonies were organized the year following, and were first proposed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, in March, 1773. The same system of Committees of Correspondence had likewise been adopted to some extent in the time of the Stamp Act. See Sparks's edition of Franklin's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 264.

public character, in which he took a part, were those which grew out of Governor Gage's determination to fortify the southern entrance of Boston, by lines drawn across the isthmus or Neck, which unites it with Roxbury.

On this occasion, a convention was held, of delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, which then comprehended the present county of Norfolk, for the purpose of endeavoring to prevent this measure from being carried into effect. Dr. Warren was a delegate to this convention, and was made chairman of the committee, which was appointed to prepare an address to the Governor upon the subject. The Governor replied, in a brief and unsatisfactory manner. The committee rejoined in another address, of greater length, which was transmitted to the Governor, but received no answer. These papers were written by Dr. Warren, and they give a very favorable idea of his literary taste and talent, as well as of his courage and patriotism. The correspondence was communicated by Dr. Warren, as chairman of the committee, to the Continental Congress; and that body, in their reply, notice, in terms of high approbation, the part taken in it by the committee.

Dr. Warren had never served as a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts, under the colonial government. The representa-

tion of Boston was, at that time, very limited in number, and naturally fell into the hands of the more experienced among the patriotic leaders. These, however, as has been already stated, were removed, by a concurrence of accidental circumstances, from this quarter of the country, at about the time when the government was reorganized, under the direction of the popular party, in the autumn of 1774. The legislative power was intrusted, under this arrangement, to a body of delegates, denominated the Massachusetts Congress; and the executive power was exercised by a committee of thirteen from that body, called the Committee of Public Safety.

The high sense, which was now entertained by his fellow citizens, of the value of the services of Warren to the cause of liberty, was strikingly evinced on this occasion; first, by his election as a delegate from Boston to the Congress; and secondly, by his designation as President of that body, and Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. By virtue of these places, he united in his person the chief responsibility for the conduct of the whole civil and military affairs of the new commonwealth, and became a sort of popular dictator. The Congress was organized at Salem, but shortly after removed to Concord, and, a few days before the battle of Lexington, adjourned to meet

again at Watertown, on the 10th of May, 1775. The Committee of Safety held its meetings, at this time, in a public house at West Cambridge, and seems to have been in session every day.

It was soon apparent, that the station now occupied by Warren in the councils of Massachusetts would be no sinecure. The second anniversary address which he delivered on the 6th of March, 1775, was the bold and spirit-stirring overture to the events of the following 19th of April and 17th of June.

The events of the 19th of April, including the battles of Lexington and Concord, were of such a character, that no individual could well occupy a very conspicuous position in the field. There was no commander-in-chief, and, properly speaking, no regular engagement or battle. The object of the British was to destroy the military stores at Concord; that of the Americans, to prevent this, if possible, and to show, at all events, that, in this quarter of the country at least, every inch of ground would be desperately contested. For the vigor and determination, which marked the conduct of the people on this important day, it is not too much to say, that the country is mainly indebted to the vigilance, activity, and energy of Warren.

It had been the intention of the British commander, to surprise the Americans; and so severe

were the precautions taken for this purpose, that the officers employed in the expedition were only informed of it on the preceding day. Information of a meditated attack had been, however, for some time in possession of the Americans; the first intimation having been given, as is said, by a patriotic lady of Boston, the wife of a royalist officer. A most vigilant observation was, in consequence, maintained upon the movements of the British; and, in this operation, great advantage was derived from the services of an association, composed chiefly of Boston mechanics, which had been formed in the autumn of the preceding year. The late Colonel Paul Revere was an active member of this society, and was employed by Dr. Warren, on this occasion, as his principal confidential messenger.

Some preparatory movements took place among the British troops, on the 15th of April, which attracted the attention of Warren. It was known, that the principal objects of the contemplated expedition were to seize the stores at Concord. Presuming that the movement would now be made without delay, the Committee of Safety took measures for securing the stores, by distributing a part of them among the neighboring towns. John Hancock and Samuel Adams were then at the house of the Reverend Mr. Clark, in Lexington, and Colonel Revere was despatched as a special

messenger to inform them of the probable designs of General Gage. On his return to Boston, he made an agreement with friends in Charlestown, that, if the expedition proceeded by water, two lights should be displayed on the steeple of the North Church; if it moved over the Neck, through Roxbury, only one.

The British commander finally fixed upon the 19th for the intended attempt; and, on the evening of the 18th, he sent for the officers whom he had designated for this service, and communicated to them, for the first time, the nature of the expedition upon which they were to be employed. So strict had been the secrecy observed by the Governor, in regard to this matter. The same discretion had not been maintained in other quarters; for Lord Percy, who was to command the reserve, on his way home to his lodgings, heard the expedition talked of, by a group of citizens, at the corner of one of the streets. He hastened back to the Governor's head-quarters, and informed him, that he had been betrayed. An order was instantly issued, to prevent any American from leaving town; but it came a few minutes too late to produce effect. Dr. Warren, who had returned in the evening from the meeting of the Committee of Public Safety, at West Cambridge, was already informed of the movement of the

British army, and had taken the necessary measures for spreading the intelligence through the country.

At about nine o'clock, on the evening of the 18th, the British troops intended for the expedition were embarked, under the command of Colonel Small, in boats at the bottom of the Common. Dr. Warren inspected the embarkation in person; and, having returned home immediately after, sent for Colonel Revere, who reached his house about ten o'clock. He had already despatched Mr. Dawes over land as a special messenger to Lexington, and he now requested Colonel Revere to proceed through Charlestown on the same errand.

The Colonel made arrangements, in the first place, for displaying the two lights on the steeple of the North Church, agreeably to the understanding with his friends in Charlestown, and then repaired to a wharf, at the north part of the town, where he kept his boat. He was rowed over by two friends, a little to the eastward of the British ship-of-war *Somerset*, which lay at anchor in this part of the channel, and was landed on the Charlestown side. He pursued his way through Charlestown and West Cambridge, not without several perilous encounters with British officers, who were patrolling the neighborhood, and finally arrived safely at Lex-

ington, where he met the other messenger, Mr Dawes, whom he had, however, anticipated. After reposing a short time, they proceeded together to Concord, alarming the whole country as they went, by literally knocking at the door of almost every house upon the road. They had, of course, been in part anticipated by the signals on the North Church steeple, which had spread intelligence of the intended movement, with the speed of light, through all the neighboring towns.

By the effect of these well judged and well executed measures, Hancock and Adams were enabled to provide in season for their personal security, and the whole population of the towns, through which the British troops were to pass, were roused and on foot before they made their appearance. On reaching Lexington Green, they found a corps of militia under arms and prepared to meet them. At Concord, they found another; and when, after effecting, as far as they could, the objects of their expedition, they turned their steps homeward, they were enveloped, as it were, in a cloud of the armed yeomanry, which thickened around them at every step, and did such fearful execution in their ranks, that nothing but their timely meeting with the reinforcements under Lord Percy, at West Cam-

bridge, could have saved them from entire disorganization and actual surrender.

Colonel Revere, many years afterwards, drew up a very curious and interesting account of his adventures on this expedition, in the form of a letter to the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is printed in the Collections of that body, and is now familiar to the public.

It would be irrelevant to the present purpose to enter into the detail of the events of the 19th of April, in which Dr. Warren took no further part, until the British troops reached West Cambridge, on their return from Concord. Warren was at this place, in attendance on the Committee of Safety. On the approach of the British, he armed himself and went out, in company with General Heath, to meet them. On this occasion, he displayed his usual fearlessness, by exposing his person very freely to the fire of the enemy; and a bullet passed so near his head, as to carry away one of the long, close, horizontal curls, which, agreeably to the fashion of the day, he wore above the ears.

