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MEMOIR

OF

COLONEL SETH WARNER,

BY

DANIEL CHIPMAN, LL. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE LIFE OF

COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN,

BY

JARED SPARKS, LL. D.

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PREFACE.

Several years since, I observed that great injustice had been done to the character of Seth Warner, by certain unintentional errors in existing history. I observed also that historians had omitted to state his services so fully as to enable the reader duly to appreciate his merits, and feeling a strong desire to correct those errors, supply those omissions, and transmit his character to posterity in its true light, I undertook to collect materials for a memoir of Seth Warner, but I was so unsuccessful, that I was compelled to abandon the object. Although I knew Warner, personally, only as a boy knows a man, yet, from those who were both his and my contemporaries, I had a full knowledge of the man, but I could not think it either useful or proper to portray his character, on my own authority, unsupported by evidence.

Within the year past I have been more successful in procuring materials for the memoir. I have obtained a short biographical sketch of Seth Warner, published in the Rural Magazine in 1795, and I have been furnished by Henry Stevens, Esq., from his extensive collection of papers relating to our early history, with Warner's correspondence, and many public documents, without which, I should not have undertaken to write the memoir. As Warner was a principal leader of the Green Mountain Boys, during their controversy with New York, and was constantly engaged in the

In the first volume of Sparks' American Biography is a memoir of Ethan Allen,* from which the reader may obtain as competent a knowledge of the man as he can desire—he will find his character with all his eccentricities, clearly, truly and fully portrayed. The character of Seth Warner, to whom we are so deeply indebted for the independence of Vermont, and who was so distinguished an officer in the war of the revolution should also pass down to future generations in its true light. To effect this, I shall portray his character as fully as the scanty materials which can be obtained at this late day, and my own recollection of the men of those early times will admit.

SETH WARNER was born in Roxbury, then a parish of Woodbury, in Connecticut, in the year 1743. Without any advantages for an education beyond those which were found in the common schools of those times, he was early distinguished by his energy, sound judgment, and manly and noble bearing. In the year 1763, his father, Dr. Benjamin Warner, removed to Bennington, in the New Hampshire Grants, the second year after the first settlement of the town. The game with which the woods abounded

* By permission of the Author, this memoir is incorporated into the present volume.

at once attracted the attention of young Warner, and he was soon distinguished as an indefatigable, expert, and successful hunter. About this time a scene began to open, which gave a new direction to the active and enterprising spirit of Warner—the controversy between New York and the settlers upon the New Hampshire Grants had commenced. To enable the reader duly to estimate the services and merits of Warner, in his defence of the N. H. Grants against the claims of New York, it seems necessary to give a concise history of the rise and progress of that controversy.

When the English commenced their establishment at Fort Dummer, within the present limits of Brattleboro', that fort was supposed to be within the limits of Massachusetts, and the settlement in that vicinity was made under grants from that Province. But after a long and tedious controversy between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, respecting their division line, George II. finally decided, on the 5th of March, 1740, that the northern boundary of Massachusetts be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due north of Patucket Falls, and a straight line from thence

due west until it strikes his Majesty's other governments. This line was run in 1741, when Fort Dummer was found to be beyond the limits of Massachusetts, to the north, and as the King repeatedly recommended to the Assembly of New Hampshire to make provision for its support, it was generally believed to have fallen within the jurisdiction of that Province, and being situated on the west side of Connecticut River, it was concluded that New Hampshire extended as far west as Massachusetts, that is, to a line twenty miles east of Hudson River. In the year 1741, Benning Wentworth was commissioned Governor of New Hampshire, and on the 3d of January, 1749, he made a grant of a township six miles square, situated, as he conceived, on the western border of New Hampshire, being twenty miles east of Hudson River, and six miles north of the Massachusetts line. This township, in allusion to his own name, he called Bennington. About the same time, a correspondence was opened between him and the Governor of New York, in which was urged their respective titles to the lands on the west side of the Connecticut River, yet, without regard to these conflicting claims, Wentworth proceeded to make further grants.

In 1754, these grants amounted to fifteen townships, but this year hostilities commenced between the French and English Colonies, which put a stop to further applications for grants, until the close of the war in 1760. During the war, the New England troops opened a road from Charleston, N. H., to Crown Point, and by frequently passing through these lands, became well acquainted with their fertility and value, and the conquest of Canada having removed the danger of settling in this part of the country, these lands were eagerly sought by adventurers and speculators. The Governor of New Hampshire, by advice of his council, now ordered a survey of Connecticut river to be made for sixty miles, and three tiers of townships to be laid out on each side.

As applications for land still increased, further surveys were ordered to be made, and so numerous were the applications, that during the year 1761 no less than sixty townships were granted on the west side of Connecticut River. The whole number of townships, in one or two years more, amounted to 138. The extent was from Connecticut River on the east, to a line twenty miles east of Hudson river, so far as that river runs from the north, and north of that as far west as Lake Champlain. By the fees which

Wentworth received for these grants, and by reserving 500 acres in each township for himself, he was evidently accumulating a large fortune.

The Governor of New York, wishing to have these lands, became alarmed at the proceedings of the Governor of New Hampshire and determined to check them. For this purpose, Mr. Colden, Lieut. Gov. of New York, on the 28th December, 1763, issued a proclamation in which he recited the grants made by Charles II. to the Duke of York in 1664 and 1674, which included among other parts all the lands from the west bank of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. Founding his claim upon the grants, he ordered the sheriff of the County of Albany to make return of the names of all persons who had taken possession of lands on the west side of Connecticut river under titles derived from the Governor of New Hampshire. To prevent the effects which this proclamation was calculated to produce, and to inspire confidence in the validity of the New Hampshire grants, the Governor of New Hampshire issued a counter proclamation on the 13th day of March, 1764, in which he declared that the grants to the Duke of York were obsolete--

that New Hampshire extended as far west as Massachusetts and Connecticut, and that the grants of New Hampshire would be confirmed by the Crown, if the jurisdiction should be altered. He exhorted the settlers to be industrious and diligent in cultivating their lands, and not to be intimidated by the threatenings of New York. He required all the civil officers to exercise jurisdiction as far as grants had been made, and to punish all disturbers of the peace. This proclamation seemed to quiet the minds of the settlers. Having purchased their lands, and holding them under a charter from a Royal Governor, and after such assurances from him, they had no idea that a controversy between the two Governors respecting their jurisdiction would ever affect the validity of their titles.

New York had heretofore founded her claims to the lands in question upon the grants to the Duke of York, but choosing no longer to rely on so precarious a title, application was now made to the Crown for a confirmation of the claim. This application was supported by a petition purporting to be signed by a great number of the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants, representing that it would be for their advantage to be annexed to the Colony of New York,

and praying that the western bank of the Connecticut river might be established as the Eastern boundary of the province. In consequence of this petition and application of the Government of New York, his Majesty on the 20th of July, 1764, ordered that the Western bank of the Connecticut river, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts, as far north as the 45th degree of north latitude, be the boundary line between the provinces of New York and New Hampshire. This determination does not appear to be founded on any previous grant, but was a decision which the wishes and convenience of the people seemed to demand. Surprised as were the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants at this order, it produced no serious alarm. They regarded it merely as extending the jurisdiction of New York over their territory. To that jurisdiction, they were willing to submit, and they had no apprehension that it would in any way affect their titles to the lands on which they lived. Having purchased and paid for them, and holding deeds of the same under grants from the Crown, they could not conceive by what perversion of justice, they could be compelled by the same authority to repurchase their lands or abandon them.

The Governor of New Hampshire at first remonstrated against the change of jurisdiction, but was induced to abandon the contest, and issued a proclamation recommending to the proprietors and settlers due obedience to the authority and laws of New York. The royal decree by which the division line between New Hampshire and New York was established, was construed very differently by the different parties concerned. The settlers on the N. H. Grants considered that it only placed them thereafter under the jurisdiction of New York, and to this they were willing to submit, but they had no idea that the titles of their lands could be affected by it. Had the Government of New York given the Royal decree the same interpretation, no controversy would have arisen. The settlers would have acknowledged the jurisdiction of New York without a murmur. But that Government gave to the decision a very different construction—that the order had a retrospective operation, that it decided, not only what should hereafter be, but what had always been the eastern boundary of New York, and consequently, the grants made by New Hampshire were illegal and void. With these views, the Government of New York proceeded to extend its

jurisdiction over the New Hampshire Grants. The settlers were called upon to surrender their charters and repurchase their lands under charters from New York. The settlers on the east side of the Mountain, under the grants from New Hampshire, generally complied with this order, but all the settlers on the west side of the Mountain peremptorily refused, and the lands of those who did not comply with the order were granted to others, in whose names actions of ejectment were commenced before the courts in Albany, and judgments invariably obtained against the settlers.

Finding they had nothing to hope from the ordinary forms of law they determined upon resistance to the arbitary and unjust decisions of the courts until his Majesty's pleasure should be further known, and when the executive officers came to eject the settlers from their possessions, they were not permitted to execute their process.

For the purpose of rendering their resistance more effectual, various associations were formed among the settlers, and at length a convention of representatives from the several towns on the west side of the Mountain was called. This convention met in the autumn of 1766, and after mature de-

liberation, they appointed Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, an agent to represent to the Court of Great Britain the grievances of the settlers, and to obtain, if possible, a confirmation of the New Hampshire Grants. On the 3d of July, 1766, the Colonial Assembly of New York had passed an act erecting a portion of the territory covered by the New Hampshire Grants into a county by the name of Cumberland, and made provision for building therein a Court House and Jail, to be located at Chester, but in consequence of the representations made by Mr. Robinson at the British Court, his Majesty was pleased to make an order annulling this act of the Colonial Legislature, and on the 14th of July following, another special order was obtained prohibiting the Governor of New York upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure, from making any further grants whatever of the lands in question, until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known concerning the same. But before Mr. Robinson had fully accomplished the business of his mission, he was so unfortunate as to take the Small Pox, of which disorder he died in London, in October, 1767.

Notwithstanding the annulling of the act of the Colonial Legislature, above mentioned, and the prohibitions contained in the order

of the 24th of July, the Government of New York continued to make grants, and proceeded in carrying out their design of dividing the territory into counties.

They had already established a Court of Common Pleas, and appointed Judges in the county of Cumberland after they had official notice of the annulling of the act by which that county was established. The county of Cumberland extended as far north as the north lines of the towns of Tunbridge, Strafford and Thetford. All the territory north of this, on the east side of the Mountain, was erected into a county by the name of Glocester. A Court House and Jail were erected in Newbury, for the county of Glocester, and in Westminster for the county of Cumberland. Courts were holden, and justice regularly administered, in both of these counties, under the authority of New York, until the commencement of the Revolutionary War.

The Southern part of the grants on the west side of the Mountain was annexed to the county of Albany and the northern part to the county of Charlotte, but in this western part of the grants, the settlers were careful to keep the administration of justice in their own hands.

In the year 1769, the Council of New York

decided that the King's order did not extend to prevent the Governor from granting any lands which had not been previously granted by New Hampshire, the Governor had therefore continued to make grants to his favorites and friends, nor did he confine his grants, agreeably to the decision of the Council, to the ungranted lands, but in many cases re-granted such as were already covered by New Hampshire charters.

But while the success of Mr. Robinson's mission hardly served as a temporary check upon the proceedings of New York, it inspired the settlers on the Grants with new confidence in the justice of their cause, and gave them strong ground to hope that their rights would be eventually acknowledged and protected by the Crown.

In the mean time, the Government of New York continued to make grants, and the grantees continued to bring actions of ejectment against the settlers, before the court at Albany. Ethan Allen, afterwards so distinguished, coming to reside in the Grants about this time, undertook to defend the grantees in the actions brought against them. He proceeded to New Hampshire, procured the necessary documents from the Secretary's office, employed Mr. Ingersoll, an eminent lawyer in Connecticut, and in

June, 1770, appeared before the court in Albany. An action of ejectment against Josiah Carpenter, of Shaftsbury, came on for trial, and the defendant's counsel offered in evidence the documents above mentioned, among which was the charter of the township, and a deed of the land in question from the original proprietor to the defendant. This evidence was rejected by the court, on the ground that the New Hampshire charters were illegal and void, and the jury were directed to find a verdict for the plaintiff. Two other actions being tried with like results, no defence was made in the remaining actions of ejectment. It is related that before Allen left Albany, he was called on by the Attorney-General and some others, who told him that the cause of the settlers was desperate and urged him to return home and advise them to make the best terms they could with their new landlords, reminding him of the proverb that "might often prevails against right." Allen coolly replied, "The Gods of the vallies are not the Gods of the hills," and when asked by Kemp, the Attorney-General, to explain his meaning, he replied, "If you will accompany me to the hill of Bennington, the sense will be made clear." When the news of the proceedings at Albany reached the Grants, the people

were highly excited, and a convention was holden at Bennington, in which it was resolved to defend their property, which they possessed under the New Hampshire charters, against the usurpations and unjust claims of the Government of New York, by force, as law and justice were denied them. Having thus appealed to the last arbiter of disputes, their resolution was followed by a spirited and determined resistance to the authority of New York. And whenever the Sheriff appeared upon the Grants, to arrest rioters or eject settlers, he was sure to be met by a force which he found irresistible. The Sheriff being required to execute a writ of possession against James Breckenridge, of Bennington, called to his assistance by order of the Government, a posse of 750 armed militia. The settlers, having timely notice of his approach, assembled to the number of about 300 and made arrangements for resisting the Sheriff and his posse. An officer with 18 men was placed in the house, 120 men behind trees near the road, by which they were sure the Sheriff would advance, and the remainder were concealed behind a ridge of land within gun shot of the house; and the forcing of the door by the Sheriff was to be made known to those without, by raising a red flag at the top of the chimney.

When the Sheriff approached, all were silent and he and his men were completely within the ambuscade before they discovered their situation. Mr. Ten Eyck, the Sheriff, went to the door, demanded entrance as Sheriff of the county of Albany, and threatened, on refusal, to force it. The answer from within was, attempt it and you are a dead man. At the same time the two divisions exhibited their hats on the points of their guns, which made them appear more numerous than they were. The Sheriff and his posse seeing their dangerous situation, and not being interested in the dispute, made a hasty retreat without the firing of a gun on either side. In this enterprise, as in all others during the contest with New York, Warner was the commander, or rather the leader, for all voluntarily put themselves under his guidance, and in all their conventions and consultations he was looked up to as the able, prudent, and safe counsellor.

The New York claimants, finding that the militia of Albany county could not be relied upon to act against the settlers, now sought to accomplish their object by other means. By making favorable offers of titles under New York to some prominent individuals on the Grants, by conferring offices on others, and by encouraging persons from

New York to settle on the unoccupied lands which had been granted by New Hampshire, they hoped to divide the people and render the New York interests predominant.

To thwart these plans of their enemies, committees of safety were organized in the different towns, and a convention of the settlers on the Grants was assembled, which decided, among other things, that no officer from New York should be allowed, without permission of the committee of safety, to convey any person out of the district of the New Hampshire Grants, and that no surveys should be made, nor lines run, nor settlements made under New York, within the same. The violation of this decree, was to be punished at the discretion of a court to be formed by the committee of safety, or elders of the people. At the same time, the civil officers were to exercise their proper functions in collecting debts and in other matters not connected with the controversy.

To carry out these measures, and be in readiness in case of emergency, a military association was formed, of which Ethan Allen was appointed Colonel commandant, and Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and others, were appointed Captains. Under these, the people of the Grants armed and occa-

sionally met for military exercise and discipline. Of this organization Gov. Tryon was apprised early in the year 1772, by a letter from John Munro in which he says: "The rioters have established a company at Bennington, commanded by Captain Warner, and on New Year's day his company was reviewed, and continued all day in military exercise and firing at marks."

On the 27th of November, 1771, the Governor of New York issued a proclamation, offering a reward of twenty pounds each, for the arrest of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and some others. On the 22d of March, 1772, John Munro, moved by a hope of the reward, and a desire of notoriety, resolved to attempt the arrest of Baker, one of the most prominent of the rioters. Having collected ten or twelve of his friends and dependants, he proceeded to the house of Baker, in Arlington, before daylight. Baker was awakened by the breaking open of the door, and the entrance of a number of men, armed with swords and pistols. The intruders rushed upon and wounded him by a cut across his head with a sword. Baker being overpowered and bound, was thrown into a sleigh, and conveyed with the greatest speed towards Albany. The news of this transaction being sent by

express to Bennington, Warner, with nine or ten others, immediately mounted their horses and set off with all speed on the road to Albany, determined to intercept the "Yorkers" before they reached Hudson river, and they did overtake them, before they crossed that river, at the place where Troy has since been built, who, on the first appearance of their pursuers, abandoned their prisoner, and fled. Finding Baker nearly exhausted, by his sufferings and loss of blood, they refreshed him and dressed his wounds, and then conveyed him home, to the great joy of his family and neighbors.

Shortly after this attack upon Baker, Munro made an attempt to arrest Warner. Warner, in company with a single friend, was riding on horseback in the vicinity of Munro's residence, and being met by Munro and several of his dependants, a conversation ensued, in the midst of which Munro seized the bridle of Warner's horse and commanded those present to assist in arresting him. Warner, after vainly urging him to desist, struck Munro over the head with a dull cutlass and levelled him to the ground. Though stunned and disabled for the time, he received no permanent injury, and the spectators manifesting no disposition to interfere, Warner passed

on without any farther interruption.

Having given a history of the controversy between New York and the New Hampshire Grants, from the year 1763 to the year 1772, as fully as seemed necessary to give the reader a full view of the theatre on which Warner acted so conspicuous a part, it will be sufficient to give a more general account of that controversy from the year 1772 to the year 1775, when the Revolutionary War put an end to this, and all other sectional disputes.

From the determined and successful opposition of the settlers on the Grants, the Government of New York seemed to be impressed with the difficulty of subjecting them by force, and they determined to attempt a settlement of the controversy by negotiation. Accordingly, Gov. Tryon opened a negotiation by a letter to some of the leading men on the Grants, and, the settlers being anxious for a compromise on just and honorable terms, sent Stephen Fay and his son Jonas Fay, to New York, to negotiate a settlement. But this attempt to make an adjustment of the different claims proved abortive, and only served to produce a higher degree of excitement on both sides. The settlers were more determined, and more vigilant to discover and expel from the

Grants all those who favored the New York claims. And the Government of New York determined to pursue such measures as would terrify the settlers, and frighten them into submission. With this view they passed an act more tyrannical and sanguinary than was ever found in the code of a civilized nation.

The following are some of the leading provisions of the act:

"If any person or persons oppose any civil officer of New York in the discharge of his official duty, or wilfully burn or destroy the grain, corn, or hay of any other person, being in any enclosure, or if any persons unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace, shall wilfully, and with force, demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down any dwelling house, barn, stable, grist mill, saw mill or out-house, within either of the counties of Albany or Charlotte, then each of such offences shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy, and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy." It was made the duty of the Governor to publish the names of such persons in the public papers as should be indicted in either of the counties of Albany or Charlotte, for any offence

made capital by this or any other law, with an order in council commanding such offenders to surrender themselves respectively, within the space of seventy days next after the publication thereof.