In other times this accident might, perhaps, have been regarded as a sinister omen. When the priests of the ancient religions sacrificed a victim to their divinities, they commonly began by cutting off a lock of his hair and throwing

it into the fire. By this ceremony he was supposed to be devoted to the god. A mind under the influence of such a prejudice might have seen, in the loss of General Warren's hair, a presage of the doom that awaited him. But Warren himself, even in a superstitious age, would never have yielded to any such notions. His frank, fearless, and generous character would have rather led him to sympathize with the gallant Trojan hero, in the Iliad, who, when he was advised to wait, before he entered upon a battle, till the omens, deduced from the flight of birds, should become favorable, replied, "What care I for the flight of birds, whether they take their course to the right or the left? I ask no better omen than to draw my sword in the cause of my country."

"Without a sign his sword the brave man draws;
And asks no omen but his country's cause.'

CHAPTER V.

Formation and Character of the New England Army. — Warren is elected Major-General. — Gridley. — Prescott. — Putnam.

The events of the 19th of April announced to all the world, abroad and at home, that the long anticipated crisis had arrived; and that the questions at issue, between the parent country and the colonies, must be settled by an appeal to arms.

The public mind throughout the colonies was prepared for the result. At their first meeting, after the battle of Lexington, the Massachusetts Congress resolved, that an army of thirty thousand men was wanted for the defence of New England; that, of this number, Massachusetts would raise thirteen thousand six hundred; and that the other New England States should be requested to furnish their respective proportions. It was resolved, at the same time, to raise a regiment of artillery, the train to consist of nine fieldpieces; and Richard Gridley, a brother of the celebrated lawyer of that name, himself already distinguished by his services in both the preceding French wars, was appointed its colonel

The troops began to assemble about the middle of May; and, before the middle of June, fifteen thousand men had reached the neighborhood of Boston. Of these, Massachusetts furnished ten thousand, and Connecticut three. The rest were supplied by the other New England Colonies The troops were distributed into companies of fifty, of which ten composed a regiment.

On the 21st of May, General Ward was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, and his orders were obeyed by all the other troops within the limits of the colony. His head-quarters were at Cambridge, where he had with him about eight thousand of the Massachusetts troops, and one thousand of those from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent's regiment from New Hampshire, and Patterson's from Berkshire county, were under the immediate command of General Putnam, who was stationed in advance of the main body, at Inman's Farm, where a redoubt and breastwork had been thrown up, near the Charlestown road. General Ward had with him at Cambridge five companies of artillery.

The right wing of the army, consisting of two thousand troops from Massachusetts, two thousand from Connecticut, and one thousand from Rhode Island, was stationed at Roxbury, under the command of Brigadier-General Thomas, who

had also with him three or four companies of artillery. A thousand of the New Hampshire troops, under Colonels Stark and Reed, stationed at Medford, and another detachment of the same troops, with three companies from Gerrish's regiment, stationed at Chelsea, composed the left wing.

On the 14th of June, Dr. Warren was elected by Congress a major-general. He had already received his commission, when he went upon the field as a volunteer, three days after, at the battle of Bunker's Hill.

Such were the strength and composition of the little army, which the events of the 19th of April and the resolutions of the Congress had summoned, from all parts of New England, to the neighborhood of Boston. In regard to the character of the troops, it is sufficient to say, that they were the flower and pride of our hardy yeomanry. They were not, like the rank and file of the regular armies of Europe, the refuse of society, enlisted in the worst haunts of crowded cities, under the influence of a large bounty, or perhaps an inspiration of a still inferior kind. They were, as they are correctly described, in the British "circumstantial account" of the battle of Lexington, the "country people."

Though generally unaccustomed to regular service, and not well skilled in the technical learn-

ing of the art of war, they were all, officers and men, expert in the use of arms, and in the habit of employing them in continual conflicts with the Indians. Many of the officers had already distinguished themselves in the French wars of 1745 and 1756, when the old Provincial standard was displayed, with so much glory, in the Canadas. It is remarkable, indeed, on examining the composition of the New England army of 1775, how many names we find of men, either previously or subsequently illustrious in the history of the country. The fact is one, among many other proofs, how completely the spirit of the times had taken possession of the whole mind of the colonies, and drawn within the sphere of its influence the most eminent professional, political, and military characters, as well as the mass of the people.

Of the officers, who commanded in this army, Warren has been rendered, by subsequent events, by far the most conspicuous. Prescott and Putnam, both veterans of the former wars, occupied with him, at the time, the highest place in the confidence of the country. But, in addition to these, there were many others whose names are not much less extensively known throughout the world than theirs. General Greene, by common acknowledgment second only to Washington in military service during the revolutionary war, was

the colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments. General Pomroy, of Northampton, was at head-quarters as a volunteer. He had served, with the rank of captain, under Sir William Johnson, in the war of 1756; and he was distinguished in the celebrated battle with the French and Indians under Baron Dieskau. Stark, afterwards the hero of Bennington, was the colonel of one of the New Hampshire regiments, in which the late General Dearborn was a captain. The late Governor Brooks, of Massachusetts, had the rank of major; the late Governor Eustis was a surgeon of artillery; Knox, afterwards a general in the continental army, appeared as a volunteer.

Gridley, the veteran colonel of artillery, then sixty-four years of age, was an officer of high distinction. In the war of 1745, when Massachusetts alone raised an army of three thousand two hundred men for the expedition against Cape Breton, he commanded the artillery, and, as was remarked before, pointed, with scientific accuracy, the mortar, which, on the third fire, threw into the citadel of Louisburg the shell, which determined its surrender. He was rewarded by a captaincy in Shirley's regiment. In the war of 1756, he again entered the service, as chief engineer and colonel of infantry. Two years afterwards, he assisted at the second taking of Louisburg, with so much distinction,

tha. General Amherst tendered him the valuable furniture of the French commander's head-quarters, as a present; which he, with chivalrous delicacy, declined to receive. At the siege of Quebec, he commanded the provincial artillery under General Wolfe, and was fighting by his side when he fell. At the close of the war, the King rewarded his gallantry by a grant of the Magdalen Islands, with an extensive cod and seal fishery, and half pay as a British officer. At the opening of the Revolution, his agent at London inquired of him, by order of the British government, what part he intended to take. "I shall fight," he replied, "for justice and my country." His pay as a British officer, was of course, stopped. The arrears, which were offered him, he, with characteristic spirit, refused to receive.

To this list of distinguished persons, whose presence graced the New England army, may be added the name of one now more extensively known, perhaps, than any of the others, though in a different line; and who, subsequently to this period, entered the British service. I mean that of Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford. He held no commission in the New England army, but was present at head-quarters, and, on the day of the battle of Bunker's Hill, accompanied Major Brooks as a volunteer, with the last reinforcements that were sent from

Cambridge. He had solicited in vain the place of major in the artillery, which was due to his eminent merit, but which the parental partiality of Gridley had reserved for his own son. For this act of venial frailty the veteran was severely punished, by the misconduct of his son in his first action on the 17th of June, and by the loss to the country of the great talents of his competitor; a loss, however, which we need not regret, considering with how much brilliancy and success those talents were afterwards employed, on a still more extensive scale, in the cause of humanity and the world.

While these and other kindred spirits, of perhaps not inferior merit, though somewhat less distinguished fame, filled the ranks of the New England army, the two persons who, with Warren, occupied the most conspicuous place in the public eye, were undoubtedly Prescott and Putnam.

Prescott, the colonel of one of the Middlesex regiments, was the officer, who, on the 16th of June, received the orders of the commander-in-chief to occupy and fortify the heights of Charlestown, and who commanded in the redoubt on the day of the battle. He was a native of Pepperell, in the county of Middlesex, where his family, one of the most distinguished and respected in the State, still reside during a

part of the year. Prescott inherited an ample fortune from his father; but he seems to have possessed a natural aptitude for military pursuits; and, at the opening of the war of 1756, he, with so many others of the noble spirits of New England, joined the expedition against Nova Scotia, under General Winslow, with a provincial commission.

He served with such distinction, that, after the close of the war, he was urged to accept a commission in the British line; but he declined the honor, and preferred returning to the paternal estate. Here he resided, occupied in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and in dispensing a frank and liberal hospitality to his neighbors, many of whom were his old companions in arms, until the opening of the Revolution called him, already a veteran, to the council and the field. He was tall and commanding in his person, of a grave aspect, and the simplest manners; holding in utter contempt the parade and pageantry, which constitute with many the essence of war. During the progress of the battle of Bunker's Hill, he was frequently seen on the top of the parapet, attired in a calico frock, with his bald head uncovered to the sun, observing the enemy, or encouraging his men to action. Governor Gage, who, at one of these moments, was recon noitring the American works through a tele

scope, remarked the singular appearance of Prescott, and inquired of Willard, one of the council, who he was. "My brother-in-law, Colonel Prescott, was the reply. "Will he fight?" returned the Governor. "Ay," said Willard, "to the last drop of his blood."

Putnam, another veteran of the French wars, was not less bold in action, and equally regardless of unnecessary show and ceremony. He was a native of Salem, in Massachusetts, but emigrated early in life to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he employed himself, like Prescott, in agriculture, though on a smaller scale, until he was called, like him, into the military service, by the opening of the war of 1756. He commanded a company of provincial rangers, and, in this capacity, rendered the most essential services; passing through a series of adventures, the details of which, though resting on unquestionable evidence, seem like a wild and extravagant fable. After the close of the Seven Years' War, Putnam returned to the plough, and was in the act of guiding it, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. Like Cincinnatus of old, he left it in the furrow, and repaired at once to Cambridge, though now more than sixty years of age. After consulting with the leading characters at the camp, he returned to Connecticut, to organize a regiment, with which he ap-

peared shortly after at head-quarters, as brigadier-general.

Putnam was athletic and active in person; energetic even to coarseness, but keen and pointed in conversation; and his face, though deeply furrowed by the savage tomahawk, as well as by the finger of time, was always radiant with a broad good-humor, which rendered him the idol of the army. He was particularly earnest, in the council of war, in recommending the measure of fortifying Bunker's Hill; a part of his regiment was detached for the service, and he was present and active himself on the field, through the night before the battle, and during the action. Whether, as some suppose, he was charged by the Council of War with a general superintendence of the whole affair; or whether, like Warren, he appeared upon the field as a volunteer, is not now known with certainty; for the official record of the orders of the day is lost, and the want of it is not supplied, for this purpose, by any other evidence. It is certain, however, from all the accounts, that his agency in the action was great and effectual.

CHAPTER VI.

Strength and Disposition of the British Troops — The Americans occupy the Heights of Charlestown.

Such were the composition of the New England army, and the character of some of the prominent officers. The British army, which they were to encounter, was quartered within the limits of Boston. It consisted, at the time of the battle of Lexington, of about four thousand men; but, before the end of May, large reinforcements arrived, which raised the number to about ten thousand. On the 14th of May, General Gage, who had recently superseded Hutchinson in the government of the colony, arrived from New York. He had served with honor in Europe and America, had married an American lady, and, in other times, would have possessed a great personal popularity. The troops were the flower of the British army, and the officers were generally men of distinguished merit. Among the principal, were Generals Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant, and Robertson. Earl Percy and Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings,

had each of them a command. Earl Percy and his hardy Northumbrians took a pride in braving the severity of the climate in an encampment on the Common; and, to secure themselves from the cold, made use of double tents, having the space between them stuffed with hay. The light-infantry were encamped on the heights of West Boston, then called Beacon Hill. There was a squadron of cavalry, for whose use the Old South Church had been appropriated as a place of exercise. A strong battery for cannon and mortars had been thrown up on Cops Hill, opposite to Charlestown; and this point was the post of observation of the British commander and his staff, during the action of the 17th of June. A strongly fortified line had been drawn across the Neck, at the southern entrance of the town from Roxbury. There was also a battery at the northern extremity of the town, and others on the Common, on Fort Hill, and on the shore opposite to Cambridge.

The British troops were in the highest state of equipment and discipline, and were amply furnished with every description of necessary stores and ammunition. In these respects, their condition formed a complete contrast to that of the Americans. To aid them in their operations, they had several ships of war stationed in the waters around the peninsula. The *Glasgow* lay

in Charles River, not far from the present position of Craigie's Bridge, and enfiladed with her battery the isthmus that connects Charlestown with the continent. The *Somerset*, the *Lively*, and the *Falcon*, were stationed in the channel between Boston and Charlestown, and, during the action of the 17th of June, pointed their guns directly at the American works.

It may be remarked, that the principal British and American officers were personally known to each other. They had served together in the French wars, and, in some instances, had contracted a close and intimate friendship. Not long after the battle of Lexington, there was an interview at Charlestown, between some of the officers on both sides, to regulate an exchange of prisoners; and Governor Brooks, who was present, was accustomed to relate, that General Putnam and Major Small, of the British army, no sooner met, than they ran into each other's arms.

In this state of the hostile preparations of the two parties, and with the strong feeling of mutual exasperation, which, notwithstanding occasional instances of a different character, prevailed generally between the masses of both, it was apparent, that a trial of strength on a more extensive scale, and of a much more serious and decisive kind, than any that had yet occurred, must soon take

place. In this, as in other cases of a similar description, accidental causes would naturally regulate, in some degree, the time, place, and other circumstances, under which the trial should be made. The concentration of the New England troops around the peninsula of Boston would, of course, suggest to the British commander, if he intended to retain that position, the importance of occupying the neighboring heights of Dorchester and Charlestown. He had accordingly determined upon this measure, and was making his arrangements for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, now South Boston, on the 13th of June.

Information of these intentions and arrangements had been conveyed to the American army, and had become the subject of frequent and serious discussion in the Council of War and the Committee of Safety. It was proposed, on one side, to anticipate this movement of the British, by a corresponding one of our own, and to occupy the heights of Charlestown at once. The troops were full of zeal, and eager for action It was thought wise to take advantage of this disposition, while it still existed in all its freshness, unimpaired by the weariness that would soon be created by absence from home, and the privations and hardships of military life. It was also necessary, that the attempt, if made at all,

should be made immediately; for, if the Britisn were permitted to intrench themselves in these positions, it would be impossible to dislodge them, and all hope of recovering Boston must be given up.

It was urged, on the other hand, that the attempt to occupy the heights of Charlestown would, of course, be resisted by the British; and, if sustained, would bring on a general engagement, for which the army was entirely unprepared, from a want of ammunition. There were, at that time, only eleven barrels of powder in the camp, and only sixty-seven within the State of Massachusetts. It is remarkable, that the more decisive, not to say rash, course, was recommended, on this occasion, by the veterans of the council, Prescott and Putnam; while the part of prudence was sustained by the young and ardent Warren. The result evinced the correctness of his views. The attempt failed, as had been anticipated, precisely for want of powder. Strict prudence might, perhaps, have counselled the delay, or rather abandonment, of the enterprise; for, if not attempted at once, it could not, as was intimated above, be attempted at all.

But it may be said, on the other hand, that strict prudence would hardly have lent her sanction to any of the proceedings of the Revolution,

from first to last. It was throughout, in all its parts, an effort of noble and generous feeling, made in defiance of cool calculation; and the result furnishes one among the numerous instances to be found in the history of the world, in which such attempts have been crowned with success. Almost all the great political and moral revolutions have been the triumph of truth and justice over an overwhelming superiority of mere material force.

The feeling, that predominated in the Council of War and the Committee of Safety, was the same that prevailed in the army and throughout the country. It called for immediate action. Colonels Gridley and Henshaw, accompanied by Mr. Devens, had already, by direction of General Ward, surveyed the country, and pointed out Prospect, Bunker's, and Breed's Hills, as the points proper to be occupied. On the 15th of June, it was accordingly voted in the Committee of Safety, which, as has been remarked, constituted the real executive power, to recommend to the Council of War to occupy and fortify Bunker's Hill at once, and Dorchester Heights as soon as might be practicable.