This order was to be forwarded to the sheriffs and posted up in several public places, and this bloody clause was added to the act: "And in case such offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves, he or she, so neglecting or refusing, shall, from the day appointed for his surrender as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed, and (if indicted for a capital offence hereafter to be perpetrated) convicted of felony, and shall suffer death, as in case of persons convicted of felony by verdict and judgment, without benefit of clergy."

At the same time the Governor issued a proclamation, offering a reward, for apprehending and securing Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and several others, of fifty pounds each.

So far were these measures from terrifying the settlers that they were a subject of ridicule. Ethan Allen ridiculed them in his own peculiar manner. "They may," said he, "*condemn* us to be hung for refusing to place our own necks in the halter, but how do the fools calculate to *hang* a

Green Mountain Boy before they take him?" And this law continued to be a subject of ridicule, as no effort was ever made to put it in execution, and but one settler was arrested for debt under the authority of New York and carried out of the Grants, in violation of the decree of the Convention.

Among the early settlers in the town of Danby, were John Hart and Roger Williams. They were both men of property and were highly respected in the community. They both held their lands under grants from New Hampshire, and were equally opposed to the claims of New York. Their dealings had been pretty extensive, and, unfortunately, in the Summer of 1775, a violent contention arose between them, and Hart, being a man of strong passions and great resolution, went to Albany and took out a capias against Williams on a note for five hundred pounds, put it into the hands of a Deputy Sheriff, who, with Hart and some assistants from New York, in a dark and rainy night, arrested Williams in his bed, and started for Albany City Hall. An alarm was immediately given, and the settlers in Danby and Tinmouth were, one after another, armed, mounted, and in eager pursuit of the Yorkers. Their progress through the woods, over the mountains be-

tween Danby and Pawlet, was greatly impeded by the mud,roots, rocks, stumps, and darkness of the night; but they dashed on, and overtook them at White Creek, (now Salem, N. Y.) The Sheriff and his assistants escaped, but they made Hart a prisoner in place of Williams, and returned to Danby the same day. The committee of safety had previously assembled with a great concourse of Green Mountain Boys, and smaller boys, myself among the rest. As soon as the shouts, which burst forth on the arrival of the prisoner, had subsided, and the echoes from the mountains had died away, the Judges took their seats on the Bench in the bar-room, the prisoner was arraigned, and, without loss of time, convicted, and by Thomas Rowley, chairman of the committee and Chief Justice, was sentenced to receive thirty-nine stripes with the beach seal on the naked back. And as Hart had always been treated with respect at my father's house, and as this was the first punishment of the kind I ever witnessed, I felt that it was inflicted with the most cruel severity—I felt every stroke upon my own back. Let it not be said that the infliction of this barbarous punishment proves that the people of the Grants were less civilized than the people of other parts

of New England, for long afterwards this relic of barbarism was found in the criminal code of all the States; but a more advanced state of civilization has since broken up the habit by which it had been continued through generations of civilized man, and it has been exploded never again to find a place in the code of any of the American States. The foregoing is worthy of record, as it is the only transaction of the kind which took place after the commencement of the Revolutionary War, and as this was the last opportunity a committee of safety ever had to exercise their judicial functions in the conviction of a Yorker, and yet it never found a place in any history—the transaction took place too far from Bennington, which, at that time, was all the Grants, as Paris under the despotism and during the revolution was all France.

Warner, having been engaged as a prominent leader of the Green Mountain Boys in defence of their property against the unjust and oppressive acts of the Royal Government of New York, from the year 1763 to the year 1775, was perfectly prepared to engage heart and soul in the defence of his whole country against the unjust claims and oppressive acts of the Royal Government of Great Britain. Accordingly, we find him

in the very commencement of the Revolutionary War, engaged in the enterprise against the enemy's posts on Lake Champlain.

Allen commanded the party who took Ticonderoga, and Warner commanded the party who took Crown Point. The following account of the raising of a regiment on the Grants, and the appointment of the field officers is taken from the first vol. of Sparks' American Biography, page 288. "The troops from Connecticut, under Colonel Hinman, at length arrived at Ticonderoga, and Colonel Allen's command ceased. His men chiefly returned home, their term of service having expired. He and Seth Warner set off on a journey to the Continental Congress, with a design of procuring pay for the soldiers who had served under them, and of soliciting authority to raise a new regiment on the N. H. Grants. In both these objects they were successful. By an order of Congress they were introduced on the floor of the House, and they communicated verbally to the members such information as was desired. Congress voted to allow the men, who had been employed in taking and garrisoning Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the same pay as was received by officers and privates in the American army; and also recommended to the Provincial Congress of New York, that, after con-

sulting with General Schuyler, 'they should employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys should choose.' This matter was referred to the Government of New York, that no controversy might arise about jurisdiction, at a time when affairs of vastly greater moment demanded the attention of all parties. Allen and Warner repaired without delay to the New York Congress, presented themselves at the door of the hall, and requested an audience, the resolve of the Continental Congress having already been received and discussed.

"An embarrassing difficulty now arose among the members, which caused much warmth of debate. The persons who asked admittance were outlaws by an existing act of the Legislature of New York, and, although the Provincial Congress was a distinct body from the old assembly, organized in opposition to it, and holding its recent principles and doings in detestation, yet some members had scruples on the subject of disregarding in so palpable a manner, the laws of the land, as to join in public conference with men who had been proclaimed by the highest authority in the colony to be rioters and felons. There was also another party, whose feelings

and interest were enlisted on the side of their scruples, who had taken an active part in the contest, and whose antipathies were too deeply rooted to be at once eradicated. On the other hand, the ardent friends of liberty who regarded the great cause at stake as paramount to every thing else, and who were willing to show their disrespect for the old assembly, argued not only the injustice but tyranny of the act in question, and represented, in strong colors, the extreme impolicy of permitting ancient feuds to mar the harmony and obstruct the concert of action, so necessary for attaining the grand object of the wishes and efforts of every member present. In the midst of the debate, Captain Sears moved that Ethan Allen should be admitted to the floor of the House. The motion was seconded by Melancton Smith, and was carried by a majority of two to one. A similar motion prevailed in regard to Seth Warner. When these gentlemen had addressed the House they withdrew, and it was resolved that a regiment of Green Mountain Boys should be raised, not exceeding five hundred men, and to consist of seven companies.

"They were to choose their own officers, except the field officers, who were to be appointed by the Congress of New York; but

it was requested that the people would nominate such persons as they approved. A lieutenant-colonel was to be the highest officer. The execution of the resolve was referred to General Schuyler, who immediately gave notice to the inhabitants of the Grants, and ordered them to proceed in organizing the regiment.

"Meantime Allen and Warner had finished their mission and returned to their friends. The committees of several townships assembled at Dorset to choose officers for the new regiment. The choice fell on Seth Warner for lieutenant-colonel, and on Samuel Safford for major. This nomination was confirmed by the New York Congress. Whether Colonel Allen declined being a candidate, or whether it was expected that the regiment would ultimately have a colonel, and that he would be advanced to that post, or whether his name was omitted for any other reason, I have no means of determining."

This is obviously calculated to lessen the consequence of Warner, and should it go down to posterity without comment, they would form too low an estimate of his character. And yet, when this was written, it was in perfect accordance with public sentiment at the time, in relation to the character of the two men. Allen and Warner were both distinguished

leaders of the Green Mountain Boys, in defending the New Hampshire Grants against the claims of New York, but they were very different men. Allen wrote and published a number of pamphlets in defence of the New Hampshire title. The singular boldness of the language, and the off-hand mode of reasoning, if I may be allowed the expression, attracted the attention of the people, and they were extensively circulated and read throughout New England. In the meantime, the narrative of his captivity passed through several editions, which were also extensively circulated and read. Allen had also a peculiar species of bravado, which rendered him conspicuous, but which is not easily described. His answer to the question put to him by the commandant of Ticonderoga, by what authority he demanded the fort, which was, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress," perhaps may give a tolerable idea of it. He was thus calculated to embolden the timid, confirm the wavering, and inspire all with confidence in their cause.

From the foregoing, the character of Allen has been kept before the people in bold relief, suffering nothing by the lapse of time. But Allen was sometimes rash and imprudent. Warner, on the other hand,

never wrote any thing for the public eye. He was modest and unassuming. He appeared to be satisfied with being useful, as he manifested no solicitude that his services should be known or appreciated. He was always cool and deliberate, and in his sound judgment, as well as in his energy, resolution, and firmness, all classes had the most unlimited confidence.

From the foregoing brief sketch of the very different characters of Allen and Warner, it is evident they were far more efficient and more useful in defending the New Hampshire Grants, than they would have been, had they both been Allens or both Warners, and it would not be extravagant to say, that had either been wanting, the independence of Vermont might not have been achieved. But in selecting a person to command a regiment, the men of that day gave the preference to Warner. Accordingly, the Convention assembled at Dorset to nominate officers for a regiment of Green Mountain Boys, nominated Warner for Lieut. Colonel to command the regiment, by a vote of 41 to 5. And as Allen was a candidate for the office, as appears by his letter to Governor Trumbull, written shortly after the officers were nominated, in which he says, that he was overlooked because the old men

were reluctant to go to war, the vote must be considered as a fair expression of the public sentiment in relation to the qualifications of the two men for the office. This is confirmed by the few cotemporaries of Allen and Warner who still survive, and by the traditionary accounts of the men of that day.

In September, 1775, we find Warner in at the head of his regiment, during the siege of St. Johns by Montgomery, although it is evident that both Warner and the officers of his regiment were without commissions, for we find by Montgomery's orderly book, that, on the 16th of September, he issued an order appointing Seth Warner Colonel of a regiment of Green Mountain Rangers, requiring that he should be obeyed as such. Probably the Provincial Congress of New York withheld the commissions on the same grounds, on which, in the following year, they urged the Continental Congress to recall the commissions which they had given to Warner, and the officers of his regiment. But the regiment fought as bravely, and performed as important services, as any other regiment during the campaign, as will appear by the following brief account of it. Montgomery, having obtained a supply of ammunition and military stores, by the cap-

ture of Chambly, made his advances upon the fort at St. Johns, with increased vigor. The garrison consisted of 600 or 700 men, who, in hopes of being soon relieved by General Carleton,made a resolute defence, Carleton exerted himself for this purpose, but such was the disaffection of the Canadians to the British cause, that he could not muster more than 1000 men, including the regulars, militia of Montreal, Canadians and Indians. With this force he proposed to cross the St. Lawrence, and join Col. McLean, who had collected a few hundred Scotch emigrants, and taken post at the mouth of the Richelieu, hoping, with their united forces, to be able to raise the siege of St. Johns, and relieve the garrison. In pursuance of this design, Carleton embarked his troops at Montreal, with the view of crossing the St. Lawrence and landing at Longueil. Their embarkation was discovered by Col. Warner, from the opposite shore, who, with about 300 Green Mountain Boys, watched their motions, and prepared for their approach. Just before they reached the South shore, Warner opened upon them a well directed fire of musketry, and grape shot, from a four pounder, by which unexpected assault, the enemy were thrown into the utmost confusion and retreat-

ed with precipitation and disorder. When the news of Carleton's defeat reached McLean, he abandoned his position at the mouth of the Richelieu, and hastened to Quebec. By these events, the garrison at St. Johns was left without the hope of relief, and Major Preston, the commander, was consequently obliged to surrender. The garrison laid down their arms on the 3d of November, and became prisoners of war, to the number of 500 regulars, and more than 100 Canadian volunteers. In the fort was found a number of cannon and a large quantity of military stores. Col. Warner having repulsed General Carleton, and caused McLean to retire to Quebec, the Americans proceeded to erect a battery at the mouth of the Richelieu, to command the passage of the St. Lawrence, and blockade Gen. Carleton in Montreal. In this situation of things, Montgomery arrived from St. Johns, and took possession of Montreal without opposition, Gen. Carleton having abandoned it to its fate, and escaped down the river in the night, in a small canoe with muffled oars. A large number of armed vessels, loaded with provisions and military stores, and Gen. Prescott, with 100 officers and privates, also attempted to pass down the river, but they were all captured at the mouth

of the Richelieu, without the loss of a man. Warner's regiment having served as volunteers, and the men being too miserably clothed to endure a winter campaign in that severe climate, on the 20th of November, Montgomery discharged them, with peculiar marks of respect, and his thanks for their meritorious services. Warner returned with his regiment to the New Hampshire Grants, but instead of enjoying a respite from the fatigues and hardships of a campaign during the winter, he was called on to return to Canada. Although he was not in commission, and had no troops under his command, yet, Gen. Wooster, who knew him well, did not scruple to write, requesting him to raise a body of men, and march into Canada, in the middle of winter. The letter is dated at Montreal, January 6, 1776. The following are extracts from the letter. After giving a general account of the defeat at Quebec, he says: "I have sent an express to Gen. Schuyler, to Washington, and to Congress, but you know how very long it will be before we can have relief from them. You, sir, and your valiant Green Mountain Boys, are in our neighborhood, you all have arms, and I am confident ever stand ready to lend a helping hand to your brethren in distress, therefore, let me beg of you to raise

as many men as you can, and have them in Canada, with the least possible delay, to remain till we can have relief from the Colonies. You will see that proper officers are appointed under you, and the officers and privates will have the same pay as the Continental troops. It will be well for your men to start as soon as they can be collected. No matter whether they all march together, but let them come on by tens, twenties, thirties, forties, or fifties, as fast as they can be prepared to march. It will have a good effect upon the minds of the Canadians, to see succor coming in. You will be good enough to send copies of this letter, or such parts of it as you shall judge proper, to the people below you. I can but hope the people will make a push to get into this country, and I am confident I shall see you here, with your men, in a very short time." And Gen. Wooster was not disappointed. He did see Warner in Canada, with his men, in a very short time. Probably no revolutionary patriot, during the war, performed a service evincing more energy, resolution, and perseverance, or a more noble patriotism, than the raising of a regiment in so short a time, and marching it to Quebec in the face of a Canadian winter. The men of this day would shiver at the thought of it.

That Warner performed this service with incredible dispatch, appears from the following letter of Gen. Schuyler to Washington, dated at Albany, as early as the 22d of January.

ALBANY, January 22, 1776.

Dear Sir:

Col. Warner has been so successful in sending men into Canada, and as a regiment will soon be sent from Berkshire county in Massachusetts, and as I am informed by a letter from Congress, that one regiment from Pennsylvania and one from New Jersey, will be immediately sent to Albany, and put under my command, and as these troops can be in Canada as early as any which your Excellency can send from Cambridge, the necessity of sending on those troops, which I had the honor to request to send, will be superseded.

I am, sir, with respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant, PHILIP SCHUYLER.

His Excellency,
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Warner had advantages in the performance of this service, which no other man possessed. The Green Mountain Boys had long been armed in their own defence a-

gainst the Government of New York, and he had been their chosen leader. They had become habituated to turn out at his call, and follow his lead. And as they had been successful in every enterprise they had the most unlimited confidence, in his judgment, his vigilance, his prudence and his unflinching courage. Besides, they loved him for his moral and social qualities. He sympathised with all classes, and this rendered him affable and familiar with them, and as this did not arise from any mean or selfish motive, but from the interest which he felt in the welfare of his fellow men, he ever maintained a self-respect and a dignified deportment. Add to this, that the Green Mountain Boys were zealous and active whigs, and it is no longer incredible that they turned out with such alacrity at the call of Warner, in defence of their country. This winter campaign in Canada, proved extremely distressing. The troops were in want of comfortable clothing, barracks, and provisions. Most of them took the small pox and great numbers of them died. At the opening of spring, in May, 1776, a large body of British troops arrived at Quebec, to relieve the garrison, and the American army, in their distressed situation, were compelled to make a hasty retreat. Warner took a position exposed to

the greatest danger, and requiring the utmost care and vigilance. He was always in the rear, picking up the wounded and diseased, assisting and encouraging those who were least able to take care of themselves, and generally kept but a few miles in advance of the British, who closely pursued the Americans from post to post. By calmly and steadily pursuing this course, by his habitual vigilance and care, Warner brought off most of the invalids, and with this corps of the diseased and infirm, arrived at Ticonderoga a few days after the main army had taken possession of that post.

Highly approving of their extraordinary exertions, Congress, on the 5th of July, 1776, resolved to raise a regiment out of the troops who had served with so much reputation in Canada, to be commanded by a Lieut. Colonel. Warner was appointed Lieut. Colonel, and Samuel Safford Major. Most of the officers of the regiment were persons who had been distinguished by their opposition to the claims and proceedings of New York. By this appointment, Warner was again placed in a situation perfectly suited to his genius, and, in conformity with his orders, he raised his regiment, and repaired to Ticondcroga, where he remained to the close of the campaign.

On the 16th day of January, 1777, the Convention of New Hampshire Grants declared the whole district to be a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of Vermont. The Provincial Congress of New York was then in session, and, on the 20th of the same month, announced the transaction to the Continental Congress, complaining in strong terms of the conduct of Vermont, denouncing it as a dangerous revolt and opposition to lawful authority, and at the same time remonstrating against the proceeding of Congress in appointing Warner to the command of a regiment, independent of the Legislature and within the bounds of that State, "especially as this Col. Warner hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the Legislature of this State, and hath been on that account proclaimed an outlaw by the late Government thereof. It is absolutely necessary to recall the commission to Warner, and the officers under him, to do us justice." No measures were taken by Congress, at this time, to interfere in the civil concerns of the two States, or to remove Warner from his command. Anxious to effect this purpose, the Provincial Congress of New York, on the 1st of March following, wrote again on this subject, and among other

things declared, "that there was no probability that Warner could raise such a number of men as would be an object of public concern." Congress still declined to dismiss so valuable an officer from their service. On the 23d of June following, Congress was obliged to take up the controversy between New York and Vermont, but instead of proceeding to disband Warner's regiment, on the 30th of the same month, they resolved, "that the reasons which induced Congress to form that corps were, that many officers of different States who had served in Canada, and who, as was alleged, might soon raise a regiment, but who were then unprovided for, might be retained in the service of the United States.

Fortunately, when Congress acted on this subject, Governeur Morris was the only member present from New York, and he was too independent to comply with the wishes of his own State, when, in his judgment, such compliance would prove injurious to his country, and whose views were too enlarged to be governed by sectional prejudice, of which, it will appear, he had imbibed a good share. At that day the people of New York had imbibed strong prejudices not only against the people of the Grants, but against the whole Yankee Nation. The

origin of this was obvious. Yankee sagacity very early discovered the true character of the honest, unsuspecting Dutch population of New York, and there was then among the people of New England, as there ever has been among all civilized people, a base, unprincipled set of villains, constantly preying upon the honest, unsuspecting part of the community. This set of Yankee swindlers combined, and devised a great variety of means by which to cheat and rob the honest Dutchmen. One species of their villainy was of a somewhat darker shade than the rest. They combined, and selecting those individuals of their class, whose formation most nearly resembled that of the negro, and who could best act the part of a slave, would carefully black them, sell them to the unsuspecting Dutchmen, receive the money, and return to New England, and the slaves would wash off their external blackness, escape with safety, return to New England, and receive their share of the booty. This set of villains were as much detested by the people of New England, as they were by the people of New York, but as there was at that day but very little intercourse between New York and the New England Colonies, except that which was kept up by this set of miscreants, they gave

a character to the whole people of New England.

The following letter from Governeur Morris, to the President of the council of New York, will verify some of the foregoing remarks, and disclose his views of the character of Warner, and the grounds on which he opposed the disbanding of his regiment.