The Council of War proceeded in conformity with this suggestion; and, on the following day, the 16th of June, General Ward, under their direction, issued orders to Colonel Prescott, to

proceed to Charlestown, and to occupy and fortify Bunker's Hill. He was directed to take with him, upon this expedition, his own regiment, and those of Colonels Bridge and Frye; a hundred and twelve men from that of General Putnam, and Captain Gridley's company of artillery, with two fieldpieces. Colonel Frye being absent on other duty, his regiment was commanded at the time by Lieutenant Colonel Brickett; but the Colonel, as I shall have occasion to mention, joined it in the course of the action.

The whole corps amounted to about a thousand men. They were ordered to take with them provisions for one day; and reinforcements, with additional provisions, were to be sent, if they should be found necessary. The detachment was mustered, early in the evening of the 16th, on Cambridge Common, near the Colleges, on which the main body of the army had been quartered. Religious service was performed by President Langdon; after which the troops took up the line of march. Colonel Prescott led the way, attired in his calico frock, preceded by two sergeants with dark lanterns, and accompanied by Colonel Gridley and Judge Winthrop, of Cambridge. Brooks, then a major in Bridge's regiment, joined him at the Neck.

For the information of those, who are unac-

quainted with the geography of the neighborhood of Boston, it may be proper to say, that Charlestown is a peninsula, about a mile long, and half a mile wide at the broadest part, where it is separated from Boston by a narrow channel; that it diminishes gradually in breadth from this part, until it terminates in a neck a hundred and thirty yards over, which connects it with the continent; and that it rises from the channel, and from the banks of the rivers Mystic and Charles, into a height of land composed of two eminences, denominated Bunker's and Breed's Hills. At the time of the battle, the latter name was less known, and that of Bunker's Hill was popularly applied to the whole height of land.

When the troops had reached the ground, and were preparing to execute their orders, the question arose, which of the two hills was intended as Bunker's Hill, and was, of course, the one to be fortified. The northern eminence was more generally spoken of under that name; while the southern, commonly called Breed's Hill, was evidently the one best fitted for the purpose. A good deal of time was consumed in discussing this question; but it was at length determined to construct the principal work on Breed's Hill, and to erect an additional and subsidiary one on Bunker's Hill. Colonel Gridley accordingly proceeded to lay out the principal work.

He placed a redoubt eight rods square on the summit of the hill, with the strongest side secured by projecting angles, looking towards Charlestown and with an open entrance from the north, or the other side. From the northeastern corner of the redoubt he ran a breastwork, on a line with its side, to a marsh, which lay between the hill and the bank of the river. There was an opening, or sally-port, secured by a blind, between the redoubt and the breastwork. So much time had been lost in discussing the question where the works should be placed, that it was midnight before a spade entered the ground, and there remained less than four hours before day light, when the operations would, of course, be seen by the British. The men, however, went to work with alacrity.

In the mean time a strong guard, under Captain Manners, was stationed on the Charlestown shore, to observe the enemy. The day had been fair, and it was a clear, starlight night Colonel Prescott, accompanied by Major Brooks, went down twice to the shore, to reconnoitre, and distinctly heard the British sentries relieving guard, and uttering, as they walked their rounds, the customary, but, in this instance, deceptive cry, *All 's well.*

It may be remarked here, that Major Brooks, who was so conspicuous and useful through the

day, was not at Cambridge when the detachment was ordered to march. He had appeared as a major in Bridge's regiment of militia, at the battle of Lexington, and received, soon after, a similar rank in the line. On the day preceding the battle, he was at home, at Medford, on account of illness in his family; but, hearing that his regiment was ordered on duty, he voluntarily repaired to his post, and, as has been remarked, joined his companions on their way at Charlestown Neck.

CHAPTER VII.

Commencement of the Action of the 17th of June. — The British open their Batteries upon the American Works. — The Americans send for Reinforcements, and are joined by the New Hampshire Troops, under Colonels Stark and Reed.

The American troops continued their work unmolested until daylight, when they were discovered by the British. A heavy fire was immediately opened upon them, from the battery on Cops Hill, and from the ships in the river. It continued for some time without effect; until, at length, Asa Pollard, of Billerica, a private soldier, who had ventured without the works, was struck by a ball, and killed on the spot. Such were the circumstances under which the first blood was shed.

Not long after the British had opened their fire, some of the American officers, perceiving that the men were fatigued with the labors of the night, proposed to Colonel Prescott, that they should be relieved by another detachment. The Colonel immediately assembled a council of war, in which the same proposition was renewed

Prescott, however, strenuously opposed it. The enemy, he thought, would not venture to attack; if they did, they would be repulsed; the men who had raised the works were best able to defend them; they had the merit of the labor, and ought to have the honor of the victory. The proposition to send for relief was rejected.

At about nine o'clock, movements were observed among the British troops in Boston, indicating the intention to attack; the men were now exhausted by fatigue and want of refreshment; the proposition to send for relief was renewed. Prescott again assembled a council, but still discountenanced the proposed plan, which was again rejected. It was thought expedient, however, to send immediately for reinforcements and provisions; and Major Brooks was ordered to proceed to Cambridge, and apply to General Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition, he was directed to take one of the horses belonging to Captain Gridley's company of artillery. To this proposal the captain demurred. Our fathers, as we shall presently see in another instance, seem, on this eventful day, to have been more anxious for the safety of their horses, than they were for their own. Captain Gridley's scruples prevailed, and Major Brooks was ordered to proceed, as rapidly as he could, on foot. He arrived at

Cambridge at about ten o'clock, and delivered his message to General Ward.

The General hesitated about the propriety of sending reinforcements to Charlestown. He feared that the enemy might seize the occasion to make an attempt upon the public stores at Cambridge and Watertown; and thought it hardly prudent to leave them unprotected. The Committee of Safety, who were then in session at head-quarters, were consulted upon the subject; and in this body there was also a difference of opinion. Mr. Devens, of Charlestown, who was a member of the Committee, influenced perhaps in some degree by local feeling, urged very strongly the necessity of sending a large reinforcement; and his opinion so far prevailed, that General Ward despatched orders to Colonels Stark and Reed, who were stationed, as has been remarked, at Medford, with the New Hampshire troops, to join Colonel Prescott.

Without intending to impute the slightest blame to General Ward, or to the Committee of Safety, whose conduct, through the whole affair, is above all praise, it may be conjectured that, if they had perceived at the moment more distinctly the importance of sending reinforcements, and especially ammunition, the fortune of the day might perhaps have been different

Had the Americans been supplied with powder enough to meet the enemy on the third attack, as they did on the two first, it is hardly probable that the British would have returned a fourth time to the charge.

Stark and Reed received their orders at about eleven o'clock, and, having supplied their men with powder and ball, an affair which, from the total want of preparation, occupied two hours, they took up the line of march at about one. When they reached Charlestown Neck, they found the entrance occupied by one or two regiments, who had been stationed there the day before, but had not yet received orders to march. Maclary, the major of Stark's regiment, rode forward, by his order, and requested the colonels of these regiments, if they did not intend to proceed, to open to the right and left, and let the New Hampshire troops pass through, which they did.

The troops were marching to slow time, and the Neck, as has been said, was enfiladed by the fire of the *Glasgow*. "My company being in front," says General, then Captain, Dearborn in his account of the battle, "and I, of course, marching by the side of Stark, I suggested to him the propriety of quickening our pace, that we might relieve the men the sooner from the enemy's fire. 'Dearborn,' he replied, 'one fresh

man, in action, is worth a dozen fatigued ones.'" The march proceeded in slow time.

Stark, like Prescott, Putnam, and Gridley, was a veteran of the French wars. He had served as a captain of rangers, with the highest distinction; had fought with Wolfe, at Quebec; had been received, after the war, into the British service; and, like Gridley, had sacrificed rank and pay in the cause. Major Maclary was, likewise, an officer of great repute.

The New Hampshire troops arrived upon the field at about two o'clock. In the mean time, the American lines had been extended on the left, where advantage had been taken of a fence, composed of stone, surmounted by wooden rails, which ran about two hundred yards in the rear of the breastwork, from the hill to the bank of Mystic River. A little in front of this fence, the troops formed another, of a similar kind, out of the other fences in the neighborhood; and, by filling up the space between the two with the hay which was lying upon the field, constructed an imperfect substitute for a regular breastwork. Between the south end of the rail fence and the north end of the breastwork, there was an opening of about two hundred yards, which was entirely unprotected by any work whatever. This was the weak point in the American defences, and the one through which the British finally

poured in the raking fire from their artillery, which compelled the Americans to leave the redoubt.

General Putnam had posted his company of Connecticut troops, under Captain Knowlton, at the rail fence; and, when the New Hampshire troops came upon the field, he was employed, with a part of the original detachment, in throwing up a second, subsidiary work upon the northern eminence, properly called Bunker's Hill, in distinction from Breed's, which he seems to have regarded as a very important part of the operations of the day. He retained a portion of the New Hampshire troops to aid him at this point, and advised the rest to post themselves, with the Connecticut troops, at the rail fence. Stark accordingly took that course. Having encouraged his men by a short address, and ordered them to give three cheers, he put them at last into quick time, and marched up rapidly to the lines.

These were the principal reinforcements, that came upon the field in season to be of any use At about one o'clock, when it had become apparent that the British intended to attack the works, General Ward ordered all the troops at Cambridge, with the exception of five regiments, to reinforce those which were engaged; but it was now so late in the day, that this order produced but little effect. Most of the troops did

not reach the ground; and those that did, came too late to be of much service.

The disposition of the American troops at the opening of the action was, therefore, as follows. Colonel Prescott, with Colonel Bridge, Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, and the greater part of the original detachment of a thousand men, were in the redoubt and at the breastwork Captain Gridley, with his company of artillery and two fieldpieces, and Captain Callender, with another of the same force, were at the opening between the redoubt and the breastwork. Colonels Stark and Reed, with the New Hampshire troops, and Captain Knowlton, with the Connecticut company, were at the rail fence on the left. Captain Manners, with the troops that had been stationed on the Charlestown shore in the morning, were at another rail fence, which had been formed on the right, between the redoubt and the road. General Putnam, who was on horseback, superintended the work on Bunker's Hill, whence he rode, as occasion required, to the rail fence, and once or twice in the course of the morning to head-quarters at Cambridge.

Pomroy, who, as has been said, held no commission in the line, when he heard the artillery, felt it as a summons to action, and could not resist the inclination to repair to the field. He accordingly requested General Ward to lend

him a horse, and, taking his musket, set off at full speed for Charlestown. On reaching the Neck, and finding it enfiladed by a hot and heavy fire of round, bar, and chain shot, from the *Glasgow*, he began to be alarmed; not, as may well be supposed, for his own safety, but for that of General Ward's horse. Horses, as has been already remarked, were at this time almost as rare and precious as the nobler animals that rode them. Too honest to expose his borrowed horse to "the pelting of this pitiless storm," and too bold to dream for a moment of shrinking from it himself, the conqueror of Baron Dieskau dismounted, delivered the horse to a sentry, shouldered his musket, and marched on foot across the Neck. On reaching the hill, he took his station at the rail fence. His person was known to the soldiers, and the name of Pomroy rang with shouts along the line.

CHAPTER VIII.

Progress of the Action.—A Detachment of British Troops lands at Charlestown.—View of the two Peninsulas and the neighboring Country.—General Warren comes upon the Field.

While the Americans were employed in fortifying the heights of Charlestown, and in preparing to defend them against the enemy, the British, on their part, were not less busily engaged in preparations for attack. At daybreak, when the movements of the Americans were first discovered, a fire was opened upon them from all the batteries, which was continued, but without doing much execution, through the day.

At an early hour in the morning, Governor Gage summoned a council of war, at the building now called the City Hall. They were all, of course, agreed as to the propriety of dislodg ing the Americans, but there was some difference of opinion upon the mode of making the attack. Generals Clinton and Grant were for landing at Charlestown Neck, and taking the works in the rear; but this plan was considered by the Governor as too hazardous. It would

place the British between two armies, one superior in force, and the other strongly intrenched, by which they might be attacked at once in front and rear, without the possibility of a retreat. The plan preferred by the council was to attack the works in front.

Accordingly, at about noon, twenty-eight barges left the end of Long Wharf, filled with the principal part of the first detachment of the British troops, which consisted of four battalions of infantry, ten companies of light infantry, and ten of grenadiers. They had six pieces of artillery, one of which was placed in each of the six leading boats. The barges formed in single file, and in two parallel lines. The day was without a cloud, and the regular movement of this splendid naval procession, with the glow of the brazen artillery and the scarlet dresses and burnished arms of the troops, exhibited to the unaccustomed eyes of the Americans a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The barges proceeded in good order, and landed their freight at the southeastern point of the peninsula, commonly called Morton's Point.

Immediately after they had landed, it was discovered, that most of the cannon balls, which had been brought over, were too large for the pieces, and that it was necessary to send them back, and obtain a fresh supply. "This wretched

blunder of oversized balls," says a British writer of the day, "arose from the dotage of an officer of high rank, who spends all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters." It seems, that General Cleveland, "who," as the same author says, "though no Samson, must have his Delilah," was enamored of the beautiful daughter of Master Lovell, and, in order to win favor with the damsel, had given her young brother an appointment in the ordnance department, for which he was not qualified. The accident, to whatever cause it may have been owing, created delay, and somewhat diminished the British fire during the first two attacks.

While the British commander was preparing and sending off his second detachment, the first remained unmolested at Morton's Point, and quietly dined, most of the men for the last time, from the contents of their knapsacks. At about two o'clock, the second detachment left Winnisimmett Ferry in the barges, and joined the first at Morton's Point; soon after which the reinforcements, consisting of a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, the forty-seventh battalion of infantry, and a battalion of marines landed at Madlin's shipyard, now the Navy Yard, near the east end of Breed's Hill. The detachment consisted altogether of about four thousand men, and was commanded by General

Howe. He had under him General Pigot, and Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clark.

Such were the respective forces and positions of the two armies at the moment immediately preceding the battle. The spectacle, which was exhibited at this time by the two peninsulas and the surrounding waters and country, must have been of a highly varied and brilliant character. General Burgoyne, in a letter written two or three days after the battle, has given a spirited sketch of this splendid panorama, as seen by the British officers from the heights at the northern extremity of Boston. Immediately below them flowed the river Charles, not, as now, interrupted by numerous bridges, but pursuing a smooth, unbroken way to the ocean. Between them and the Charlestown shore, lay at anchor the ships of war the *Somerset*, the *Lively*, and the *Falcon*; and farther on the left, within the bay, the *Glasgow*. Their black and threatening hulks poured forth at every new discharge fresh volumes of smoke, which hung like fleecy clouds upon the air.

From time to time, as the veil of smoke was cleared away by the wind, the spectator could see, upon the opposite side of the river, rising from the shore by a gentle ascent, the sister hills of Charlestown, clothed in the green luxuriance of the first flush of vegetation, excepting

where their summits were broken by the low and hasty works of the Americans. Behind these scanty defences could be seen our gallant fathers, swarming to the rescue of freedom and their country. Their homely apparel had but little to attract the eye, but now and then, when some favorite officer made his appearance, a shout of gratulation passed along their ranks, which showed the zeal that inspired them for the cause. Below the hill, the flourishing village of Charlestown extended its white dwellings, interspersed with trees and gardens, along the shore; and farther to the right, the British troops spread forth their long and brilliant lines.