FORT EDWARD, July 21, 1777.

SIR:

I congratulate the Council upon the sense of Congress relative to our northeastern country, discovered in their resolutions, of which I have several copies. I had seen one of your resolutions, and supposing the letters to Dr. Williams, Mr. Sessions, and Dr. Clark, to contain some of them, by the advice of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, I opened the letters, and finding myself right in that conjecture, I have detained them until further orders. Mr. Yates being at Albany, I was under the disagreeable necessity of standing alone whilst I incurred your displeasure, should that be the consequence of what I have done. The Grants are in a very delicate situation. Skeene is courting them with golden offers. He has already gained many, and many more are compelled to submission. There are not a few warm advocates of the British Govern-

ment among them. At present, it is of infinite importance, to get as many of these people as possible to move their families and effects, particularly their teams and provisions, from the immediate vicinity of Burgoyne's army. Warner is their leader, and if he be disgusted, depend upon it, he will draw after him, in the present circumstances, a very large train, for, disagreeable as it may be, to tell or hear this truth, yet, a truth it is, that very many of these villains only want a New England reason, or if you like the expression better, a plausible pretext, to desert the American States, new Vermont among the rest. The enemy will be able to make immense advantages of it, and they will hardly fail of so doing. Skeene is at hand to flatter them with being a separate province, and what will weigh more, to give them assurances of being confirmed in their titles, howsoever acquired. For God's sake, let us take care what we do. By throwing this people into the enemy's arms, we supply them with what they most need, and cannot obtain without this imprudence —to do this, with the greatest advantages in view, would not be very wise, but for the sake of a mere feather, (and the government of that country is nothing more in this critical juncture,) would be something too

much like madness for me to name. Gen. Schuyler intends to write to the Council on the same subject. If the reasons he may offer should prove satisfactory, you will dispatch an express to prevent the publication in the London papers, which I perceive is a part of your plan.

My respects wait on the Council.

Your most obedient and humble servant,

GOVERNEUR MORRIS.

When Burgoyne came up the lake in the summer of 1777, Col. Warner was sent into Vermont to call out the militia for the defence of Ticonderoga, as appears from the following letter.

RUTLAND, July 1, 1777.

To the Hon. the Convention now sitting at Windsor, in the State of Vermont.

GENTLEMEN:

Last evening I received an express from the General commanding at Ticonderoga, advising me that the enemy have come up the lake, with 17 or 18 gun-boats, two large ships, and other craft, and lie at Three Mile Point. The General expects an attack every hour. He orders me to call out the militia of this State, of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to join him as soon as possible. I have sent an express to

Col. Simonds. Col. Robinson and Col. Williams are at Hubbardton, waiting to be joined by Col. Bellows, who is with me. When the whole are joined, they will amount to 700 or 800 men. I know not to whom to apply except to your honorable body, to call out the militia on the East side of the mountain. I shall expect that you will send on all the men that can possibly be raised, and that you will do all in your power, to supply the troops at Ticonderoga with beef. Should the siege be long, they will be absolutely destitute, unless the country exert themselves. If 40 or 50 head of beef cattle can be brought on by the militia, they will be paid for by the commissary, on their arrival. The safety of the post depends on the exertions of the country. Their lines are extensive and but partially manned, for want of men. I should be glad if a few hills of corn unhoed should not be a motive sufficient to detain men at home, considering the loss of such an important post might be irretrievable. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect, your obedient and very humble servant,

SETH WARNER.

When Ticonderoga was evacuated, on the night of the 6th July, 1777, the main body of the American army took the road

through Hubbardton and Castleton. When they arrived at Hubbardton, the rear guard was put under the command of Warner, with orders to follow the main army, as soon as those who were left behind should come up, and keep about a mile and a half in the rear. St. Clair then proceeded to Castleton, distant about six miles from Hubbardton.

The retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga was no sooner discovered by the British, than an eager pursuit was begun by Fraser, with the light troops, who was soon followed by Reidesel with the greater part of the Brunswick regiment. Fraser continued the pursuit through the day, and learning that the rear of the American army was not far distant, he ordered his men that night to lie on their arms. Early on the morning of the 7th, he renewed the pursuit, and about 7 o'clock commenced an attack on the Americans under Warner. Warner's force consisted of his own regiment, and the regiments of Colonels Francis and Hale. Hale, for some reason, retired with his regiment, leaving Warner and Francis with only seven or eight hundred men to dispute the progress of the enemy. The conflict was fierce and bloody. Warner charged the enemy with such impetuosity,

that they were thrown into disorder, and gave way, but they soon recovered, formed anew, and advanced upon the Americans, but were again brought to a stand. At this critical moment, Reidesel arrived and joined Fraser, with his troops, and Francis fell, fighting bravely at the head of his regiment, which then gave way, and the fortune of the day was decided. The Americans fled into the woods in all directions. Those of Warner's regiment, who heard the order to that effect, repaired to Manchester, the others, with Francis's regiment, followed and joined the main army, and marched to Fort Edward.

All those belonging to Warner's regiment, who marched to Fort Edward, were soon after sent to Manchester by Schuyler.

Warner having been stationed at Manchester, by order of Schuyler, Herrick's regiment of Rangers, raised by the New Hampshire Grants, was, by the Council of Safety, stationed at Manchester, and put under Warner's command.*

When Ticonderoga was evacuated, some portion of the inhabitants of the present

*It is worthy of remark, that, although Vermont was a frontier state, Warner's regiment were the only Continental troops, that were, at any time during the war, stationed within its limits, and they only during the summer of 1777.

county of Rutland moved their families, and all their property, which could be of use to the enemy, to the south part of the state, full of resolution to defend their country at all hazards; but a great majority of the inhabitants were so shocked and discouraged, by the unexpected and, as they believed, treacherous evacuation of Ticonderoga, that they were thrown into a state of despondency, and believing the country must be conquered, each sought his individual safety, remaining on his farm and seeking protection from the British. By these inhabitants, Protectioners as they were called, the British troops were supplied with large quantities of fresh provisions. This at once arrested the attention of Schuyler, and he wrote the following letter to Warner.

FORT EDWARD, July 15, 1777.

DEAR COLONEL:

I am favored with yours of yesterday. I enclose an order for what clothing can be procured at Albany, which must be sent for.

I have made a temporary appointment of Mr. Lyon to be your paymaster, and have given him four thousand dollars, which is all I can at present spare. Col. Simonds, with four or five hundred of his men, will join you, but let the others come this way. We

are informed that the enemy are gone to Ticonderoga, to come by the way of Fort George, because they find it rather difficult to penetrate by the way of Skenesboro'.

Secure all the carriages and cattle you can. Much depends on preventing them from getting supplies of this kind.

Advance as near the enemy as you possibly can, seize all Tories, and send them to the interior of the country.

Be vigilant, a surprise is inexcusable.

Thank the troops in my name, for behaving so well as they did at Hubbardton—assure them I will get whatever I can to make them comfortable. All your regiment that were here, are already on the way to join you. If we act vigorously, we save the country. Why should we despond? Greater misfortunes have happened and have been retrieved—cheer up the spirits of the people in that part of the country.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

On the same day, Schuyler wrote the following letter to Col. Simonds, commanding a regiment of militia in Berkshire county, adjoining the Grants.

SIR:

I wish to extend my care and attention

to evey part of the country, and afford assistance whenever it is wanted, but I am very weak here, and the enemy, as I am informed, are going to Ticonderoga to come through Lake George. However, assistance is wanted on the Grants, and you will march four or five hundred men to aid Col. Warner, the remainder of the militia to come this way.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

On the 17th of July, General Schuyler transmitted the following order to Col. Warner.

"You will order the militia of New Hampshire to join you, and if none are yet in motion, you will send an express to bring them on with all possible dispatch."

Warner received the foregoing order on the 18th of July, and on the same day sent an express to New Hampshire, enclosing it in the following letter.

MANCHESTER, July 18, 1777.

GENTLEMEN:

Inclosed is General Schuyler's order for raising the militia of your state to join me in the defence of the country. According to the best information we can obtain, the enemy have a force at Castleton of about 3000 men, and many of the inhabitants

north of this have fled and left all in the hands of the enemy, and many more have taken protections of the British, and remain on their farms, and should the enemy march this way with any considerable force, many more will submit, and what will be the consequence cannot be foreseen, but this is certain, our frontier must be where we have sufficient force to face the enemy, whether it be on the Grants, in New Hampshire, or Massachusetts. Being thus informed of our exposed situation, you will at once perceive the necessity we are under of immediate assistance, and I shall confidently expect you will send to this post, with the least possible delay, a body of your militia, which will enable me to defend this post against any force which the enemy may bring against it.

Your humble Servant,

SETH WARNER.

The Honorable Council of
New Hampshire.

The orders which Warner had received from Schuyler, to take and bring in all the property from the country north of Manchester, with which the enemy might be supplied, were promptly and thoroughly executed. Large droves of cattle were brought

in and sold at Bennington, under the direction of the Council of Safety, who held a perpetual session in that town during the summer. What Tories there were in that region escaped and joined the enemy. The other inhabitants were taken and brought before the Council of Safety, all of whom declared that they took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty by compulsion, that they did not consider themselves bound by it,and were ready to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. After taking this oath, they were discharged. Most of them, soon after, fought bravely in the battle of Bennington.

Through the whole of this unpleasant business, the magnanimity and humanity of Warner were conspicuous. But one person was killed or injured by the scouts during the summer.

There were three inhabitants of the town of Tinmouth who were reputed to be Tories. One of them, by the name of Irish, was shot by Isaac Clark, afterwards General Clark. Clark was a Lieutenant in Herrick's regiment of Rangers and commanded one of the scouts sent out from Manchester. He concealed his men in the woods not far from Irish's house, and after watching the house for some time, and finding that Irish was within, and wishing to ascertain whether he had any hostile

designs against the Whigs, instead of surrounding the house and taking him, he sent in one of his men, by the name of Clough—unarmed. Clough had been a neighbor of Irish, but, on the evacuation of Ticonderoga, had moved off. They entered into a conversation, which was continued for some time. At length, Clough began to suspect that Irish intended to detain him, as he was unarmed, and feeling unsafe, he walked with apparent unconcern out of the door, and turning a corner of the log house, out of sight of Irish, he set out on a run toward the scout. Clark, who was watching, saw this, and instantly saw Irish chasing Clough with his gun, and perceiving that he intended to shoot him before he reached the woods, drew up his rifle, and shot Irish dead upon the spot. This was represented by the Tories as a wanton murder, and many years afterwards, when Clark was in public life, and a prominent political partizan, some of his political opponents renewed the charge of murder against Clark, with many aggravating circumstances.

About the first of August, Stark arrived at Manchester, with 800 New Hampshire militia, on his way toward the seat of war on the Hudson. By General Schuyler's order, the New Hampshire militia were to be

stationed at Manchester, under the command of Warner, but the Government of New Hampshire had given Stark the command of the militia of that state, independent of the Continental officers.

Situated as were Stark and Warner, in this case, men of little minds, actuated by little motives, and influenced more by a love of command than a love of country, would have come into collision at once. But Stark and Warner, influenced by higher motives, and actuated by a noble patriotism, were prepared to serve their country in any station, not inconsistent with their personal honor, in which they could be most useful. They therefore acted together cordially, manifesting a high degree of respect for each other, and in Bennington battle, although Stark was the ostensible commander, they in fact commanded jointly, so that if the result had been disastrous, Congress would not have censured Warner for yielding the command to Stark.

It appears by the correspondence between Schuyler and Warner, that, soon after the American army had retreated to Fort Edward, reports were circulated that the enemy were coming down through the Grants with a force of three or four thousand men, but Schuyler instead of reducing his own

force by sending a detachment to Manchester, ordered the militia of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to that place. But before Stark arrived at Manchester, it was ascertained that Burgoyne had left, at the different posts in his rear, a force barely sufficient to act on the defensive, and keep open his communication with Canada. Warner having withdrawn all supplies out of the reach of the enemy, his regiment was a sufficient force for that post ; he therefore ordered the troops, which had been raised on the Grants, and put under his command by the Council of Safety, to join Stark, making his force fourteen hundred men. With this force, Stark, on the 9th of August, marched to Bennington. Warner's family being at Bennington, and it being very certain that his presence would not be required at Manchester, he accompanied Stark to Bennington, leaving the post under the command of Major Safford.

On the 13th of August, Stark received intelligence that a party of Indians had been discovered at Cambridge, about twelve miles from Bennington, and he dispatched Colonel Gregg, with 200 men, to stop their progress; but he was soon advised by express, that there was a large body of the enemy in the rear of the Indians, and that they were ad-

vancing towards Bennington. Stark immediately rallied his force and made an animating call on the neighboring militia, and sent orders to Major Safford to join him with Warner's regiment. On the morning of the 14th, Stark moved with his whole force towards Cambridge, and, at the distance of five or six miles, met Gregg retreating before the enemy, who were only one mile in his rear. Stark immediately halted and drew up his men in order of battle. Baum, who had the command of the enemy, perceiving the Americans to be too strong to be attacked by his present force, also halted, and commenced entrenching himself on a commanding piece of ground, and sent an express for a reinforcement. Stark, unable to draw them from their position, fell back about a mile with his main force, leaving only a small party to skirmish with the enemy, which they did so effectually as to kill or wound thirty of their number, two of whom were Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. Here Stark called a council of war, by which it was resolved that an attack should be made upon the enemy, before they could receive a reinforcement. Stark, with the advice of Warner and other chief officers, having arranged his plan, gave orders for the troops to be in readiness

to commence an attack on the following morning. The next day, however, proved to be rainy, which prevented a general engagement, but there were frequent skirmishes between small parties, which resulted in such a manner as to afford encouragement to the Americans, and to induce the Indians attached to Baum's army to desert in considerable numbers, as they said, "because the woods were full of Yankees."

This unavoidable delay of a general engagement enabled the enemy to complete their breastworks, and put themselves in a favorable condition for defence. Their principal force was strongly entrenched on the north side of the Walloomscoik river, where there is a considerable bend in the stream, while a corps of Tories in the British service were entrenched on the opposite side of the river, on lower ground. The river is small and fordable in all places. Stark's encampment was on the same side of the river as was the main body of the enemy, but, owing to a bend in the stream, it crossed the line of his march twice on his way to their position. On the morning of the 16th of August, General Stark was joined by Col. Simonds, with a small body of militia from Berkshire County, Mass., and having reconnoitred the enemy's position, he proceeded

to carry into effect the previous plan of attack.

Colonel Nichols was detached with 200 men to the rear of the left wing of the enemy, and Colonel Herrick with 200 men to the rear of their right wing. These were to join, and then make the attack. Colonels Stickney and Hubbard were also ordered to advance, with 200 men on their right, and 100 in front, to divert their attention from the real point of attack.

As the divisions of Nichols and Herrick approached each other, in the rear of the enemy, the Indians, apprehensive of being surrounded, made their escape between the two corps, with the exception of three killed and two wounded, as they passed. The positions being taken at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the action was commenced by Col. Nichols, and his example was quickly followed by the other divisions. General Stark advanced slowly in front, till the firing announced the commencement of the attack on the rear, he then rushed forward and attacked the division of Tories, and in a few moments the action became general. "It lasted" (says Stark in his official dispatch) "two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continued clap of thunder." The German dragoons made a determined resistance, and when their am-

munition was expended, they were led on by Col. Baum, and attacked the Americans, sword in hand. But their bravery was unavailing. They were finally overpowered, their works were carried on all points, their two cannon were taken, Col. Baum was mortally wounded, and fell into the hands of the Americans, and all his men, with the exception of a few who escaped to the woods, were either killed or taken. The prisoners were now collected together, and sent off under a strong guard to the meeting-house in Bennington, and Stark, unsuspicious of danger, suffered his men to scatter in pursuit of refreshment and plunder. In this state of things, intelligence was received that a reinforcement of the enemy, under Col. Breymen, with two field-pieces, was rapidly approaching, and only two miles distant. Stark endeavored to rally his exhausted forces, but before he could put them into a condition to make an effectual resistance, the enemy advanced upon them in regular order, and commenced an attack. They opened an incessant fire from their artillery and small arms, which was, for a time, returned by the Americans with much spirit, but, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, and overpowered by numbers, they, at length, began slowly and in good order to retreat,

disputing the ground inch by inch.

The remnant of Warner's regiment, which then consisted of 130 men, had been suffered to remain at Manchester, under the command of Maj. Safford, as already stated. When the express arrived with orders for it to proceed to Bennington, many of the men were absent on a scout, and that and other causes prevented its marching till the 15th. Owing to the heavy rain on that day, it was near midnight before the regiment reached the river, one mile north of Bennington. Here they encamped for the night, and a considerable portion of the next day was spent in putting their arms and equipments, which had been drenched by the rain, in a condition for battle.

As soon as these were in readiness, they marched by the way of Bennington village to receive their ammunition and arrived on the battle field at the very moment when the Americans were beginning to fall back. Disappointed that they had not been in season for the first engagement and shared in the glory, they now advanced and attacked the enemy with great spirit and resolution, being determined, says Ethan Allen, to have ample revenge on account of the quarrel at Hubbardton. The enemy, who had just been exulting in the prospect of an easy victory, were now

brought to a stand, and more of the scattered militia being now brought forward by Stark and Herrick, the action become general. The combat was maintained, with great bravery on both sides, until sunset, when the enemy gave way, and were pursued till dark.

"With one hour more of day-light," (says Stark in his official report,) 'I should have captured their whole force.' In these two engagements, the Americans took four brass field pieces, four ammunition wagons, and above 700 prisoners, with their arms and accouterments. The number of the enemy found dead on the field was 207, their number of wounded, not ascertained. The loss of the Americans, compared with that of the enemy, was trifling. They had 30 killed and about 40 wounded.

To the foregoing account of Bennington battle, which is taken from Thompson's History of Vermont, the author appended the following note: "It has been generally supposed, and has been so represented, in most of the accounts of Bennington battle, that Warner was not present in the first engagement, but this is doubtless a mistake. Stark says expressly in his official letter that Warner was with him several days previous to the battle, and acknowledges his assistance in planning it. The mistake probably arose from the fact that Warner's regiment was

not in the first engagement, but arrived just in season to decide the fate of the second, as above stated."

Until I read the foregoing note, written more than sixty years after the battle, I never knew that the fact, that Warner was absent with his regiment and did not arrive until after the capture of Baum, was controverted, or the truth of it doubted by any one. The first thing that struck me was, that the note was peculiarly calculated to injure the character of Warner with posterity. They will perceive by the foregoing account of the battle, and from Stark's dispatch, that Warner had no command in the first engagement, and that his name is no-where to be found in connexion with it. They will also learn from the foregoing note, that Warner was neither seen nor felt in the first engagement—that he did nothing to attract notice, so that it was understood and admitted for more than half a century, that he was not in the engagement, and if they shall be satisfied, that he was in it, the conclusion will be irresistible that Warner was so inefficient, that it was of no importance whether he was or was not in it, and they will lay him aside with things forgotten.

Now the first clause in the note is certainly true, that it has been generally sup-

posed, and so represented, that Warner was not in the first engagement. I had two brothers in both engagements, one of whom resided in Bennington, and was personally acquainted with Warner, and they always stated, that Warner was not in the first engagement. And if it be true that he was not in the first engagement, then the whole note is a simple declaration of the truth, and however unfortunate it may be for the character of Warner, the truth must be admitted. But I am persuaded that, on a candid examination of the subject, it will appear that Warner was not in the first engagement, and so neither his character nor the cause of truth will suffer.