While both the armies, and the assembled multitude, were hushed in breathless expectation, awaiting eagerly the signal for the action, a horseman was seen advancing from Charlestown Neck at full speed towards the American works. As he crossed Bunker's Hill, General Putnam, who was there, and also on horseback, rode forward to meet him, and recognised General Warren. "General Warren!" exclaimed the veteran, "is it you? I rejoice and regret to see you. Your life is too precious to be exposed in this battle; but, since you are here, I take your orders." "General Putnam, I have none to give. You have made your arrangements. I come to aid you as a volunteer. Tell me where

I can be useful." "Go, then," said Putnam, "to the redoubt; you will there be covered." "I came not to be covered," replied Warren; "tell me where I shall be most in danger; tell me where the action will be hottest." "The redoubt," said Putnam, "will be the enemy's object. If that can be defended, the day is ours." General Warren pursued his way to the redoubt. As he came in view of the troops, they recognised his person, though he wore no uniform, and welcomed him with loud acclamations. When he reached the redoubt, Colonel Prescott offered to take his orders. "No, Colonel Prescott," he replied, "give me yours; give me a musket. I have come to take a lesson of a veteran soldier in the art of war."

These particulars, including the dialogue, are given substantially as reported afterwards by General Putnam and Colonel Prescott, and may be depended on as authentic. Warren, as has been already intimated, was originally opposed to the plan of fortifying the heights of Charlestown; but, when the majority of the Council of War had decided in favor of it, he told them, that he should personally take a part in carrying it into effect. He was strongly urged not to do so, but his resolution was immovable.

On the day preceding the battle, he officiated

as President of the Congress, which was in session at Watertown; and had passed the night in transacting business. At daylight he rode to head-quarters at Cambridge, where he arrived, suffering severely with headache, and retired soon after to take some repose. When information was received, that the British were moving, General Ward sent to give him notice. He rose immediately, declared that his headache was gone, and attended the meeting of the Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman. At this meeting, Elbridge Gerry, who entertained the same opinion with Warren upon the prudence of the attempt, earnestly requested him not to expose his person. "I am aware of the danger," replied the young hero, "but I should die with shame, if I were to remain at home in safety, while my friends and fellow citizens are shedding their blood and hazarding their lives in the cause." "Your ardent temper," replied Gerry, "will carry you forward into the midst of peril, and you will probably fall." "I know that I may fall," returned Warren; "but where is the man who does not think it glorious and delightful to die for his country?

'Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.'"

Such, as reported by the friends who heard it, was the language of Warren, in the Com-

mittee of Safety, on the morning of the 17tn of June. After the adjournment of the Committee, he mounted his horse, and rode to Charlestown, where he arrived with the reinforcements a short time only before the commencement of the battle.

CHAPTER IX.

General Howe attempts to storm the American Works. — He is repulsed with great Loss — Ill Conduct of the American Artillery. — Gridley. — Gerrish. — Callender.

The plan of attack determined on in the British council of war, as has been already remarked, was to land in front of the works, and attempt to carry them by storm.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the force intended for the service being all in position, and every necessary preparation made, the signal was given for action, by a general discharge of artillery along the whole British line. The troops advanced in two divisions. General Howe, in person, led the right, towards the rail fence; General Pigot, with the left, aimed directly at the redoubt.

It would seem, that the order for a fresh supply of balls, had not yet been answered; as the fire of the British artillery is represented as having been suspended soon after it commenced, because those on hand were too large. It was, however, renewed immediately with grape shot. The little battery, which was stationed at the

opening between the redoubt and breastwork, in the American lines, replied with effect. In the mean time, the American drums beat to arms. General Putnam, who was still at work on Bunker's Hill, quitted his intrenchment, and led his men into action. "Powder is scarce," said the veteran, addressing them in his usual pointed and laconic style; "powder is scarce, and must not be wasted. Reserve your fire till you see the whites of their eyes. Then take aim at the officers."

The substance of these remarks was repeated as an order along the line; but when the British had come within gunshot of the works, a few sharp-shooters disobeyed the injunction, and fired. "Fire again before the word is given at your peril," exclaimed Prescott; "the next man that disobeys orders shall be instantly shot." Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, who, with Colonel Buttrick, had led the troops so gallantly at Concord, on the 19th of April, ran round the top of the parapet, and threw up the muskets. At length the British were at only eight rods distance. "Now, men! now is your time!" said Prescott. "Make ready! take aim! fire!"

So effectually was the order obeyed, that, when the smoke cleared away, the whole hill side was covered, as it were, with the fallen. The British returned the fire; they attempted to rally and

advance, but without success. After a moment's irresolution, they turned their backs, and hurried from the hill.

Such was the issue of the first attempt to storm the works. It was, in all respects, auspicious for the future fortunes of the day; and it may be safely said, that the timely arrival at this moment, of the reinforcements of artillery and supplies of ammunition, which had been ordered from Cambridge, would have insured the most brilliant success. It was now, that the practical mischief, resulting from Colonel Gridley's ill-judged exhibition of parental partiality, in giving the place of major in the artillery to his own son, in preference to Count Rumford, was severely felt.

Major Gridley, as his subsequent conduct proved, was entirely incompetent to the duty assigned him. Could the thorough science, with the vigorous and energetic character of Rumford, have been employed in doing justice to the orders of the veteran conqueror of Louisburg, there would, in all probability, have been no want of ammunition; powder enough would, in one way or another, have found its way into the works, and the day might still have been ours. But it was the fortune of America, on this occasion, to pay the penalty of Colonel Gridley's fatherly weakness, as Great Britain did, though

to a less disastrous extent, that of General Cleveland's superannuated gallantry.

The American artillery was badly served through the whole action. Early in the day, Captain Callender, who, as has been said, was stationed with his company and two fieldpieces at the opening between the redoubt and breastwork, drew off his pieces from the post assigned him, to Bunker's Hill, in order, as he said, that he might prepare his ammunition in safety. General Putnam attempted in vain to induce him to return, and was finally obliged to employ Captain Ford, who was crossing the hill with his company of infantry, and knew nothing of the artillery service, to drag the pieces back. By him, and by Captain Perkins of Boston, who was also stationed at the opening between the redoubt and the breastwork, they were served through the day.

Major Gridley had been ordered to proceed with his battalion from Cambridge to the lines; but had advanced only a few yards beyond the Neck, when he made a halt, determined, as he said, to wait and cover the retreat, which he deemed inevitable. At that moment, Colonel Frye, a veteran of the old French wars, whose regiment was in the redoubt, but who, being on other duty, as was remarked before, had not yet joined it, was riding toward the hill, and

perceived Major Gridley with his artillery in the position which I have described. Frye galloped up to him, and demanded what it meant. "We are waiting," said Gridley, "to cover the retreat." "Retreat?" replied the veteran; "who talks of retreating? This day, thirty years ago, I was present at the first taking of Louisburg, when your father, with his own hand, lodged a shell in the citadel. His son was not born to talk of retreating. Forward to the lines!"

Gridley proceeded a short distance with his artillery; but, overcome with terror, and unequal to the horrors of the scene, he ordered his men to recross the Neck, and take a position on Cobble Hill, where they were to fire with their three-pounders upon the *Glasgow*. The order was so absurd, that Captain Trevett refused to obey it, and proceeded with his two pieces. He lost one of them by a cannon-shot on Bunker's Hill; the other he brought to the lines. This little fragment of Major Gridley's battalion was the only reinforcement of artillery that came into action.

Colonel Gerrish, with his regiment of infantry, reached the top of Bunker's Hill, on his way to the lines; but there his courage failed. He had served with distinction as a captain in the provincial army of 1756, but had now become unwieldy from excessive corpulence. On reach

ing the top of Bunker's Hill, he declared that he could not go a step farther, and threw himself prostrate upon the ground. Putnam, who was on the hill, attempted in vain to induce him to proceed. His men, discouraged, probably, by the conduct of their commander, were equally indisposed for action. "They could not proceed without their officers." Putnam offered to lead them himself. "The cannon were abandoned, and there was no chance without artillery." In short, the service of the regiment was entirely lost.

Gerrish, by some unaccountable accident, was not only not tried for his conduct on this occasion, but was even employed after the battle upon another service, in which his behavior was not much better. He was then brought to a court-martial for his delinquency in both the actions, convicted of conduct unworthy of an officer, and cashiered.

Major Gridley was tried for neglect of duty, and dismissed from the service.

Captain Callender was also brought to a court-martial, convicted of cowardice, and dismissed from the service; but he determined to clear away the stain upon his character in the most honorable manner. He continued with the army as a volunteer, and exposed himself desperately in every action. Finally. at the battle of Long

Island, after the captain and lieutenant of the artillery company in which he served as a private had been shot, he assumed the command, and, refusing to retreat, fought his pieces till the enemy were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his intrepidity, interfered, and saved his life. He continued in the service till the end of the war, and sustained the character of a brave and energetic officer.*

* See *Washington's Writings*, Vol. III. p. 490.

CHAPTER X.

Conflagration of Charlestown. — General Howe attempts a second Time to storm the American Works. — He is again repulsed with great Loss. — Anecdote of General Putnam and Major Small, of the British Army.

After the repulse of the British troops in their first attack upon the works, an ominous pause, like the lull that sometimes interrupts the wildest tempest, prevailed upon the scene of action, only broken by the occasional discharges of artillery from the ships and batteries. It was not, however, of long duration. General Howe determined, at once, upon a second attack; and, having rallied and reorganized his men, gave the order to advance. With unshaken intrepidity they proceeded through the long grass, under the heat of a blazing summer sun, loaded with knapsacks of more than a hundred pounds each, towards the lines The artillery pushed forward, to within three hundred yards of the rail fence, and opened their battery to prepare the way for the infantry. In the mean time, a deep silence brooded over the American lines. The men were ordered to re-

serve their fire till the enemy should be within six rods' distance.

While the troops were thus advancing, a new spectacle burst suddenly upon the eyes of the assembled multitude, and added another feature, more startling, if possible, than the rest, to the terrible sublimity of the scene. Clouds of smoke were seen to overspread the air, from which sheets of fire flashed forth in all directions, and it soon became apparent that Charlestown was in flames. The British general had been annoyed, at his first attack upon the works, by the fire of a detachment stationed in the town, and had given orders that it should be burned. For this purpose, combustibles were hurled into it from Boston, which commenced the conflagration; and a detachment of marines, from the *Somerset*, were directed to land, and aid in giving it effect. The flames spread with great rapidity through the town, devouring, with unrelenting fury, house on house, and street on street. At length the large church took fire.

As the flames ascended from the body of the building along the lofty spire, it exhibited a curious and splendid spectacle. When they reached the steeple, the beams that suspended the bell were pretty soon burned off, and the bell itself fell to the ground, ringing continuously with a strange and startling alarm, which was heard

distinctly through the noise of crackling flames and crashing edifices.

Unmoved by scenes like these, which, in ordinary times, would drive the dullest souls to desperation, the armies coolly prosecuted their work. The British troops ascended the hill by slow and regular approaches, firing in platoons with all the precision of a holiday review, and though without aim, not entirely without effect. Colonels Brewer and Nixon were carried off wounded. Colonel Buckminster was crippled for life, by a ball through the shoulder. Major Moore was shot through the thigh. While his men were carrying him from the field, he received another wound in the body, which afterwards proved mortal. He called for water, but none could now be obtained short of the Neck, and two of his men set forth to get it for him.

In the mean time, the Americans, agreeably to their orders, reserved their fire till the British were at six rods' distance. The word was then given, and the discharge took place with still more fatal effect than in the former attack. Hundreds of the men, including a large proportion of the best officers, were prostrated by it. General Howe remained almost alone. Nearly every officer of his staff was killed or wounded by his side, and among them his aids, Colonels Gordon, Balfour, and Addison; the last belong-

ing to the family of the author of the "Spectator." So tremendous was the havoc, that it was found impossible to pursue the attack; and, for the second time on this eventful day, the order was given for the British army to retreat from the hill.

At this period in the progress of the battle, a little incident occurred, in which General Putnam, and Major Small of the British army, were the parties concerned, and which throws over the various horrors of the scene a momentary gleam of kindness and chivalry. It has already been remarked, that these two officers were personally known to each other, and had, in fact, while serving together in the former wars, against the French, contracted a close friendship. After the fire from the American works had taken effect, Major Small, like his commander, remained almost alone upon the field. His companions in arms had been all swept away, and, standing thus apart, he became immediately, from the brilliancy of his dress, a conspicuous mark for the Americans within the redoubt. They had already pointed their unerring rifles at his heart, and the delay of another minute would, probably, have stopped its pulses for ever. At this moment, General Putnam recognised his friend, and perceiving the imminent danger in which he was placed, sprang upon the parapet, and

threw himself before the levelled rifles. "Spare that officer, my gallant comrades," said the noble-minded veteran; "we are friends; we are brothers; do you not remember how we rushed into each other's arms at the meeting for the exchange of prisoners?" This appeal, urged in the well known voice of a favorite old chief, was successful, and Small retired unmolested from the field.

The anecdote, though it wears a rather poetical aspect, is understood to rest upon the well attested authority of both the parties, and may probably be relied on as substantially true. Its authenticity is, in fact, placed beyond a reasonable doubt by the connexion of the incident related with another of a similar kind, which occurred in the farther progress of the action and will be mentioned in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

Third Attack upon the American Works, which proves successful. — The Americans leave the Redoubt. — Death of Warren.

The British general, undaunted by the new and fatal evidence, afforded by this second repulse, of the determination of the Americans to defend themselves to the last extremity, gave orders, at once, for a third attack. He was now, however, so far enlightened by the lessons he had received, as to adopt a more judicious plan than before. He concentrated his whole force upon the redoubt and breastwork, instead of directing a portion of it against the rail fence. He also directed his men to throw aside their knapsacks, reserve their fire, and trust wholly to the bayonet.

He had discovered the vulnerable point in the American defences, and pushed forward his artillery to the opening between the redoubt and breastwork, where it turned our works, and enfiladed the whole line. General Howe, as before, commanded on the right, and General Pigot on the left. General Clinton, who had seen from Cops Hill the defeat of his countrymen, though

not himself on duty, volunteered his services, and hastened to the rescue. His well known gallantry and talents inspired new confidence. He took his station with General Pigot, on the left.

In the mean time, the Americans were reduced to the last extremity. Their ammunition was exhausted; they had no bayonets; no reinforcements appeared. Colonel Gardiner, who had been stationed with his regiment at Charlestown Neck, but had received no orders to march, through the day, volunteered his services. and reached Bunker's Hill with three hundred men. Just as he was descending to the lines, he received a wound from a musket ball, which afterwards proved mortal.

As his men were carrying him from the field, his son, a youth of nineteen, second lieutenant in Trevett's artillery company, which had just come up, met and recognised his father. Distracted at seeing him in this condition, he offered to aid in conducting him from the field. "Think not of me," replied the father, with a spirit worthy of a Bayard, "think not of me. I am well. Go forward to your duty!" The son obeyed his orders, and the father retired from the field to die. He was a member of the General Court, from Cambridge, and one of the principal men of the colony. His regi

ment was broken by the loss of their leader, and only one company came into action. This was the Charlestown company, commanded by Captain Harris. It was the last to leave the field.

Their line enfiladed, without ammunition, without bayonets, the Americans awaited with desperate resolution the onset of the British; prepared to repel them, as they best might, with the few remaining charges of powder and ball, with the stocks of their muskets, and with stones. Having reached the works, the foremost of the British attempted to scale them. Richardson, a private in the Royal Irish regiment, was the first to mount the parapet. He was shot down at once. Major Pitcairn followed him. As he stepped upon the parapet, he was heard to utter the exulting cry, "The day is ours!" But, while the words were still upon his lips, he was shot through the body by a black soldier, named Salem. His son received him in his arms as he fell, and carried him from the hill. He led the detachment, which first encountered our troops upon Lexington Green, on the 19th of April, had a horse shot under him on that day, and was left upon the field for dead.