All, I trust, will be agreed, that to set aside a contemporaneous statement of a fact, repeated and acquiesced in, for more than half a century, positive and direct evidence is required, especially, if the fact was of a most public nature, and so important and so interesting to hundreds who were present, that it must have attracted their attention at the time. And such is the fact, that Warner was absent with his regiment, and did not arrive in season for the first engagement. And here it is worthy of remark, that almost all the inhabitants of Bennington, the townsmen of Warner, who had, for years, placed

the greatest reliance upon him in all cases of difficulty and danger, were in both engagements. The fact we are examining, must have been known to these men, and truly related, and there could not have been, as there was not, any question in relation to it, during their lives. Accordingly, we find in Williams' History of Vermont, a statement of the fact as unquestioned, and Williams' History is the highest authority which can be produced in the case. Dr. Williams came into this State and resided in the village of Rutland, as early as 1788 or 1789,* and immediately set about collecting materials for a History of Vermont. In 1793 he published his History in one volume. This embraced no part of the History of the Revolutionary War, but he afterwards greatly enlarged his History of Vermont, embracing a History of the Revolutionary War, as far as Vermont was particularly concerned with it, and published it in two volumes.

It appears that the last of the 2d volume was written in 1806, but the work was not published till 1809. In the 2d volume of this History, page 120, is an account of Bennington battle, in which Dr. Williams states that after the capture of Baum, Warner

*Rev. Dr. Williams began to preach in Rutland, in January, 1788.

came up with his regiment from Manchester, mortified that he was not in the first engagement. Now at the time Dr. Williams wrote this, a great portion of those who were in Bennington battle, were still living, a number of whom were leading men in the State: as Gov. Galusha of Shaftsbury, the Robinsons, Fays, Dewey, Brush, Walbridge, and others, inhabitants of Bennington. With all these Dr. Williams had frequent opportunities to converse. There were also living at Rutland, at that time, several prominent men who were in the battle, and no cotemporary of Dr. Williams will believe that he added "mortified that he had not been in the first engagement" merely to sound a period. And, surely, the statement that Warner was with Stark several days before the battle and assisted him in planning the attack, does not prove that Warner lingered about the encampment of Stark, and never saw his regiment until Safford brought it to him after the first engagement. On the contrary, from the facts in the case, there is a violent presumption that he did not.

Knowing, as Stark and Warner must have known, that the regiment encamped about five or six miles from the battle ground, on the night of the 15th, we are to suppose, that both Stark and Warner had lost all their

natural energy and become so stupid that they took no steps to hasten the regiment on to the battle ground. Could Warner ever have thought of being in the engagement, without his regiment? They were the only veteran troops to be engaged in the conflict—they had often fought under the eye of Warner, and had always displayed great bravery and intrepidity. Warner had the fullest confidence in them, and they were strongly attached to him, as brave soldiers ever are to a brave and high-minded commander, and Warner must have been with them early on the morning of the 16th, to hasten their preparation and march to the battle ground. And as Warner failed to bring up his regiment until after the capture of Baum, his name is not found in Stark's dispatch in connexion with the first action.

If we say that Safford did not, in the night of the 15th, send an express to his Colonel, informing him of his arrival, and the situation of his men, we impute to him a neglect of which he could not have been guilty, and Warner having received this information, must have been with his regiment on the morning of the 16th, to hasten the preparation of his men and their march to the battle ground. Judging that they could not be on the ground before three o'-

clock in the afternoon, and so important was it deemed, that Warner's regiment should join the attack, and so anxious was Warner to command his own regiment in the action, it was thought proper to risk a previous arrival of the expected reinforcement of the enemy, and postpone the attack till 3 o'-clock in the afternoon. No other reason for thus postponing the attack can be imagined. Fortunately, the reinforcement of the enemy did not arrive until after the capture of Baum—and, still more fortunately, Warner could not bring up his regiment in season for the first action, but brought it up fresh, just in time to meet the reinforcement of the enemy, and insure a victory.

On the receipt of Thompson's History of Vermont, I read it attentively, and found that the author had compiled it with great care, and that it was more free from errors than such works usually are. But from my own recollection, I discovered a few errors, which I pointed out in a letter to Mr. Thompson, that he might be enabled to correct them in a second edition of his work, which I presumed would be called for. The following is an extract from his answer:

"I am much obliged by your remarks, respecting the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington, and also the mob to stop the

sitting of the court at Windsor. They will enable me to make some corrections, should I ever print a new edition of my work. Is it not probable that Warner was with Stark up to the morning of the 16th, or day of the battle, and, that in consequence of the non-arrival of his regiment, he went back to hasten them on, and that the first battle was fought before his return? Such a supposition seems to reconcile all statements."

I have not been able to ascertain whether Warner was with Gates at the capture of Burgoyne, but from the following letter from Gates to the President of the Council of Massachusetts, it is probable that Warner's regiment constituted a part of his force.

ALBANY, 25th Nov., 1777.

DEAR SIR:

This letter will be presented to the Hon. Council, by Colonel Seth Warner, an officer of merit. His business at Boston, is to solicit your Hon. Board to give orders for a supply of clothing, for the regiment under his command. Having experienced the good behavior of this corps during the summer campaign, I cannot but recommend them to your good offices, for the supply they so much want, and the more especially,

as I have in view a service of much importance, in which Col. Warner's regiment will be very actively concerned.

I am sir, with respect, your most
humble and obedient servant,
HORATIO GATES.

It is very certain, that after this, Warner was able to perform but very little active service. His constitution naturally strong and vigorous gave way under the fatigues and hardships which he endured in the service, particularly in his winter campaign in Canada. It has been seen that in the year 1776, Congress gave Warner the command of a regiment with the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and appointed Samuel Safford Major. They held the same rank at the time of Bennington battle, but some time after this and before the 10th of November following, probably soon after the battle, Warner was promoted to the rank of Colonel, Safford to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and Captain Gideon Brownson, to the rank of Major. In a return of Warner's regiment, made on the 10th of November, 1777, Col. Warner was returned sick at Hoosic. He recovered from this sickness, but was never afterwards able to perform any active service, and, of course, received no further promotion. But

I find he was continued in the command of his regiment, residing with his family in Bennington, to the end of the year 1781. In the mean time, the number of men in the regiment had been greatly reduced by the losses sustained in several hard fought actions, and by the capture of Fort George, by the enemy, in October, 1780, which was garrisoned by about 70 of Warner's regiment, under the command of John Chipman, one of his captains. An account of which is given in the following letter from Warner to Washington.

BENNINGTON, October 30, 1780.

SIR:

Your Excellency has doubtless been informed of the misfortunes which have befallen our troops on the northern frontier, especially the regiment which I have the honor to command, stationed at Fort George. I will not trouble your Excellency with all the circumstances attending the surrender of the fort, but refer you to the brave Captain Moulton, for more particular information. On the morning of the 3d instant, a body of about one thousand of the enemy appeared before Fort Ann, and demanded a surrender of the fort, and Captain Sherwood, who commanded, was compelled to surrend-

er it, himself and 50 men becoming prisoners of war. The enemy then took their course through Kingsbury and Queensbury, burning and destroying all before them. Fort George was then commanded by Capt. John Chipman, with between 60 and 70 rank and file, of my regiment, the remainder of the regiment being out on scouts about Lake George. The garrison having been two days without provisions, Capt. Chipman sent an express to Fort Edward for supplies, who, about four miles from Fort George, was fired upon by a party of the enemy, consisting, as he supposed, of about thirty or forty British, Indians and Tories, but he made his escape and gave Capt. Chipman the first information he received, that there was an enemy in the vicinity of Lake George, and judging that the number of the enemy did not exceed thirty or forty, and being anxious to avenge the losses which the regiment had sustained during the season, he immediately dispatched Capt. Sill with 50 men in pursuit of the enemy. He met the enemy but a short distance from the fort, and made a spirited attack on their front, which gave way, but he soon found himself completely surrounded by a numerous body of the enemy consisting of British Indians, and Tories. In this situation they

fought nobly, until Capt. Sill, Ensign Eno, and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates, were killed; Lieut. Payne and Ensign Lighthall were wounded and taken prisoners, with the rest of the detachment except Ensign Grant and about 15 privates who fought their way through the enemy's lines, and made their escape. The enemy having thus overcome Capt. Sill and his party, immediately proceeded to invest the fort and sent in a flag demanding its surrender, Capt. Chipman, considering it impossible with so small a number of men, to defend the post against such an overwhelming force, surrendered by capitulation. The articles of capitulation are enclosed and are honorable to the commander of the fort.

The commanding officer at Fort Edward, at eleven o'clock in the evening of the 9th inst., by an express from Fort Ann, received information of the presence of the enemy. Had he given this information to Capt. Chipman he would not have sent out the detachment from the fort, and might have saved it.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SETH WARNER.

On the first of January, 1781, the regiment was reduced, under a resolution of Congress, and some of the officers were

transferred to other regiments. Capt. Chipman was promoted to the rank of Major, in the New York line.

In the year 1782, Warner removed to Roxbury, in Connecticut, his native town, in hopes of obtaining relief from the painful disorders under which he was suffering, but his hopes proved fallacious, and he gradually wasted away till the 26th of December, when an end was put to all his sufferings.

Seth Warner was rising six feet in height, erect and well-proportioned, his countenance, attitude and movements indicative of great strength and vigor of body and mind, of resolution, firmness and self-possession. His commanding appearance, and known character, undoubtedly saved him from many an attack by the Yorkers. In one instance only, during the long controversy with New York, did any one attempt to arrest him single-handed. An officer from New York attempted to arrest him by force, and Warner considering it an act of lawless violence, attacked, wounded and disarmed him, but, with the spirit of a soldier, saved his life, and permitted him to return to New York. He pursued his public and his private business among the settlers in the different towns, with apparent unconcern, and yet, he was always prepared for defence.

He seemed to be entirely unconscious of fear, and, in one instance, it was said that this trait in his character was the cause of his meeting danger, which he ought to have avoided. After his defeat at Hubbardton, it was said that he might have been at Castleton before the enemy reached Hubbardton, and thus have avoided the unequal conflict, and saved the lives of many brave men, but it was soon ascertained that there was not any foundation for this—that the blame was wholly with St. Clair, Warner having remained at Hubbardton in obedience to his orders.

When Warner arrived at Hubbardton, St. Clair gave him the command of the rear guard, with orders to remain there, until those who had been left behind should come up, and then follow the main army, keeping about a mile and a half in the rear. That evening St. Clair, with the main army, marched to Castleton, leaving Warner with his rear guard, not one mile and a half, but six miles in his rear. This gross error of St. Clair was the sole cause of the defeat at Hubbardton. Instead of this, the enemy would have been defeated, if St. Clair had kept the main army within a mile and a half, his own prescribed distance, in advance of his rear guard. This error of St. Clair

has been overlooked, while he has been severely censured, not for evacuating Ticonderoga, but for not showing more fight—for not making some resistance somewhere, and for not sending a detachment from Castleton to succor Warner, when he knew by the firing that he was attacked by the enemy.

The first charge is too general to require or even admit of examination, and the second charge is clearly unfounded. Warner having no works of defence, by which to protract the contest, it was as obvious then as it is now, that a reinforcement could not reach him, before he had repulsed the enemy, in which case he would need no succor, or, been defeated, as he unfortunately was, in which case, by sending a reinforcement, St. Clair would only have exposed his army to be cut off in detail, committing a more fatal error, than the first.

Warner was distinguished for his cool courage, and perfect self-possession, on all occasions. But in one instance, was he ever known to be agitated for a moment, or deprived of self-possession, by any disastrous occurrence, however sudden and unexpected. In the battle at Hubbardton, Francis' regiment gave way, owing, as it afterwards appeared, to the loss of their Colonel. War-

ner had repulsed the enemy, who had rallied and renewed the charge, but were again brought to a stand by a deadly fire from his Green Mountain Boys. At this anxious and exciting moment, Warner saw Francis' regiment retreating, and the battle lost. This was too much, even for the nerve of Warner. He dropped down upon a log by which he stood, and poured out a torrent of execrations upon the flying troops; but he instantly rose and, in a most collected manner, ordered his regiment to Manchester.

Warner was for so long a time and so ardently engaged in the defence of the New Hampshire Grants, and in the defence of his country in the Revolutionary War, that his attention seems to have been wholly diverted from his own private concerns. He had been so long engaged in maintaining the *rights* of property, that a disposition to acquire it seemed to be wholly eradicated. And the moderate property which he inherited, he spent in the service of his country, and left his family destitute.

The proprietors of several townships gave him tracts of land, of considerable value, as a reward for his services in defence of the New Hampshire Grants, but the greater part, if not all of them, were sold for taxes, and

his heirs never received any considerable benefit from them.

In October, 1787, the Legislature of Vermont generously granted to his heirs 2000 acres of land, in the north west part of the county of Essex. It was then supposed that this land would become valuable by a settlement of that part of the county, but when that section of the State was explored, this tract of land was found to be of little or no value, and it yet remains unsettled.

Obituary notices of Warner, were published soon after his decease, and by the following extracts from them, the reader will learn from his cotemporaries themselves, and in their own language, how they loved and respected him:

"This gentleman, from an early period of his life, took a very decided part in the defence of the rights of man, and rendered essential services in the exalted command which he held over the Green Mountain Boys, in the defence of the New Hampshire Grants. He also distinguished himself, and maintained the character of a brave officer, in his command of his regiment during the late war. His ability in command, few exceeded, his dexterity and success were uncommon. His natural disposition was kind, generous, and humane. His remains were in-

terred with the honors of War, which were justly due to his merits. An immense concourse of people attended his funeral, and the whole was performed with uncommon decency and affection. He has left an amiable consort, and three children, to mourn their irreparable loss."

Since the foregoing was copied for the press, I have received the following, from one of Warner's cotemporaries, who still survives in his native town of Roxbury. Col. Warner struggled long with complicated and distressing maladies, which he bore with uncommon fortitude and resignation, until deprived of his reason, after which he was constantly fighting his battles over again, not in imagination only, but by the exertion of a preternatural physical strength, so that it required two or three to take charge of him. There was a guard of about 30 men kept at his house, from the time of his decease, the 26th of December, to the 29th, when his funeral was attended, and a sermon preached by the Rev. Thomas Canfield, from Samuel 1. 27. "How are the Mighty fallen, and the weapons of War perished.

The following inscription is on the monument erected over his grave :

In memory of
COL. SETH WARNER, ESQ.,
Who departed this life, December 26, A. D. 1784,
In the 42d year of his age.

Triumphant leader at our armies' head,
Whose martial glory struck a panic dread,
Thy warlike deeds engraven on this stone
Tell future ages what a hero's done.
Full sixteen battles he did fight,
For to procure his country's right.
Oh ! this brave hero, he did fall
By death, who ever conquers all.

When this you see, remember me.

MEMOIR

OF

COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN,

BY

JARED SPARKS, LL. D.

MEMOIR

OF

COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN.

BY

JARED SPARKS, LL. D.

ETHAN ALLEN.

THE first settlement of Vermont, and the early struggles of the inhabitants not only in subduing a wilderness, but establishing an independent government, afford some of the most remarkable incidents in American history. When we now survey that flourishing State, presenting in all its parts populous towns and villages, and witness the high degree of culture to which it has attained, and which, under the most favored social organization, is usually the slow achievement of time, we can hardly realize that seventy years ago the whole region from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain was a waste of forests, an asylum for wild beasts, and a barrier against the inroads of the savages upon the border settlements of the New England Colonies. This change has been brought to pass in the first place by a bold and hardy enterprise, and an indomitable spirit of freedom, which have rarely been equalled; and afterwards by the steady per-

severance of an enlightened and industrious population, deriving its stock from the surrounding States, and increasing rapidly from its own resources. To the historian this is a fertile and attractive theme. By the biographer it can only be touched, as bearing on the deeds and character of the persons, who have been the principal actors in the train of events.

Among those, who were most conspicuous in laying the foundation upon which the independent State of Vermont has been reared, and indeed the leader and champion of that resolute band of husbandmen, who first planted themselves in the wildernes of the Green Mountains, was ETHAN ALLEN. He was a native of Connecticut, where his father and mother were likewise born, the former in Coventry, and the latter in Woodbury. Joseph Allen, the father, after his marriage with Mary Baker, resided in Litchfield, where it is believed that Ethan and one or two other children were born. The parents afterwards removed to Cornwall, where other children were born, making in all six sons and two daughters, Ethan, Heman, Heber, Levi, Zimri, Ira, Lydia, and Lucy. All the brothers grew up to manhood, and four or five of them emigrated to the territory west of the Green Mountains among the first

settlers, and were prominent members of the social and political compacts into which the inhabitants gradually formed themselves. Bold, active, and enterprising, they espoused with zeal, and defended with energy, the cause of the settlers against what were deemed the encroaching schemes of their neighbors, and with a keen interest sustained their share in all the border contests. Four of them were engaged in the military operations of the Revolution, and by a hazardous and successful adventure at the breaking out of the war, in the capture of Ticonderoga, the name of Ethan Allen gained a renown, which spread widely at the time, and has been perpetuated in history.

But, before we proceed in our narrative, it is necessary to state a few particulars explanatory of what will follow. Among the causes of the controversies, which existed between the colonies in early times, and continued down to the Revolution, was the uncertainty of boundary lines as described in the old charters. Considering the ignorance of all parties, at the time the charters were granted, as to the extent and interior situation of the country, it was not surprising that limits should be vaguely defined, and that the boundaries of one colony should encroach upon those of another. A difficulty

of this kind arose between the colony of New York and those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. By the grant of King Charles the Second to his brother, the Duke of York, the tract of country called New York was bounded on the east by Connecticut River, thus conflicting with the express letter of the Massachusetts and Connecticut charters, which extended those colonies westward to the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. After a long controversy, kept up at times with a good deal of heat on both sides, the line of division between these colonies was fixed by mutual agreement at twenty miles east of Hudson's River, running nearly in a north and south direction. This line was adopted as a compromise between Connecticut and New York, upon the consideration that the Connecticut settlers had established themselves so far to the westward under patents from that colony, as to be within about twenty miles of the Hudson. The Massachusetts boundary was decided much later to be a continuation of the Connecticut line to the north, making the western limit of Massachusetts also twenty miles from the same river. This claim was supported mainly on the ground of the precedent in the case of Connecticut, and was long resisted by New

York, as interfering with previous grants from that colony extending thirty miles eastward from the Hudson.*

Meantime New Hampshire had never been brought into the controversy, because the lands to the westward of that province beyond Connecticut River had been neither settled nor surveyed. There was indeed a small settlement at Fort Dummer on the western margin of the River, which was under the protection of Massachusetts, and supposed to be within that colony, till the dividing line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts was accurately run, when Fort Dummer was ascertained to be north of that line, and was afterwards considered as being within the jurisdiction of the sister colony. Such was the state of things when Benning Wentworth became governor of New Hampshire, with authority from the King to issue patents for unimproved lands within the limits of his province. Application was made for grants to the west of Connecticut River, and even beyond the Green Mountains, and in 1749 he gave a patent for a township six miles square, near the northwest angle of Massachusetts, to be so laid out, that its western limit should be

*See *A State of the Right of the Colony of New York, with Respect to its Eastern Boundary on Connecticut River, &c. pp.* 5, 7.

twenty miles from the Hudson, and coincide with the bounndary line of Connecticut and Massachusetts continued northward. This township was called Bennington.

Although the governor and council of New York remonstrated against this grant, and claimed for that colony the whole territory north of Massachusetts as far eastward as Connecticut River, yet Governor Wentworth was not deterred by this remonstrance from issuing other patents, urging in his justification, that New Hampshire had a right to the same extension westward as Massachusetts and Connecticut. Fourteen townships had been granted in 1754, when the French war broke out, and, by the peril it threatened on the frontiers, discouraged settlers from seeking a residence there, or vesting their property in lands, the title to which might be put in jeopardy, or their value destroyed, by the issue of the contest. Nor was it till the glorious victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham had wrested Canada for ever from the French power, secured these border territories against all further invasion from an ancient foe, and opened the prospects of a speedy and lasting peace, that the spirit of enterprise, perhaps of adventure, combining with the hope of gain, revived a desire of possessing and settling

these wild lands. Applications for new patents thronged daily upon Governor Wentworth, and within four years' time the whole number of townships granted by him, to the westward of Connecticut River, was one hundred and thirty-eight. The territory including these townships was known by the name of the *New Hampshire Grants*, which it retained till the opening of the Revolution, when its present name of *Vermont* began to be adopted.

At what time Ethan Allen and his brethren emigrated to the *Grants* is uncertain. It was not, however, till after the reduction of Canada, and probably not till the peace between England and France had been concluded. Meantime among the inhabitants of the New England colonies, a market had been found for the lands, and settlers were flocking over the mountains from various quarters. Many persons had passed through those lands on their way to the army in Canada, and become acquainted with their value. The easy terms upon which the townships had been patented by Governor Wentworth enabled the original purchasers to dispose of shares, and single farms, at very low prices, thus holding out strong allurements to settlers. Apprehensions as to the validity of the title must also have induced

the first proprietors to prefer a quick sale, with small profits, to the uncertain prospect of larger gains at a future day. By this union of policy and interest the lands were rapidly sold, in tracts of various dimensions, to practical farmers, who resolved to establish themselves as permanent residents on the soil. Of this number were the Allens, who selected their lands in the township of Bennington, to which they removed in company with several other persons from Connecticut.

While these things were going on, the governor of New York did not remain an idle spectator. He wrote letters to the governor of New Hampshire protesting against his grants, and published proclamations declaring the Connecticut River to be the boundary between the two colonies. But neither proclamations nor remonstrances produced conviction in the mind of Governor Wentworth. He continued to issue his warrants; a population of hardy yeomanry was daily increasing in the New Hampshire Grants; a formidable power was taking root there, nurtured by the local feelings, united objects, and physical strength of the settlers; and the government of New York thought it time to seek redress in a higher quarter, and appeal to the Crown as the ultimate ar-

biter in all controversies of this nature. Accordingly the matter was brought before the King in Council, and his Majesty decided by a royal decree, in the year 1764, that the Connecticut River was the dividing line between New York and New Hampshire. In this decision all parties seemed to acquiesce. Governor Wentworth granted no more patents on the west side of the river, and the settlers showed no symptoms of uneasiness, as the only difference made in their condition by the royal decree was, that they were now declared to be under the jurisdiction of New York, whereas they had hitherto regarded themselves as under that of New Hampshire; but this change they did not contemplate as a grievance, presuming their property and civil rights would be as well protected by the laws of the one colony as by those of the other.

But herein they soon discovered themselves to be in an error, and to differ widely in sentiment from their more astute neighbors. Men learned in the law and of high station in New York had made it appear, that jurisdiction meant the same thing as right of property; and since his Majesty had decided Connecticut River to be the eastern limit of that province, the governor and council decreed, that all the lands west of the

said river appertained to New York, however long they might have been in possession of actual occupants. This was a strange doctrine to men, who had paid their money for the lands, and by their own toil added ten-fold or a hundred-fold to their value; who had felled the forests by the strength of their sinews, and submitted for years to all the privations and discomforts of the woodsman's life. In a tone of just indignation they said to these new masters, we will obey your laws, but you shall not plunder us of the substance we have gained by the sweat of our brows. The New York government, however, in conformity with their interpretation of the royal decree, proceeded to grant patents covering the lands on which farms had been brought to an advanced state of culture, houses built, and orchards planted, by the original purchasers and settlers. It is true that to all such persons was granted the privilege of taking out new patents, and securing a New York title, by paying the fees and other charges, which were greatly enhanced upon those paid at first to Governor Wentworth; that is, in other words, they were allowed the right of purchasing their own property. This was a proposition perfectly comprehensible to the most illiterate husbandman. With a ve-

ry few exceptions they refused to comply with it, alleging that they had bought their lands by a fair purchase, and had a just claim to a title, under whatever jurisdiction the King might think proper to place them; that it was not their business to interfere with the controversies of the colonies about their respective boundaries, but it was their duty, and their determination, to retain and defend their lawful property. The case was aggravated by an order of the governor and council of New York, calling on all the claimants under the New Hampshire grants to appear before them, the said governor and council, with the deeds, conveyances, and other evidences of their claims, within three months, and declaring that the claims of all persons not presented within that time should be rejected. This had no effect upon the settlers, and of course their titles were looked upon as forfeited, and the lands they occupied as being the property of the colony of New York.

It would seem, that certain speculators entered deeply into the affair, influenced more by the literal construction or ambiguous meaning of charters and royal decrees, than by the power of the settlers to support their claims, or the absolute justice of their cause. Hence repeated applications for large grants

were made to the governor, which he was nowise inclined to refuse, since every new patent was attended with a liberal fee to himself. Foreseeing the mischiefs, that would result to them from this growing combination of powerful and interested individuals in New York, the settlers despatched one of their number to England as an agent in their behalf, instructed to lay their case before the King, and petition for relief. This mission was successful, so far as to obtain an order from the King in Council, July, 1767, commanding the governor of New York to abstain from issuing any more patents in the disputed territory, "upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure," till the intentions of the King on the subject should further be made known.

This decision, having only a prospective effect, did not annul the grants already bestowed, and the New York patentees resolved to gain possession of the lands by civil process. Writs of ejectment were taken out, and served on several actual occupants. In a few instances the officers were resisted by the people, and prevented from serving the writs; but, for the most part, the New Hampshire grantees inclined to meet their opponents on this ground, and refer the matter to a judicial tribunal. Ethan Allen, having

already become a leader among them, by his zeal in opposing the New York party and by the boldness of his character, was appointed an agent to manage the concerns of the defendants before the court at Albany, to which the writs of ejectment had been returned. His first step was to proceed to New Hampshire, and obtain copies of Governor Wentworth's commission and instructions, by which he was authorized to grant the lands. He next went to Connecticut, and engaged the services of Mr. Ingersoll, an eminent counsellor of that day. When the time of trial arrived, these gentlemen appeared in Albany, and produced to the court the above papers, and also the original patents or grants to those persons on whom the writs of ejectment had been served. These papers were at once set aside, as having no weight in the case, since they presupposed that the boundary of New Hampshire reached to the west of Connecticut River, a point not to be admitted by any New York court or jury. The verdict was of course given for the plaintiffs. Indeed the whole process was an idle piece of formality. It being the theoretical and practical doctrine of the New York government, that all Governor Wentworth's grants were illegal, and many of the judges and lawyers

being personally interested in the subsequent New York patents, a decision adverse to their declared opinion of the law, and to their private interests, was not to be expected. This was soon perceived by the people of the New Hampshire Grants, and no one of them again appeared in court, though sundry other cases of ejectment were brought up, and decided against the occupants. As all their grants stood on precisely the same footing, a precedent in one case would necessarily be followed in the other.

It is recorded, that after Allen retired from the court at Albany, two or three gentlemen interested in the New York grants called upon him, one of whom was the King's attorney-general for the colony, and advised him to go home and persuade his friends of the Green Mountains to make the best terms they could with their new landlords, intimating that their cause was now desperate, and reminding him of the proverb, that "*might often prevails against right.*" Neither admiring the delicacy of this sentiment, nor intimidated by the threat it held out, Allen replied, "*The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills.*" This laconic figure of speech he left to be interpreted by his visitors, adding only, when an explanation was asked by the King's attorney, that if he

would accompany him to Bennington the sense should be made clear.

The purpose of his mission being thus brought to a close, Mr. Allen returned and reported the particulars to his constituents. The news spread from habitation to habitation, and created a sudden and loud murmur of discontent among the people. Seeing, as they thought, the door of justice shut against them, and having tried in vain all the peaceable means of securing their rights, they resolved to appeal to the last arbiter of disputes. The inhabitants of Bennington immediately assembled, and came to a formal determination to defend their property by force, and to unite in resisting all encroachments upon the lands occupied by persons holding titles under the warrants granted by the Governor of New Hampshire. This was a bold step; but it was promptly taken, and with a seeming determination to adhere to it at any hazard, and without regard to consequences. Nor was this decision changed or weakened by a proposition on the part of the New York patentees, made about this time, which allowed to each occupant a fee simple of his farm, at the same price for which the unoccupied lands in his neighborhood were sold. The first purchasers still insisted that this was requiring them to pay twice

for their lands, and that in any view the proposal was not just, inasmuch as the value of the unoccupied lands depended mainly on the settlements, which had been made in their vicinity by the toil and at the expense of the original occupants. In short, the time for talking about charters and boundaries, and courts of judicature was past, and the mountaineers were now fully bent on conducting the controversy by a more summary process. The wisdom or equity of this decision I shall forbear to discuss, and proceed to narrate some of its consequences.

Actions of ejectment continued to be brought before the Albany courts; but the settlers, despairing of success after the precedents of the first cases, did not appear in defence, nor give themselves any more trouble in the matter. Next came sheriffs and civil magistrates to execute the writs of possession, and by due course of law to remove the occupants from the lands. At this crisis the affair assumed a tangible shape. The mountaineers felt themselves at home on the soil, which they had subdued by their own labor, and in the territory over which they had begun to exercise supreme dominion, by meeting in conventions and committees, and taking counsel of each other on public concerns. To drive one of them from his

house, or deprive him of his hard-earned substance, was to threaten the whole community with an issue fatal alike to their dearest interests, and to the rights, which every man deems as sacred as life itself. It was no wonder, therefore, that they should unite in a common cause, which it required their combined efforts to maintain.

As it was expected the sheriffs would soon make their appearance, precautions were taken to watch their motions, and give due notice of their approach. In the first instance, when the sheriff arrived at the house, on the owner of which he was to serve a writ of possession, he found it surrounded by a body of men, who resisted his attempts, and defeated his purpose. Complaints were sent to Lord Dunmore, then governor of New York, accompanied with the names of the leaders of this "riotous and tumultuous" assemblage; and the governor forthwith published a proclamation on the 1st day of November, 1770, denouncing this presumptuous act, and commanding the sheriff of Albany county to apprehend the offenders, whose names had been mentioned, and commit them to safe custody, that they might be brought to condign punishment; authorizing him to call to his assistance the *posse comitatus*, or the whole power of the county.

But proclamations were of as little avail as writs of possession; and the sheriff was never lucky enough to seize any of the rioters, who doubtless had the forethought to keep out of his reach.

The next exploit was at the house of James Brackenridge, whose farm was within the township of Bennington, and on whom the sheriff came to serve a writ. The house was filled with armed men, who treated this civil officer with much disrespect, and set his authority at naught. A few days afterwards he returned with a *posse*, such as he could collect for the purpose; but in this instance he was again repelled by a still more numerous party armed with muskets, which they presented at the breasts of the sheriff and his associates, and exhibited other attitudes of menace and contempt, against which these pacific messengers, armed only with the mandates and terrors of the law, did not think it prudent to contend. The rioters, as they were called, and perhaps by no very forced construction of language, came off a second time triumphant; and thus the boldness of their resolutions received a new incitement. These examples, however, did not deter the civil officers from endeavoring to discharge their duty. They appeared in other places, and in one or two instances

with success ; but they could not evade the vigilance of the people, who kept a watchful eye upon their movements, and who, when they caught the intruders, resorted to a mode of punishment less perilous than that with powder and ball, but attended with scarcely less indignity, to the unfortunate sufferers. This summary process was denominated *chastisement with the twigs of the wilderness*, a phraseology too significant to need explanation.

As open war now existed, and hostilities had commenced, the *Green Mountain Boys*, as the belligerents were denominated, thought it advisable to organize their forces, and prepare for the contest, in a manner worthy of the cause at stake. In all the feats of enterprise and danger, as well as in matters of state policy, Ethan Allen had hitherto been the chief adviser and actor. It was natural, that, in arranging their military establishment, the people should look up to him as the person best qualified to be placed at its head. He was appointed colonel-commandant, with several captains under him, of whom the most noted were Seth Warner and Remember Baker. Committees of safety were likewise chosen, and intrusted with powers for regulating local affairs. Conventions of delegates, represent-

ing the people, assembled from time to time and passed resolves and adopted measures, which tended to harmonize their sentiments and concentrate their efforts.

Thus prepared and supported, Colonel Allen, with a promptness and activity suited to his character, drew out his volunteers in larger or smaller numbers, as the exigency of the case required, and either in person, or by the agency of his captains, presented a formidable force to the sheriffs and constables wherever they appeared within the limits of the New Hampshire Grants. The convention had decreed, that no officer from New York should attempt to take any person out of their territory on the penalty of a severe punishment; and it was also forbidden, that any surveyor should presume to run lines through the lands, or inspect them with that intention. This edict enlarged the powers of the military commanders; for it was their duty to search out such intruders, and chastise them according to the nature of their offence. A few straggling settlers, claiming titles under New York grants, had ventured over the line of demarkation. These were forcibly dispossessed by detachments of Colonel Allen's men, frequently led on by him in person. The sheriffs and their *posse comitatus* continued to be pursu-

ed with unremitting eagerness, whenever they dared to set their feet on the forbidden ground. With these various affairs on his hands, it will readily be imagined that the commander of the Green Mountain Boys was not idle ; nor was it surprising, that he should attract the particular notice of the New York government. So many complaints were made of the riotous and disorderly proceedings of his volunteers and associates, such was the indignation of the New York party on account of the harsh measures adopted by them towards the persons whom they seized as trespassers upon their property, and so entirely did they set at defiance the laws of New York, to which their opponents accounted them amenable, that the governor was tempted to try the virtue of another proclamation, in which he branded the deed of dispossessing a New York settler with the approbrious name of felony, and offered a reward of twenty pounds to any person, who would apprehend and secure Allen, or either of eight other persons connected with him, and mentioned by name.

Whether this proclamation was thought too mild in its terms, or whether new outrages had added to the enormity of the offence, it is not easy to decide ; but another was

promulgated, enlarging the bounty for Allen to one hundred and fifty pounds, and for Seth Warner and five others to fifty pounds each. Not to be outdone by the authority of New York in exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty, Colonel Allen and his friends sent out a counter proclamation, offering a reward of five pounds to any person, who would take and deliver the attorney-general of that colony to any officer in the military association of the Green Mountain Boys; the said attorney having rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the settlers, by the zeal and pertinacity with which he had entered into the contest against them.* Notwithstanding the frequency of proclamations, it is believed that no person was apprehended in consequence of them, which is a proof that the people of the parts of New York adjoining the New Hampshire Grants were more favorable to the settlers, than were prominent men of the colony; otherwise the allurement of the reward would have induced combinations for seizing individual offenders, particularly as the people were required by law to assist the sheriff in the execution of his office. Allen never denied, that the conduct of himself and his mountaineers, interpreted by the laws of

* Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*, p. 29.

New York, or the laws of any well ordered society, was properly called riotous; but he contended, that they were driven to this extremity by the oppression of their stronger neighbors, that no other means were left by which they could defend their property, and that under such circumstances they were perfectly justified in resorting to these means. They encroached not upon the possessions of other people, they remained on their own soil, and, if riots existed, they were caused by those who came among them for molestation and injury. Viewing things in this light, he thought it hard, and with reason, that he should first be called a rioter, then a criminal rioter, and last of all be denounced to the world as a felon, with a price set upon his liberty, and threats of condign punishment if he should be taken.

But he was equally regardless of threats, and faithful in executing the charge reposed in him by his associates. Affairs had now been brought to such a stage, that it was the fixed determination of the settlers at all hazards to maintain their ground by expelling every person, who should presume to approach their territory under the auspices of the New York claimants. An incident occurred, which indicated the temper and spirit of the people. News came to Benning-

ton, that Governor Tryon was ascending the North River with a body of British troops, who were on their way to subdue the refractory Green Mountain Boys, and to quell the disputes by an overwhelming force. This report at first produced alarm. The Committee of Safety and the military officers held a consultation. Their perilous situation was viewed in all its aspects, and it was finally resolved, that, considering the measures they had already pursued, and that their vital interests required a perseverance in the same, "it was their duty to oppose Governor Tryon and his troops to the utmost of their power." They immediately proceeded to devise a plan of operations, by which a few sharp-shooters were to be stationed in a narrow pass on the road leading to Bennington, who were to lie concealed and shoot down the officers as they approached with the troops. These same marksman were then to hasten forward through the woods, and join another party of their comrades at a similar position, where they were to exercise their unerring skill with their rifles, and then retreat to the main body, who would be prepared to receive the invading troops, much disordered and dispirited as it was supposed they would be by the loss of officers. Colonel Allen despatched a trusty

person to Albany, with instructions to await the arrival of Governor Tryon's army, to take particular note of the officers, that he might know them again, and to ascertain all that he could as to the numbers of the enemy, the time of marching, and other useful intelligence. The messenger returned with the information, that the troops were windbound down the river, that they were destined for the posts on the Lakes, and had no designs upon Bennington. Although the people were thus relieved from the necessity of putting their valor to the test, yet their prompt and bold preparation for the onset was a pledge, that in no event could it have terminated to their dishonor.

Affairs were proceeding in this train of civil commotion and active hostilities, when Governor Tryon, in a spirit of candor and forbearance hardly to have been expected at that crisis, wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country, dated on the 19th of May, 1772, censuring the illegality and violence of their conduct, but at the same time expressing a desire to do them justice, and inviting them to send a deputation of such persons as they might choose, who should lay before him a full state of their grievances, and the causes of their complaints. To any deputies thus sent

he promised security and protection, excepting Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and three others, who had been named in his proclamation as offenders against the laws, and for apprehending whom a reward had been offered. On receiving this letter the people of Bennington and the neighboring towns assembled by their committees, took the subject into consideration, and without delay acceded to the proposal. They appointed two delegates, Stephen Fay and Jonas Fay, to repair to New York, and wrote a letter in answer to Governor Tryon's, briefly setting forth the grounds of their discontent and the reasons of their conduct, and referring to their agents for particular explanations. From the style and tone of the letter, it was obviously penned by Ethan Allen.