General Pigot, who had mounted the south-east corner of the redoubt, by the aid of a tree, which had been left standing there, was the first

person to enter the works. He was followed by his men. The Americans, however, still held out. Gridley received, at this time, a ball through the leg, and was carried from the field. Colonel Bridge, who had come with the first detachment the night before, remained till the last, and was twice severely wounded with a broadsword. Lieutenant Prescott, a nephew of the Colonel, was wounded in the arm, which hung broken and lifeless by his side. His uncle advised him to content himself with encouraging the men; but he continued to load his musket, and was passing through the sallyport, to point it at the enemy, when a cannon ball cut him to pieces. Major Moore remained at the last extremity. His men, who had gone to the Neck for water, returned and offered to assist him, but he told them to provide for themselves, and leave him to his fate. Perceiving, at length, that further resistance would be only a wanton and useless sacrifice of valuable life, Colonel Prescott ordered a retreat. The Americans left the redoubt, and retired with little molestation from the hill.

General Warren had come upon the field, as he said, to learn the art of war from a veteran soldier. He had offered to take Colonel Prescott's orders; but his desperate courage would hardly permit him to obey the last. It was not

without extreme reluctance, and at the very latest moment, that he quitted the redoubt; and he was slowly retreating from it, being still at a few rods' distance only, when the British had obtained full possession. His person was, of course, in imminent danger. At this critical moment, Major Small, whose life, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, had been saved in a similar emergency by the interference of General Putnam, attempted to requite the service by rendering one of a like character to Warren. He called out to him by name from the redoubt, and begged him to surrender, at the same time ordering the men around him to suspend their fire. Warren turned his head, as if he recognised the voice, but the effort was too late. While his face was directed toward the works, a ball struck him on the forehead, and inflicted a wound which was instantly fatal.

These particulars of the death of Warren are understood to rest on the authority of Major Small himself, and are believed to be authentic. His body was identified the following day, by General Isaac Winslow, of Boston, then a youth, and by various other visiters of the field, who had been familiar with his person. The bullet, which terminated his life, was taken from the body by Mr. Savage, an officer in the Custom House, and was carried by him to England

Several years afterwards, it was given by him at London, to the Reverend Mr. Montague, of Dedham, Massachusetts, and is now in possession of his family. The remains of Warren were buried on the spot where he fell. The next year, they were removed to a tomb in the Tremont Cemetery, and were finally deposited in the family vault, under St. Paul's Church, in Boston.

General Howe, though slightly wounded in the foot, passed the night on the field of battle. The next morning, as he lay wrapped in his cloak upon a mound of hay, word was brought to him, that the body of Warren was found among the dead. Howe refused, at first, to credit the intelligence. It was impossible, that the President of Congress could have exposed his life in such a battle. When assured of the fact, he declared that his death was a full offset for the loss of five hundred men.

The battle, which commenced at three o'clock, lasted about two hours. The number of Americans engaged is estimated at about three thousand five hundred. The loss was a hundred and fifteen killed and missing, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty taken prisoners. Prescott's regiment suffered more than any other; in that alone, there were forty-two killed, and twenty-eight wounded. The other regiments, which com

posed the original detachment, and the New Hampshire troops, also suffered severely. Colonel Gardiner, Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, Major Moore, and Major Maclary, were the only officers, above the rank of captain, who fell in the battle.

The number of British troops engaged was estimated, as has been said, at about four thousand. Their loss was rated by the Massachusetts Congress, in their official account of the action, at fifteen hundred. Governor Gage, in his official account, acknowledges a loss of one thousand and fifty-four; two hundred and twenty-six killed, eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including nineteen officers killed, and twenty-eight wounded. Charlestown was entirely destroyed by the flames. After the battle, the British took possession of Bunker's Hill, from which they kept up a fire of artillery through the night. The Americans occupied Prospect and Winter Hills. It was apprehended, that the British would pursue their advantage, by making an attempt on the stores at Cambridge; but their loss was probably too severe. They intrenched themselves on Bunker's Hill, and the Americans resumed their former position.*

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* For many facts in the preceding narrative, we have been indebted to Colonel Swett's valuable and interesting "*History of the Battle of Bunker's Hill*," where the reader may find all the details of the action fully explained.

CHAPTER XII.

Resclutions of the Continental Congress in Honor of Warren. — His Wife and Family. - Concluding Reflections.

In the official account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, by the Massachusetts Congress, the character of Warren is noticed in the most honorable terms. "Among the dead," says the account, "was Major-General Joseph Warren, a man, whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

General Warren married, soon after his establishment in Boston, Elizabeth Hooton, the daughter of a respectable physician of that place. She died about six years afterwards, leaving four children, two sons and two daughters. After the death of Mrs. Warren, the children were committed to the care of their paternal grandmother, with whom they remained until the marriage of Dr. John Warren, the youngest brother of the General. They were then taken home by him, and were considered afterwards

as a part of his family.* Within a year after the death of Warren, it was resolved, by the Continental Congress, that his eldest son should be educated at the public expense; and two or three years later, it was further resolved, that public provision should be made for the education of the other children, until the youngest should be of age. The sons both died soon after they reached maturity. The daughters were distinguished for their amiable qualities and personal beauty. One of them married the late General Arnold Welles, of Boston, and died without issue. The other married Richard Newcombe of Greenfield, Massachusetts. Their children are the only surviving descendants of the hero of Bunker's Hill.

In addition to the public provision made by the Congress for the children of Warren, it was also resolved by that body, that a monument should be erected, at the national expense, to his memory. This resolution, like the similar one in honor of Washington, remains, as yet, without effect. The duty imposed by it will, doubtless, be discharged by the piety and patriotism of

* The three younger children were for some time under the care of Miss Mercy Scollay, of Boston, to whose solicitude and kindness they were much indebted.—See SPARKS's *Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold*, p. 126.

some succeeding generation; but the noblest and most appropriate monument of both these great men, is, after all, to be found in the constantly increasing prosperity and power of their country.

Such are the only particulars of interest, that are now known, of the brief and brilliant career of Joseph Warren. Had it been his fortune to live out the usual term of human existence, he would probably have passed with distinction through a high career of usefulness and glory. His great powers, no longer limited to the sphere of a single province, would have directed the councils or led the armies of a vast confederate empire. We should have seen him, like his contemporaries and fellow patriots, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, sustaining the highest magistracies at home, or securing the rights and interests of the country, in her most important embassies, abroad; and, at length, in declining age, illuminating, like them, the whole social sphere, with the mild splendor of a long and peaceful retirement. This destiny was reserved for them, — for others.

To Warren, distinguished as he was among the bravest, wisest, and best of the patriotic band, was assigned, in the inscrutable decrees of Providence, the crown of early martyrdom. It becomes not human frailty to murmur at the will of Heaven; and however painful may be the

first emotions excited in the mind by the sudden and premature eclipse of so much talent and virtue, it may perhaps well be doubted, whether, by any course of active service, in a civil or military department, General Warren could have rendered more essential benefit to the country, or to the cause of liberty throughout the world, than by the single act of heroic self-devotion, which closed his existence. The blood of martyrs has been, in all ages, the nourishing rain of religion and liberty.

There are many among the patriots and heroes of the revolutionary war, whose names are connected with a greater number of important transactions; whose biography, correspondence, and writings fill more pages; and whose names will occupy a larger space in general history; but there is hardly one whose example will exercise a more inspiring and elevating influence upon his countrymen and the world, than that of the brave, blooming, generous, self-devoted martyr of Bunker's Hill. The contemplation of such a character is the noblest spectacle which the moral world affords. It is declared by a poet to be a spectacle worthy of the gods. It awakens, with tenfold force, the purifying emotions of admiration and tenderness, which are represented as the legitimate objects of tragedy.

A death like that of Warren is, in fact, the

most affecting and impressive catastrophe, that can ever occur, in the splendid tragedy, which is constantly going on around us, — far more imposing and interesting, for those who can enjoy it, than any of the mimic wonders of the drama, — the real action of life. The ennobling and softening influence of such events is not confined to contemporaries and countrymen. The friends of liberty, from all countries, and throughout all time, as they kneel upon the spot that was moistened by the blood of Warren, will find their better feelings strengthened by the influence of the place, and will gather from it a virtue in some degree allied to his own.

THE END

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