Neither was the opportunity to be passed over, by Allen, and his proscribed friends, of vindicating themselves against the aspersions cast upon them by their enemies, and the stigma of being pointed out to the world as rioters, abettors of mobs, and felons.— They sent a joint despatch to Governor Tryon, in the nature of a protest against the treatment they had received, and in justification of their motives and acts. Allen was again the penman for his brethren, and considering their provocations, and the degree

of excitement to which they had been wrought up, their remonstrance was clothed in language sufficiently respectful, breathing the spirit of men conscious of their dignity, and resolute in the defence of their rights, but ready to meet the awards of justice and abide by the decision of a fair and impartial tribunal. Some of their arguments are put in a forcible manner. "If we do not oppose the sheriff and his *posse*," say they, "he takes immediate possession of our houses and farms; and when others oppose officers in taking their friends so indicted, they are also indicted, and so on, there being no end of indictment against us so long as we act the bold and manly part and stand by our liberty. And it comes to this at last, that we must tamely be dispossessed, or oppose officers in taking possession, and, as a next necessary step, to oppose the taking of rioters, so called, or run away like so many cowards and quit the country to a number of cringing, polite gentlemen, who have ideally possessed themselves of it already."

Again; "Though they style us rioters for opposing them, and seek to catch and punish us as such, yet in reality themselves are the rioters, the tumultuous, disorderly, stimulating faction, or in fine the land-jobbers; and every violent act they have done

to compass their designs, though ever so much under pretence of law, is in reality a violation of law, and an insult to the constitution and authority of the Crown, as well as to many of us in person, who have been great sufferers by such inhuman exertions of pretended law. Right and wrong are eternally the same to all periods of time, places, and nations; and coloring a crime with a specious pretence of law only adds to the criminality of it, for it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes."*

These statements embraced the substance of their defence, considered in its theory and principles, although they were strengthened by a series of collateral facts and a combination of particulars, which were all made to assume a bearing favorable to the general cause. Governor Tryon received the deputies with affability and kindness, listened to their representations, and laid the matter of their grievances before his council. After due deliberation the council reported to the governor, that they wished him to give the people of the New Hampshire Grants all the relief in his power, and recommended that the prosecutions, on ac-

*Ethan Allen's *Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.* pp. 58, 62.

count of crimes with which they were charged, should cease till his Majesty's pleasure could be ascertained, and that the New York grantees should be requested till such time to put a stop to civil suits respecting the lands in controversy. This vote of the council was approved by the governor, and with this intelligence the deputies hastened back to their constituents, who hailed them as the messengers of peace and joy. They had never asked for more than was implied by these terms, being well persuaded, that, however the question of jurisdiction might be settled, the King would never sanction a course of proceeding, which should deprive them of their property. The impulse of gladness spread quickly to the cabins of the remotest settlers; a meeting of the people was called at Bennington, where a large concourse assembled; the minutes of the council and the governor's approval were read, and applauded with loud acclamations, and for the moment the memory of all former griefs was swept away in the overflowing tide of enthusiasm for Governor Tryon. The single cannon, constituting the whole artillery of Colonel Allen's regiment, was drawn out and discharged several times in honor of the occasion; and Captain Warner's company of Green Mountain Boys, paraded in battle ar-

ray, fired three volleys with small arms; the surrounding multiudes at the same time answering each discharge with huzzas, and every demonstration of delight. It was accounted a day of triumph to the heroes of Bennington, and a harbinger of tranquillity to the settlers, who had hitherto been harassed by the incessant tumults of the present, or the vexatious uncertainty of the future.

But unluckily this season of rejoicing was of short duration. It was indeed premature; for although the terms brought back by the commissioners held out an appearance of reconciliation, yet the seeds of mischief were not eradicated, and they immediately began to spring up with their former vigor. The conciliatory resolve of the governor and council moreover contained an ambiguity, which seemed at first to escape the notice of the people, in the excess of their hilarity. The New York grantees were desired to cease from prosecuting any more civil suits, till the King's pleasure should be known; but nothing was said about putting in execution the suits already decided in their favor, and no prohibition intimated against their taking possession of lands claimed in consequence of such decisions, or sending surveyors to fix boundaries and localities. Hence it is

obvious, that all the actual sources of dissension and tumult remained in their full force.

It was unfortunate, that an example occurred while the negotiation was pending. Soon after the commissioners set off for New York, intelligence was brought to Bennington, that a noted surveyor, employed by the New York claimants, had found his way into some of the border townships, and was busy in running out lands. A small party rallied, with Colonel Allen at their head, went in pursuit of the surveyor, fell upon his track in the woods, overtook and seized him, intending to punish him in a manner suited to their ideas of the audaciousness of his offence. They broke his instruments, examined and tried him before a court organized according to their manner, found him guilty, and passed sentence of banishment, threatening the penalty of death, should he ever again be caught within the limits of the interdicted territory. At this juncture they heard of the success of the mission to New York, which occasioned them to dismiss the surveyor without personal injury, and to rescind their harsh sentence.

During this expedition Colonel Allen and his party also dispossessed the tenants of an intruder, near the mouth of Otter Creek,

where, under the shield of a New York title, he had taken a saw-mill and other property from the original settlers, and appropriated them to himself, adding tenements and improvements for his laborers. Colonel Allen expelled the tenants, burnt their habitations, restored the saw-mill to its first owner, and broke the millstones of a grist-mill, which he could not burn without endangering the saw-mill.

The fame of these exploits travelled with speed to New York, and kindled the anger of Governor Tryon and the members of his council. The Governor wrote a letter of sharp rebuke to the inhabitants of the Grants, complaining of this conduct as an insult to government, and a violation of public faith. This letter was taken into consideration by the committees of several townships assembled at Manchester, who voted to return an answer, which was drafted by Ethan Allen, secretary to the convention. In regard to the prominent points, Mr. Allen argued in behalf of his associates, that the public faith was not plighted on their part, till after the ratification at Bennington of the terms brought back by their commissioners, and that the transactions so severely censured took place previously to that event. If there was any breach of faith in the case, it was declared

to have been on the part of the land-jobbers in New York, who sent a surveyor into the disputed domain, while the commissioners were negotiating for a reconcilement of differences. As to putting the intruders at Otter Creek again into possession, which the governor had demanded in a somewhat peremptory manner, they declined doing it, assigning as a reason that those persons were justly removed, and that the governor could not fail to be of the same opinion when duly informed of facts. The assembled committees moreover declared explicitly, that, by the terms of reconciliation, they did not expect any settlements or locations would be attempted on the lands in question, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. If such were not the meaning and intent of the governor, in the proposal he had sent by the commissioners, then their act of ratification was a nullity.

To put the matter on this footing was at once to revive all the old difficulties; for the governor had no power to stop the course of law, by prohibiting those persons from taking possession of their lands, who had been confirmed in their claims by the regular decisions of the courts. All such claimants, and agents acting in their behalf, the settlers had determined to resist by force, and had

given practical proofs of their resolution, which were not to be mistaken. They had also resolved to pursue, expel, or otherwise punish any person within the disputed district, who should presume to accept an office civil or military under the authority of New York. Like the tories of the Revolution, these people were considered as the worst kind of enemies, and treated with uncommon severity. In an unlucky hour, two or three of them accepted from Governor Tryon commissions of justices of the peace, and had the hardihood to act in their official dignity. The indignation and wrath of the Green Mountain Boys were roused. In one instance the unhappy delinquent was brought before the Committee of Safety, where the resolve of the convention was read to him, forbidding any one in the territory to hold an office under the colony of New York; and then judgment was pronounced against him, in the presence of many persons, by which he was sentenced to be tied to a tree, and chastised "with the twigs of the wilderness" on his naked back, to the number of two hundred stripes, and immediately expelled from the district, and threatened with death if he should return, unless specially permitted by the Convention.

In the midst of these rigors, the mode of

punishment was sometimes rather ludicrous than severe. In the town of Arlington lived a doctor, who openly professed himself a partisan of New York, and was accustomed to speak disrespectfully of the convention and committees, espousing the cause of the New York claimants, and advising people to purchase lands under their title. He was admonished by his neighbors, and made to understand, that this tone of conversation was not acceptable, and was requested to change it, or at least to show his prudence by remaining silent. Far from operating any reform, these hints only stirred up the ire of the courageous doctor, who forthwith armed himself with pistols and other weapons of defence, proclaiming his sentiments more boldly than ever, setting opposition at defiance, and threatening to try the full effects of his personal prowess and implements of warfare on any man, who should have the temerity to approach him with un unfriendly design. Such a boast was likely to call up the martial spirit of his opponents, who accordingly came upon the doctor at an unguarded moment, and obliged him to surrender at discretion. He was thence transferred to the Green Mountain Tavern, in Bennington, where he was arraigned before the committee, who, not satisfied with his defence, sen-

tenced him to a novel punishment, which they ordered to be put in immediate execution.

Before the door of this tavern, which served the double purpose of a court-house and an inn, stood a sign-post twenty-five feet high, and the top of which was adorned with the skin of a catamount, stuffed to the size of life, with its head turned towards New York, and its jaws distended, showing large naked teeth, and grinning terror to all who should approach from that quarter. It was the judgment of the court, that the contumacious doctor should be tied in a chair, and drawn up by a rope to the catamount, where he was to remain suspended two hours; which punishment was inflicted, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of people, much to their satisfaction and merriment. The doctor was then let down, and permitted to depart to his own house.

On two or three occasions Colonel Allen was near being taken, in consequence of the rewards offered for him in the governor's proclamations. When he made excursions abroad, whether for military or other purposes, he commonly went armed with a musket and a brace of pistols. Being on a tour to the north, in company with a single friend, he one evening entered a house not many

miles from Crown Point, in which, to his surprise and after it was too late to retreat, he found there were two sergeants and ten men. He was known to the sergeants, and soon had reason to suspect, that they intended to seize him. Putting the best face upon the matter, however, and concealing his suspicions, he called for supper, conversed in great good humor with the sergeants, asked them to drink with him, and the evening passed away merrily till bed-time. It then appeared, that there were no spare beds in the house, as they had all been taken by the first comers; but these persons very civilly proposed to yield their claims to Colonel Allen, and pressed him with a show of earnestness to accept their offer. He declined it, with thanks for their courtesy, declaring that he could not think of depriving them of their rest merely for his personal accommodation, and that, as the weather was warm, he and his companion would seek lodgings in the barn. To hide their real design they left their guns behind. The sergeants accompanied them to the barn, saw them safely in their quarters, wished them a good night's repose, and returned to the house. By a previous concert, a young girl in the family took the first opportunity unseen to carry the guns to the barn. The sergeants wait-

ed till they supposed the two travellers were asleep, and that there would be no danger from their pistols, and then stole softly out, flushed with the prospect of speedily entrapping the renowned leader of the Green Mountain Boys. But their imaginary victory ended in disappointment. Colonel Allen, having succeeded in his scheme of deceiving his pursuers, had arisen and departed, and the night screened him from the search.

At another time, while he was on a visit to his brother in Salisbury, Connecticut, a plot was laid by several persons, residing between that place and Hudson's River, to come upon him by surprise, seize, and carry him to Poughkeepsie jail. This plot was accidentally discovered in time to defeat the designs of the conspirators.

Meantime the spirit of hostility between the two parties continued to increase, the New York claimants being resolved to enforce their claims by all the power they could put in action, and the original settlers equally determined to resist aggression by every species of force, which they could wield. Hence commotions, riots, mobs, and bloodshed were common occurrences, though the settlers adhered strictly to their declared principle of acting on the defensive, never pursuing offenders beyond their own do-

main, but showing little mercy to those, who dared to violate their decrees, question their authority, and above all to step over the line of demarkation as the agents of their enemies. At last the New York grantees, discouraged with this mode of conducting so fruitless a contest, combined their influence, and applied to the Assembly of that province for legislative aid. The result was a law, purporting to be an act for preventing tumultuous and riotous assemblies, and punishing rioters, which may safely be pronounced the most extraordinary specimen of legislative despotism, that has ever found a place in a statute-book. After naming Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and several others, as the principal ringleaders in the riots, the law empowers the governor and council to send out an order, requiring those persons, or any others indicted for offences, to surrender themselves for commitment to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace within seventy days from the date of the order; and in case the summons should not be obeyed, the person neglecting to surrender himself was to be adjudged and deemed as convicted, and to suffer death if indicted for a capital offence; and moreover the Supreme Court was authorized to award execution, in the same manner as if there

had been an actual trial, proof of guilt, and a judicial sentence.*

On the same day that this law was enacted, the governor sent out another proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending and imprisoning Ethan Allen and seven of his associates, as if never tired of exercising this prerogative of his office, although hitherto without the least shadow of success. The object of the law and of the proclamation was to draw from their strong-holds the principal rioters, as they were called, and inflict upon them such punishments as would quell their opposition, and dishearten their followers. The effect was far otherwise. The committees of the several townships assembled in convention, and took up the subject with more calmness, than could have been anticipated under circumstances so irritating. They reviewed the causes of the controversy, asserted anew their rights, affirmed that they were not the aggressors, that all the violence to which they had been accessory was fully justified by the laws of self-preservation, and that they were determined to maintain the ground they had ta-

* This act, certainly one of the most curious in the annals of legislation, was passed on the 9th of March, 1774, and may be seen in Ethan Allen's *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.*, p. 23. And also in Slade's *Vermont State Papers*. p. 42.

ken, without fear or favor, at every hazard and every sacrifice. They closed their public proceedings by a resolve, that all necessary preparations should be made, and that the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness at a minute's warning to defend those among them, "who, for their merit in the great and general cause, had been falsely denominated rioters;" declaring at the same time, that they would act only on the defensive, and that in all civil cases, and criminal prosecutions really such, they would assist the proper officers to enforce the execution of the laws.

In addition to these public doings of the people at large by their representatives, the proscribed persons, at the head of whom was Ethan Allen, published a manifesto, to which they jointly affixed their names, containing a defence of themselves and free remarks on the New York act and proclamation. To look for moderation as a shining quality in a paper of this kind, is perhaps more than would be authorized by the nature of the case, or the character of the individuals concerned; yet it expresses sentiments, which we should be sorry not to find in men, whom we would respect, and in whom we would confide in the hour of peril. It speaks in a tone of deep complaint of the injuries

they have suffered from the vindictive persecutions of their enemies, protests against the tyrannical abuse of power, which would arraign them as criminals for protecting their own property, and threatens retaliation upon all, who should attempt to put in execution against them the sanguinary edict, of the New York Assembly. But in the midst of the sea of dangers, with which they seemed to be surrounded, they braced themselves up with the consolatory reflection, "that printed sentences of death will not kill us; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we." They furthermore proclaimed that, should any person be tempted, by the "wages of unrighteousness offered in the proclamation," to apprehend any of them or their friends, it was their deliberate purpose to inflict immediate death upon so rash and guilty an offender.

To this pitch of legalized infatuation on the one part, and of animosity and violence on the other, had the controversy attained by imbibing new aliment at every stage, when it was suddenly arrested by events of vastly greater moment, which drew away the attention of the political leaders in New York from these border feuds to affairs of more vital interest. The revolutionary

struggle was on the eve of breaking out, and the ferment, which had already begun to agitate the public mind from one end of the continent to the other, was not less active in New York than in other places. From this time, therefore, the Green Mountain settlers were permitted to remain in comparative tranquillity. Several years elapsed, it is true, before they released themselves entirely from the claims of their neighbors, and established their independence on an undisputed basis; yet they always acted as an independent community, assumed and exercised the powers of a separate body politic, and secured at last, to the fullest extent, their original demands and pretensions. Ethan Allen had a large share in bringing the contest to its happy termination; but before we proceed any further with this subject, it is necessary to follow him through a different career, and trace the series of incidents, which befell him in the war of the Revolution.

At this point in our narrative, it is proper to turn our attention for a moment to a literary performance by Ethan Allen, which had some influence in its day, and which is still valuable for the historical matter it embodies. Having zealously embarked in the cause of the Green Mountain Boys, to which

he was prompted both by interest and ambition, he applied his vigorous mind to a thorough investigation of the subject. He pursued his researches into the ancient charters, followed out their bearings upon each other in regard to boundary lines, studied the history of the colonies, and thus collected a mass of authentic materials, which, with an account of recent events known to him personally, he compiled into a volume extending to more than two hundred pages. He, who in this work shall expect to find flowers of rhetoric, or a polished diction, or models of grammatical accuracy, or the art of a practised writer, will be disappointed; but, clothed in the garb of an unformed style and confused method, there are many sagacious remarks and pertinent expressions, many strong points of argument stated with force, if not with elegance, many evidences of a mind accustomed to observe and think, draw its own inferences, and utter its sentiments with a fearless reliance on its own resources and guidance.*

* The work is entitled *A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, &c.*, printed at Hartford, 1774. The supplementary part contains a reply to a pamphlet published a short time before in New York, by authority, entitled *A State of the Right of the Colony of New York, with Respect to its Eastern Boundary, &c.* It is hardly necessary to observe, that

Early in the year 1775, as soon as it was made manifest by the attitude assumed on the part of the British government against the colonies, and by the conduct of General Gage in Boston, that open hostilities must inevitably commence in a short time, it began to be secretly whispered among the principal politicians in New England, that the capture of Ticonderoga was an object demanding the first attention. In the month of March, Samuel Adams and Dr. Joseph Warren, as members of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, sent an agent privately into Canada, on a political mission, with instructions to ascertain the feelings of the people there in regard to the approaching contest, and to make such reports as his observations should warrant. Faithful to his charge, and vigilant in his inquiries, this agent sent back intelligence from Montreal, and among other things advised, that by all means the garrison of Ticonderoga should be seized as quickly as possible after the breaking out of hostilities, adding that the people of the New Hampshire Grants had already agreed to undertake the task, and that they

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the particulars of the present memoir have thus far been chiefly derived from these two publications; to which may be added Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*.

were the most proper persons to be employed in it.

This hint was given three weeks anterior to the battle of Lexington, and how far it influenced future designs may not be known; but it is certain, that, eight days after that event, several gentlemen at that time attending the Assembly in Hartford, Connecticut, concerted a plan for surprising Ticonderoga, and seizing the cannon in that fortress, for the use of the army, then marching from all quarters to the environs of Boston. Although these gentlemen were members of the Assembly, yet the scheme was wholly of a private nature, without any overt sanction from the authority of the colony. A committee was appointed, at the head of which were Edward Mott and Noah Phelps, with instructions to proceed to the frontier towns, inquire into the state of the garrison, and, should they think proper, to raise men and take possession of the same. To aid the project, one thousand dollars were obtained from the treasury as a loan, for which security was given.

On their way the committee collected sixteen men in Connecticut, and went forward to Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, where they laid open their plan to Colonel Easton and Mr. John Brown, who agreed to join them,

and they proceeded in company to Bennington. Colonel Easton, being in command of a regiment of militia, proposed to engage some of them in the expedition, and enlisted volunteers as he passed along, between forty and fifty of whom reached Bennington the next day. As no time was to be lost, a council of war was immediately called, in which it was voted that Colonel Ethan Allen should send out parties to the northward, secure the roads, and prevent intelligence from passing in that direction. This was accordingly done. Colonel Allen's Green Mountain Boys having been collected as speedily as possible, the little army marched, and arrived at Castleton on the evening of the 7th of May.

Here another council of war was held, and Ethan Allen was appointed the commander of the expedition, James Easton the second in command, and Seth Warner the third. Being thus organized they proceeded to fix a plan of operations. It was decided that Colonel Allen and the principal officers, with the main body of their forces, consisting of about one hundred and forty men, should march directly to Shoreham, opposite to Ticonderoga. A party of thirty men, commanded by Captain Herrick, was at the same time to move upon Skenes-

borough, take Major Skene* and his people into custody, seize all the boats that could be found there, and hasten with them down the Lake to meet Colonel Allen at Shoreham. Captain Douglass was also despatched to Panton, beyond Crown Point, in search of boats, which were to be brought to Shoreham, as it was supposed the boats at that place would be inadequate to the transportation of the troops across the Lake.

The position now occupied was nine miles from Skenesborough, and twenty-five from Ticonderoga by the route to be traversed. Just as these arrangements were settled, the men selected for each party, and the whole prepared to march, Colonel Arnold arrived from Massachusetts, having been commissioned by the Committee of Safety of that colony, without any knowledge of what had been done in Connecticut, to raise men and proceed on the same enterprise. He brought no men with him, but had agreed with officers in Stockbridge to enlist and send forward such as could be obtained, making all haste himself to join the expedition, which he did not hear was on foot till he came to that town. A difficulty now arose,

*The son of Governor Skene, who was likewise called Major Skene, and who was at this time absent in England.

which threatened for the moment to defeat the whole scheme. Arnold claimed the command of all the troops, by virtue of his commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, averring that this was a superior appointment to that of any other officer concerned, and demanding the preference as his right. The rumor soon got to the ears of the soldiers, who broke out into vehement clamors, and were on the point of mutiny, declaring that they would serve under no officers except those with whom they had engaged, and that they would club their muskets and march home. The flame was quenched by the prudent conduct of Colonels Allen and Easton; and when Arnold discovered, that his pretensions met with no favor either from the men or their leaders, he yielded to necessity and agreed to unite with them as a volunteer.

The march was pursued according to the original plan, and Colonel Allen arrived without molestation on the shore of the Lake opposite to Ticonderoga. It was important to have a guide, who was acquainted with the grounds around the fortress, and the places of access. Allen made inquiries as to those points of Mr. Beman, a farmer residing near the Lake in Shoreham, who answered, that he seldom crossed to Ti-

conderoga, and was little acquainted with the particulars of its situation; but that his son Nathan, a young lad, passed much of his time there in company with the boys of the garrison. Nathan was called, and appeared by his answers to be familiar with every nook in the fort, and every passage and by-path by which it could be approached. In the eye of Colonel Allen he was the very person to thread out the best avenue; and by the consent of the father and a little persuasion Nathan Beman was engaged to be the guide of the party. The next step was to procure boats, which were very deficient in number, as neither Captain Herrick nor Captain Douglass had sent any from Skenesborough or Panton. Eighty three men only had crossed, when the day began to dawn; and while the boats were sent back for the rear division, Colonel Allen resolved to move immediately against the fort.

He drew up his men in three ranks, addressed them in a short harangue, ordered them to face to the right, and placing himself at the head of the middle file, led them silently but with a quick step up the heights on which the fortress stood, and before the sun rose, he had entered the gate and formed his men on the parade between the barracks. Here they gave three huz-

zas, which aroused the sleeping inmates. When Colonel Allen passed the gate, a sentinel snapped his fusee at him, and then retreated under a covered way. Another sentinel made a thrust at an officer with a bayonet, which slightly wounded him. Colonel Allen returned the compliment with a cut on the side of the soldier's head, at which he threw down his musket and asked quarter. No more resistance was made. Allen demanded to be shown to the apartment of Captain Delaplace, the commandant of the garrison. It was pointed out, and Colonel Allen, with Nathan Beman at his elbow, who knew the way, hastily ascended the stairs, which were attached to the outside of the barracks, and called out with a voice of thunder at the door, ordering the astonished captain instantly to appear, or the whole garrison should be sacrificed. Started at so strange and unexpected a summons, he sprang from his bed and opened the door, when the first salutation of his boisterous and unseasonable visitor was an order immediately to surrender the fort. Rubbing his eyes and trying to collect his scattered senses, the captain asked by what authority he presumed to make such a demand. "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," replied Allen. Not accustomed

to hear much of the Continental Congress in this remote corner, nor to respect its authority when he did, the commandant began to speak; but Colonel Allen cut short the thread of his discourse by lifting his sword over his head, and reiterating the demand for an immediate surrender. Having neither permission to argue nor power to resist, Captain Delaplace submitted, ordering his men to parade without arms, and the garrison was given up to the victors.*

This surprise was affected about four o'clock in the morning of the 10th of May. Warner crossed the Lake with the remainder of the troops, and marched up to the fort. The whole number of men under Colonel Allen, as reported by the committee on the spot, in a letter to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, dated the day after the assault, was one hundred and forty from the New Hampshire Grants, and seventy from Massachusetts, besides sixteen from Connecticut. The prisoners were one cap-

*The facts respecting Nathan Beman were related to me by a gentleman, who received them from Nathan Beman himself. Whether this exploit of his boyhood was the only one performed by him during the war, I know not; but his martial aptitude was displayed in another career, he having been for many years a noted hunter of wolves, on the northern borders of New York between Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

tain, one lieutenant, and forty-eight subalterns and privates, exclusive of women and children. They were all sent to Hartford, in Connecticut. The principal advantage of the capture, except that of possessing the post, was one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, also swivels, mortars, small arms, and stores. The cannon only were of much importance.

As soon as the prisoners were secured, and the bustle of the occasion had a little subsided, Colonel Allen sent off Warner with a detachment of men to take Crown Point. Strong head-winds drove back the boats, and the whole party returned the same evening. The attempt was renewed a day or two afterwards, and proved successful. A sergeant and eleven men, being the whole garrison, were made prisoners. Sixty-one good cannon were found there, fifty-three unfit for service. Previously to this affair, Colonel Allen had sent a messenger to Captain Remember Baker, who was at Onion River, requesting him to join the army at Ticonderoga with as large a number of men as he could assemble. Baker obeyed the summons; and when he was coming up the Lake with his party, he met two small boats, which had been despatched from Crown Point to carry intelligence of the reduction

of Ticonderoga to St. John's and Montreal, and solicit reinforcements. The boats were seized by Baker, and he arrived at Crown Point just in time to unite with Warner in taking possession of that post.

Thus the main object of the expedition was attained; but the troubles of the leaders were not at an end. No sooner had the fort surrendered, than Arnold assumed the command, affirming that he was the only officer invested with legal authority. His pretensions were not heeded, and although he was vehement and positive, yet it was in vain to issue orders, which nobody would obey; and finally he consented to a sort of divided control between Colonel Allen and himself, he acting as a subordinate, but not wholly without official consideration. He had behaved with bravery in the assault, marching on the left of Colonel Allen, and entering the fortress side by side with him. When the Connecticut committee perceived his design, they repelled it upon the principle, that the government of Massachusetts had no concern in the matter, that the men from that colony under Colonel Easton were paid by Connecticut, and that he could be considered in no other light than a volunteer. The same committee installed Colonel Allen anew in the command of Ticonderoga and its

dependencies, which by a formal commission they authorized him to retain, till Connecticut or the Continental Congress should send him instructions. A narrative of the particulars was despatched by an express to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, who confirmed the appointment, and directed Arnold not to interfere.

The party that went to Skenesborough came unawares upon Major Skene the younger, whom they took prisoner, seizing likewise a schooner and several batteaux, with all which they hastened to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold now formed a plan to make a rapid push upon St. John's, take a king's sloop that lay there, and attempt a descent upon the garrison. The schooner and batteaux were armed and manned; and, as Arnold had been a seaman in his youth, the command of the schooner was assigned to him, while the batteaux were committed to the charge of Allen. They left Ticonderoga nearly at the same time, but the wind being fresh the schooner outsailed the batteaux. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 17th of May, Arnold was within thirty miles of St. John's; and, as the weather was calm, he fitted out two batteaux with thirty-five men, leaving the schooner behind and proceeding to St. John's, where he arrived

at six o'clock the next morning, surprised and took a sergeant and twelve men, and the king's sloop of about seventy tons with two brass six-pounders and six men, without any loss on either side. The wind proving favorable, he stayed but two hours and then returned, taking with him the sloop, four batteaux, and some valuable stores, having destroyed five batteaux, being all that remained. He was induced to hasten away, because large reinforcements were momentarily expected from Montreal and Chamblee.

About fifteen miles from St. John's he met Colonel Allen, pressing onward with his party. A salute of three discharges of cannon on the one side, and three volleys of musketry on the other, was fired, and Allen paid Arnold a visit on board the king's sloop. After inquiring into the situation of things, Allen determined to proceed to St. John's and keep possession there with about one hundred men. He arrived just before night, landed his party, and marched about a mile towards Laprairie, where he formed an ambuscade to intercept the reinforcements hourly expected. But finding his men greatly fatigued, and ascertaining that a force much superior to his own was on its approach, he retired to the other side of the river. In

this position he was attacked early in the morning by two hundred men, and driven to his boats, with which he returned to Ticonderoga. His loss was three men taken prisoners, one of whom escaped in a few days.

While this train of events was in progress, Colonel Easton had repaired to Massachusetts and Connecticut, instructed by Colonel Allen and the committee to explain to the governments of those colonies the transactions attending the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to solicit aids to secure these conquests. Since the affair had begun in Connecticut, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts seemed well inclined to let that colony have both the honor and burden of maintaining the acquisitions, which had been gained under her auspices, and wrote to the governor of Connecticut, disclaiming all motives of interference, and recommending the business to his special charge. Governor Trumbull immediately prepared for sending up a reinforcement of four hundred men. But in truth, neither party was ambitious of assuming the responsibility of further operations, till the views and intentions of the Continental Congress should be known. Messengers were acordingly despatched to Philadelphia; and

also to the Convention of New York, in which province the conquered posts were situate. Policy as well as courtesy required that New York should be consulted, since the cooperation of that colony was essential to the harmony and success of any future measures. The Continental Congress approved what had been done, and requested Governor Trumbull to send a body of troops to Lake Champlain, sufficient to defend the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, till further orders from the Congress, and at the same time desired the Convention of New York to supply the said troops with provisions. This arrangement was carried into effect, and one thousand troops were ordered to march from Connecticut under the command of Colonel Hinman.

Meantime Allen and Arnold kept their stations, the former as commander-in-chief at Ticonderoga, and the latter at Crown Point, where he acted the part rather of a naval than of a military officer, having under his care the armed sloop and schooner which had been taken, and a small flotilla of batteaux. Some of Colonel Allen's men went home, but others came in, both from the New Hampshire Grants, and from Albany county, so that his numbers increased. A few men also joined Arnold, whom he had engaged in

Massachusetts, when he crossed the country to execute the commission of the Committee of Safety.

Flushed with his successes, and eager to pursue them, Colonel Allen began to extend his views more widely, and to think of the conquest of Canada. Persuaded that such an undertaking was feasible, and foreseeing its immense importance to the cause in which the country was now openly embarked, he wrote the following letter to the Provincial Congress of New York.

"Crown Point, 2 June, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN,

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

probation of the procedure; and, as it was a private expedition, and common fame reports that there is a number of overgrown Tories in the province, you will the readier excuse me in not taking your advice in the matter, lest the enterprise might have been prevented by their treachery. It is here reported, that some of them have been converted, and that others have lost their influence.

"If in those achievements there be any thing honorary, the subjects of your government, namely, the New Hampshire settlers, are justly entitled to a large share, as they had a great majority of the soldiery, as well as the command, in making those acquisitions; and, as you justify and approve the same, I expect you already have or soon will lay before the grand Continental Congress the great disadvantage it must inevitably be to the colonies to evacuate Lake Champlain, and give up to the enemies of our country those invaluable acquisitions, the key either of Canada or of our own country, according to which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours as yet, and provided the colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men into Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them, in the extensive province

of Quebec, unless reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a division would weaken General Gage, or insure us Canada. I would lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men I could take Montreal. Provided I could be thus furnished, and an army could take the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec.

"This object should be pursued, though it should take ten thousand men, for England cannot sparebut a certain number of her troops; nay, she has but a small number that are disciplined, and it is as long as it is broad, the more that are sent to Quebec, the less they can send to Boston, or any other part of the continent. And there will be this unspeakable advantage in directing the war into Canada that instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, as is wrongly suggested by many, it would unavoidably attach and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us, until we first help them, except in a passive or inactive manner. There are now about seven hundred regular troops in Canada.

"It may be thought, that to push an army into Canada would be too premature and imprudent. If so, I propose to make a stand at the Isle-aux-Noix, which the French

fortified by intrenchments the last war, and greatly fatigued our large army to take it. It is about fifteen miles on this side of St. John's, and is an island in the river, on which a small artillery placed would command it. An establishment on a frontier, so far north, would not only better secure our own frontier, but put it in our power better to work our policy with the Canadians and Indians, or if need be, to make incursions into the territory of Canada, the same as they could into our country, provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected head-quarters at or near Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power, thus to make incursions into Canada, might probably be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do, even if the Canadians should prove more refractory than I think for.

"Lastly, I would propose to you to raise a small regiment of rangers, which I could easily do, and that mostly in the counties of Albany and Charlotte, provided you should think it expedient to grant commissions, and thus regulate and put them under pay. Probably you may think this an impertinent proposal. It is truly the first favor I ever asked of the government, and, if granted, I shall be zealously ambitious to conduct for

the best good of my country, and the honor of the government. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

"ETHAN ALLEN."

In forming an estimate of this letter, it is to be remembered, that no person had as yet ventured publicly to recommend an invasion of Canada. It had in fact hitherto been the policy of Congress to give as little offence to the Canadians as possible, this course being thought the most likely to conciliate their friendship. A resolve passed that assembly, the day before the above letter was written, expressing a decided opinion, that no colony or body of colonists ought to countenance any incursion into Canada. The same sentiments had been declared in a public manner, by the New York Provincial Congress. Ethan Allen's letter, therefore, had little chance of meeting with favor from the persons to whom it was addressed. The merit of being the first to suggest plans which were afterwards adopted by the national councils, as of great political moment, was nevertheless due to him. Before the end of three months from the date of his letter, an expedition against Canada was set on foot by Congress, and seconded by the voice of the whole nation. Colonel Allen's advice

was deemed bold and incautious when it was given, but subsequent events proved, that its basis was wisdom and forethought; and had it been heeded, and a competent force pushed immediately into Canada, before the British had time to rally and concentrate their scattered forces, few in numbers and imperfectly organized, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the campaign would have been successful, instead of the disastrous failure, which actually ensued, and which may be ascribed more to the wavering sentiments and tardy motions of Congress in projecting and maturing the expedition, than to any defect in the plan or in the manner of its execution.

As Colonel Allen knew it was at this time the prevailing policy to secure the neutrality of the Canadians, he made no hostile demonstrations towards Canada, after the prudent measure in conjunction with Arnold of seizing all the watercraft at St. John's; unless the sending of a reconnoitering party over the line may beconsidered a belligerent act. It is evident, however, that he did not look upon it in that light; for when his party of four men returned, and reported that they had been fired upon by about thirty Canadians, he interpreted it as a breach of peace on the side of the assailants. Embracing this as a

fit opportunity, he wrote a paper, combining the two properties of a complaint and an address, which was signed by him and Colonel Easton, and despatched to a confidential person at Montreal, with directions to have it translated into French and circulated among the people. The idea of neutrality was put forward in this paper, as the one which the Canadians ought to cherish, since they had no direct interest in taking part with the English, and certainly no cause for joining in a quarrel against their neighbors of the other colonies.

The troops from Connecticut under Colonel Hinman at length arrived at Ticonderoga, and Colonel Allen's command ceased. His men chiefly returned home, their term of service having expired. He and Seth Warner set off on a journey to the Continental Congress, with the design of procuring pay for the soldiers, who had served under them, and of soliciting authority to raise a new regiment in the New Hampshire Grants. In both these objects they were successful. By an order of Congress they were introduced on the floor of the House, and they communicated verbally to the members such information as was desired. Congress voted to allow the men, who had been employed in taking and garrisoning Ticon-

deroga and Crown Point, the same pay as was received by officers and privates in the American army; and also recommended to the Provincial Congress of New York, that, after consulting with General Schuyler, "they should employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys should choose." This matter was referred to the government of New York, that no controversy might arise about jurisdiction, at a time when affairs of vastly greater moment demanded the attention of all parties.

Allen and Warner repaired without delay to the New York Congress, presented themselves at the door of the hall, and requested an audience, the resolve of the Continental Congress having already been received and discussed. An embarrassing difficulty now arose among the members, which caused much warmth of debate. The persons, who asked admittance, were outlaws by an existing act of the legislature of New York, and, although the Provincial Congress was a distinct body from the old assembly, organized in opposition to it, and holding its recent principles and doings in detestation, yet some members had scruples on the subject of disregarding in so palpable a manner the

laws of the land, as to join in a public conference with men, who had been proclaimed by the highest authority in the colony to be rioters and felons. There was also another party, whose feelings and interest were enlisted on the side of their scruples, who had taken an active part in the contest, and whose antipathies were too deeply rooted to be at once eradicated. On the other hand, the ardent friends of liberty, who regarded the great cause at stake as paramount to every thing else, and who were willing to show their disrespect for the old assembly, argued not only the injustice but tyranny of the act in question, and represented in strong colors the extreme impolicy of permitting ancient feuds to mar the harmony and obstruct the concert of action, so necessary for attaining the grand object of the wishes and efforts of every member present. In the midst of the debate, Captain Sears moved that Ethan Allen should be admitted to the floor of the House. The motion was seconded by Melancton Smith, and was carried by a majority of two to one. A similar motion prevailed in regard to Seth Warner.

When these gentlemen had addressed the House they withdrew, and it was resolved, that a regiment of Green Mountain Boys should be raised, not exceeding five hun-

dred men, and to consist of seven companies. They were to choose their own officers, except the field-officers, who were to be appointed by the Congress of New York; but it was requested that the people would nominate such persons as they approved. A lieutenant-colonel was to be the highest officer. The execution of the resolve was referred to General Schuyler, who immediately gave notice to the inhabitants of the Grants, and ordered them to proceed in organizing the regiment.

Meantime Allen and Warner had finished their mission, and returned to their friends. The committees of several townships assembled at Dorset to choose officers for the new regiment. The choice fell on Seth Warner for lieutenant-colonel, and on Samuel Safford for major. This nomination was confirmed by the New York Congress. Whether Colonel Allen declined being a candidate, or whether it was expected that the regiment would ultimately have a colonel, and that he would be advanced to that post, or whether his name was omitted for any other reason, I have no means of determining. At any rate he was not attached to the regiment, and in a few days he joined General Schuyler at Ticonderoga as a volunteer. He wrote a letter of thanks to the New York

Congress in the following words. "When I reflect on the unhappy controversy, which has many years subsisted between the government of New York, and the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, and also contemplate the friendship and union that have lately taken place, in making a united resistance against ministerial vengeance and slavery, I cannot but indulge fond hopes of a reconciliation. To promote this salutary end I shall contribute my influence, assuring you, that your respectful treatment not only to Mr. Warner and myself, but to the Green Mountain Boys in general in forming them into a battallion, is by them duly regarded; and I will be responsible, that they will reciprocate this favor by boldly hazarding their lives, if need be, in the common cause of America."

Knowing the value of Colonel Allen's experience and activity, General Schuyler persuaded him to remain in the army, chiefly with the view of acting as a pioneer among the Canadians. In pursuance of this design, as soon as the army reached Isle-aux-Noix, an address to the people of Canada was written by General Schuyler, the drift of which was to convince them that the invasion was exclusively against the British, and in no degree intended as an encroachment on the

rights and liberties of the ancient inhabitants. On the contrary they were invited to unite with the Americans, and participate in the honorable enterprise of throwing off the shackles of an oppressive government, asserting the claims of justice, and securing the enjoyment of freedom. This address was committed to the hands of Ethan Allen, who was instructed to proceed with it into Canada, make it known to the inhabitants in such a manner as his discretion should dictate, and ascertain as far as he could their temper and sentiments.

He went first to Chamblee, where he found many persons friendly to the American cause, and among them several men of the first respectability and influence. He was visited by these gentlemen, and by the militia captains in that neighborhood, who seemed well disposed to join with the Americans, if there was any chance of their coming forward in such numbers as to hold out a probability of success. They furnished Col. Allen with a guard, who constantly attended him under arms, and escorted him through the woods. He sent a messenger to the chiefs of the Caghnawaga Indians, proffering to them peace and friendship. They returned the compliment by delegating two of their tribe, with beads and a belt of wam-

pum, to hold a conference with Colonel Allen and confirm the friendly disposition of the Caghnawagas. The ceremony was performed with much parade and solemnity, according to the Indian manner. After spending eight days on this mission, traversing different parts of the country between the Sorel and St. Lawrence, and conversing with many persons, Colonel Allen returned to the army at Isle-aux-Noix. The result of his observation was, that, should the American army invest St. John's, and advance into Canada with a respectable force, a large number of the inhabitants would immediately join in arms with the Americans; but till such a movement should be made, it was not likely that there would be any open indications of hostility to the British power. His conduct in executing this service was approved by General Schuyler.

Just at this time the command of the Canada expedition devolved on General Montgomery, who advanced to St. John's, and laid siege to that garrison. Colonel Allen was immediately despatched to retrace his steps, penetrate the country, and raise as many of the inhabitants as he could to unite in arms with the American forces. He had been absent a week, when he wrote as follows to General Montgomery.

"I am now at the parish of St. Ours, four leagues from Sorel to the south. I have two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms. As I march, they gather fast. There are the objects of taking the vessels in the Sorel and General Carleton. These objects I pass by to assist the army besieging St. John's. If that place be taken, the country is ours; if we miscarry in this, all other achievements will profit but little. I am fearful our army will be sickly, and that the siege may be hard; therefore I choose to assist in conquering St. John's. You may rely on it, that I shall join you in about three days with five hundred or more Canadian volunteers. I could raise one or two thousand in a week's time, but I will first visit the army with a less number, and, if necessary, go again recruiting. It is with the advice of the officers with me, that I speedily repair to the army. God grant you wisdom and fortitude and every accomplishment of a victorious general."

Unluckily these anticipations were blighted in their bloom. In an evil hour Colonel Allen was induced to change his judicious determination of joining General Montgomery without delay, and to give ear to a project, which proved the ruin of his bright hopes, and led him into a fatal snare. He

had marched up the eastern bank of the St. Lawrence as far as Longueil, nearly opposite to Montreal, and was pressing on towards St. John's, according to the tenor of his letter. Between Longueil and Laprairie he fell in with Major Brown, who was at the head of an advanced party of Americans and Canadians. Brown requested him to stop, took him aside, and proposed to unite their forces in an attack on Montreal, representing the defenceless condition of the town, and the ease with which it might be taken by surprise. Relying on the knowledge and fidelity of Brown, and ever ready to pursue adventures and court danger, Colonel Allen assented to the proposal, and the plan was matured on the spot. Allen was to return to Longueil, procure canoes, and pass over with his party in the night a little below Montreal; and Brown at the same time was to cross above the town, with about two hundred men, and the attack was to be made simultaneously at opposite points.

True to his engagement, Allen crossed the river on the night of the 24th of September, with eighty Canadians and thirty Americans, and landed them undiscovered before daylight, although the canoes were so few and small, that it was necessary to pass back and forth three times in conveying o-

ver the whole party. The wind was high and the waves rough, which added to the peril of an adventure sufficiently hazardous in itself. The day dawned, and Colonel Allen waited with impatience for the signal of Major Brown's division having division landed above the town. He set guards in the road to stop all persons that were passing, and thus prevent intelligence of his approach from being carried into Montreal. When the morning was considerably advanced and no signal had been given, it was evident that Major Brown had not crossed the river. Colonel Allen would willingly have retreated, but it was now too late. The canoes would hold only one third of his party. A person detained by his guard had escaped and gone into the town, and presently armed men were seen coming out. He posted his men in the best manner he could, and prepared to maintain his ground. About forty British regulars, two or three hundred Canadians, and a few Indians, constituted the assailing force. The skirmish continued an hour and three quarters, when Colonel Allen agreed to surrender to the principal British officer, upon being promised honorable terms. His men had all deserted him in the conflict, except thirty-eight, who were included in his capitulation. Seven of these

were wounded. They were treated civilly by the officers while marching into Montreal, and till they were delivered over to General Prescott, whose conduct is described as having been peculiarly harsh, and in all respects unworthy of an officer of his rank. His language was coarse and his manner unfeeling. After conversing with his prisoner, and asking him if he was the same Colonel Allen, who had taken Ticonderoga, he burst into a passion, threatened him with a halter at Tyburn, and ordered him to be bound hand and foot in irons on board the Gaspee schooner of war. In this situation Colonel Allen wrote the following letter to General Prescott.

"HONORABLE SIR,

"In the wheel of transitory events I find myself a prisoner and in irons. Probably your honor has certain reasons to me inconceivable, though I challenge an instance of this sort of economy of the Americans during the late war towards any officers of the Crown. On my part, I have to assure your Honor, that when I had the command and took Captain Delaplace and Lieutenant Felton, with the garrison at Ticrnderoga, I treated them with every mark of friendship and generosity, the evidence of which is no-

torious even in Canada. I have only to add, that I expect an honorable and humane treatment, as an officer of my rank and merit should have, and subscribe myself your Honor's most obedient humble servant.

"ETHAN ALLEN."*

No answer to this letter was returned. Colonel Allen's irons were massive, and so fastened as to give him constant pain. He was handcuffed, and his ankles were confined in shackles, to which was attached a bar of iron eight feet long. In this plight he was thrust into the lowest part of the ship, where he had neither a bed nor any article of furniture except a chest, on which by the favor of some humane sailor he was allowed to sit, or lie on his back, the only recumbent posture that his irons would suffer him to assume. His companions in arms, who capitulated on the same terms as their leader, were fastened together in pairs with handcuffs and chains.

* The account of the capture of Ticonderoga, which has been given above, and of the subsequent events of Colonel Allen's life till he was taken prisoner, has been drawn entirely from original manuscripts, in the public offices of Massachusetts and New York, and among General Washington's papers. The particulars respecting his captivity are chiefly gathered from his own "*Narrative*," written and published shortly after his release.

For more than five weeks the prisoners were kept in this manner on board the Gaspee, treated as criminals, and subject to every indignity from the officers, and from persons who came to see them out of curiosity. After the repulse of Governor Carleton at Longueil, by Warner and his brave Green Mountain Boys, the state of affairs in Montreal began to put on a more doubtful aspect. It was deemed advisable to send off the prisoners, that there might be no danger of a rescue, in case of the sudden approach of General Montgomery's army, which might be daily expected.

In a short time Colonel Allen found himself at Quebec, where he was transferred to another vessel, and then to a third, a change most favorable to his health and comfort. Captain Littlejohn, the commander of the last vessel, was particularly civil, generous, and friendly, ordering his irons to be knocked off, taking him to his own table, and declaring that no brave man should be ill used on board his ship. Unhappily this respite from suffering was of short continuance. Arnold appeared at Point Levi, on the 9th of November, with an armed force, descending from the forests like an apparition of enchantment in some fairy tale. The news of the surrender of St. John's and the capitu-

lation of Montreal to General Montgomery came soon afterwards. These events were looked upon as the harbinger of greater disasters, in the downfall of Quebec, and the conquest of the whole province. In anticipation of the fate of St. John's and Montreal, a vessel of war, called the Adamant, had been got in readiness to carry despatches to the government. The prisoners were put on board this vessel, and consigned to the charge of Brook Watson, a merchant of Montreal. Several other loyalists were passengers, and among them Guy Johnson.

Under his new master, Colonel Allen soon discovered, that he was not to expect the urbanity and kindness of Captain Littlejohn. His handcuffs were replaced, and he and thirty-three other prisoners, manacled in the same manner, were confined together in a single apartment, enclosed with oak plank, which they were not suffered to leave during the whole passage of nearly forty days. Where there is so much to censure in the hardened insensibility, which could inflict sufferings like these on prisoners, whose only crime was their bravery, it should be mentioned as one softening feature, that as much provision was served to them as they wanted, and a gill of rum a day to each man; so that the negative mer-

it of not adding starvation to confinement, insults, and chains, should be allowed to have its full weight. The name of Brook Watson had already become notorious. Three or four months previously to his sailing for England, he had been at New York and Philadelphia, visited many persons of distinction, especially members of the Continental Congress, and conducted himself in such a manner as to leave the impression, that he was a warm friend to the American cause. Immediately after his return to Montreal, letters written by him to persons in General Gage's army at Boston were intercepted, which proved him to have deserved the character rather of a spy than a friend. He had art, insincerity, and talent. He was the same Brook Watson, who was afterwards Lord Mayor of London.

It was a joyful day for the prisoners when the Adamant entered the harbor of Falmouth. Their long and close confinement had become extremely irksome and painful. They were now brought on deck, and permitted to breathe the fresh air, and were cheered with the light of day. In a short time they were landed, and marched to Pendennis Castle, about a mile from the town. Great crowds were attracted to witness so novel a sight; and if all the prison-

ers were habited in the costume of Colonel Allen, it is no wonder that their curiosity was excited. While he was on his recruiting tour he had clothed himself in a Canadian dress, consisting of a short, fawn-skin, double-breasted jacket, a vest and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, shoes, a plain shirt, and a red worsted cap. In this garb he was taken; and, as it had never been changed during his captivity, he was exhibited in it to the gazing multitudes of Falmouth. Robinson Crusoe on his island could hardly have presented a more grotesque appearance. The people stared, but no insult was offered to the prisoners on their way to the castle.

In this new abode they found their condition much improved, being lodged in an airy room, and indulged with the luxury of bunks and straw. Their irons were still kept on, but they were kindly treated, and furnished with fresh and wholesome provisions. Colonel Allen was particularly favored by the commandant of the castle, who sent him a breakfast and dinner every day from his own table, and now and then a bottle of wine. Another benevolent gentleman supplied his board with suppers, and in the article of good living his star of fortune had probably never been more propitious.

The renown of his adventure at Ticonderoga had gone before him; and as that fortress had a notoriety in England, on account of its importance in former wars, the man who had conquered it was looked upon as no common person, though now in chains and stigmatized with the name of rebel. He was permitted to walk on the parade-ground within the walls of the castle, where many respectable people from the neighborhood paid him a visit, and conversed with him on various topics. His bold and independent manner, fluency of language, and strong native talent, contrasted with the singularity of his appearance, in his Canadian dress and handcuffs, awakened the surprise and contributed to the amusement of his auditors. Though in bondage, and completely at the mercy of his enemies, he was eloquent on the theme of patriotism, boasted the courage and firmness of his countrymen, and pledged himself that they would never cease to resist oppression, till their just claims were allowed, and their liberty secured. These political harangues, if they had no other effect, served to lighten the weight of his chains, and to give a seeming impulse to the leaden wings of time.

Notwithstanding the comparative amelioration of his circumstances, Colonel Allen's

mind was not perfectly at ease in regard to the future. General Prescott's hint about his gracing a halter at Tyburn rested upon his thoughts, and gave him some uneasiness amidst the uncertain prospects now before him. But despondency and fear made no part of his character, and, even when hope failed, his fortitude was triumphant. Prepared for the worst that might happen, he bethought himself of trying the effect of a stratagem. He asked permission to write a letter to the Continental Congress, which was granted. He depicted in vivid colors the treatment he had received from the beginning of his captivity, but advised the Congress not to retaliate, till the fate that awaited him in England should be known, and then to execute the law of retaliation not in proportion to the small influence of his character in America, but to the extent demanded by the importance of the cause for which he had suffered. The despatch was finished, and handed over for inspection to the officer, who had permitted him to write. This officer went to him the next day, and reprimanded him for what he called the impudence of inditing such an epistle. "Do you think we are fools in England," said he, "and would send your letter to Congress with instructions to retaliate on

our own people? I have sent your letter to Lord North." This was precisely the destination for which the writer intended it, and he felt a secret satisfaction that his artifice had succeeded. He wished the ministry to know his situation and his past sufferings, and to reflect, that his countrymen had it in their power to retaliate in full measure any acts of violence meditated against his person. A letter on these subjects, written directly to a minister by a prisoner in irons, would not have been forwarded.

Whatever ideas the ministry may have entertained when the prisoners were landed, it was soon perceived that lenient measures were the most advisable. The opposition made a handle of an act so outrageous, as that of treating as malefactors and chaining men, who had been taken bravely fighting in a cause, for which a whole continent was in arms; and it was now too late to talk of hanging the revolted colonists on the plea of rebellion. Moreover it was known, that St. John's and Montreal had surrendered to Montgomery, and that the very officers, who had captured these men and sent them to England, were in the hands of the Americans. It was furthermore rumored, that certain gentlemen had resolved to

try the effect of the *Habeas Corpus* act in setting the prisoners at liberty, or at least in bringing them to a trial before a proper magistrate, to ascertain whether they were legally guilty of any offence, which justified their confinement. To silence popular clamor, and prevent rash consequences, the government determined to regard them as prisoners of war, and to send them back to America. For this purpose they were ordered on board the Solebay frigate, where their irons were taken off, after they had worn them about three months and a half.

Just at this time the grand armament was preparing to sail from Ireland, under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, with troops to act against North Carolina, according to a plan formed by the ministry in consequence of the representations of Governor Martin, that a numerous body of loyalists was ready to take up arms in that colony, as soon as they should be encouraged by the co-operation of a sufficient force from Great Britain. The troops were to be put on board in the harbor of Cork, where the vessels destined for the expedition rendezvoused, and among them the Solebay frigate. From the captain of this ship Colonel Allen had early proofs, that the prisoners were to expect neither lenity nor civil treatment. His

first salutation was to order them in an imperious tone to leave the deck, and never appear there again, adding that the deck was the "place for gentlemen to walk." Allen was conducted down to the cable-tier, where he was left to accommodate himself as well as he could. Being ill of a cold, and his health much impaired by his late sufferings, the natural buoyancy of his spirits failed him in this comfortless abode, and he felt himself, as he has expressed it, "in an evil case," imagining his enemies to have devised this scheme of effecting, by a slow and clandestine process, what it was impolitic for them to do in the open face of day with the eyes of the public upon them.

His despondency, however, gradually wore off, and, two days afterwards, wanting fresh air and exercise, he resolved to try the experiment of appearing on deck, having washed, shaved, and adjusted his dress in the best manner his scanty wardrobe would allow. The captain saw him, and demanded in an angry voice, if he had not been ordered not to come on deck. Colonel Allen replied, that he had heard such an order from him, but at the same time he had said, "the deck was the place for gentlemen to walk," and, as he was Colonel Allen and a gentleman, he claimed the privilege of

his rank. Whether influenced by this kind of logic, or by some other reason, the captain contented himself with uttering an oath and cautioning the prisoner never to be seen on the same side of the ship with him. There was encouragement even in this harsh greeting, since it did not amount to an absolute prohibition; and, by taking care to keep at a proper distance from the captain, he was afterwards permitted to walk the deck, though sometimes capriciously and rudely ordered off. His condition below was somewhat amended by the generosity of the master-at-arms, an Irishman, who offered him a place in a little berth fitted up for himself with canvass between the decks, in which he was kindly allowed by the occupant to remain till the ship arrived in America.

When it was known at Cork, that Colonel Allen and his fellow-prisoners were in the harbor on board the Solebay, several gentlemen of that city determined to convey to them substantial evidences of their sympathy. A full suit of clothes was sent to each of the privates; and Colonel Allen's wardrobe was replenished with fine broadcloth sufficient for two suits, eight shirts, and stocks ready made, several pairs of silk and worsted hose, shoes, and two beaver hats, one of which was richly adorned with gold

lace. Nor did the bounty of the philanthropists of Cork end here. Although they had clothed the naked, they did not consider the work of benevolence finished till they had fed the hungry. A profuse supply of sea-stores came on board for Colonel Allen, consisting of sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, pickled beef, fat turkies, wines, old spirits, and other articles suited for a voyage. Each of the privates also received tea and sugar. Added to this, a gentleman visited Colonel Allen, in behalf of the donors, and offered him fifty guineas, which, after the other tokens of their munificence, he declined to accept, retaining only seven guineas as a relief in case of pressing necessity.

The above articles were admitted on board by the second lieutenant, while his superiors were on shore; but when the captain returned and was informed what had been done, he was angry, and swore that "the American rebels should not be feasted at this rate by the rebels of Ireland." He took away all the liquors, except a small quantity, which was secreted by the connivance of the second lieutenant, and he appropriated to the use of the crew all the tea and sugar, that had been given to the privates. The clothing they were permitted to keep.

The fleet put to sea from Cork on the 13th of February, consisting of forty-three sail, with about two thousand five hundred troops. The weather was fine, and the effect was beautiful as the ships sailed out of the harbor; but they had been out only five days, when a terrible storm arose, which raged with unabated violence for twenty-four hours, dispersed the fleet, and shattered several of the transports so much, that they were obliged to put back to Cork and the southern ports of England. The Solebay received no essential injury, and she proceeded on her voyage. Before they left Cork the prisoners were divided and assigned to three different ships. This gave their leader some uneasiness, for they had been brave, and true to the cause in which they suffered, and had borne all their calamities with a becoming fortitude. It turned out, however, that they were better treated on board the other ships, than they had been while with him. The only incident worthy of being commemorated, which happened to Colonel Allen during the voyage, was the change of his Canadian costume for one fabricated from the superfine broadcloths received in Cork. This metamorphosis was effected by the aid of the captain's tailor, whose services were granted on this occa-

sion as a special favor. Clad in his new suit with his silk stockings and laced hat, the prisoner made a more respectable figure on deck, and enjoyed privileges, which at first had been denied.

It was with some regret, therefore, that, after his arrival at Cape Fear River, in North Carolina, he found himself transferred to the Mercury frigate, the captain of which he describes as tyrannical, narrow-minded, and destitute of the common feelings of humanity. The only consolation in this change of circumstances was, that his original companions in captivity were brought together again on board this ship, except one who had died on the passage from Ireland, and another who had escaped by an extraordinary exertion of swimming, after the fleet arrived on the coast, and who safely reached his home in New England. The captain ordered the purser not to let the prisoners have any thing from his store, and forbade the surgeon's attending them in sickness. Every night they were shut down in the cable-tier, and indeed they passed a miserable existence both day and night, being told, when they complained of such treatment, that it was a matter of little consequence, as they would be hanged when they arrived in Halifax.

The Mercury sailed from Cape Fear River on the 20th of May, and touched at the Hook off New York the first week in June. At this time General Washington with the American Army had possession of New York, and the British shipping lay in the outer harbor near the Hook. The Mercury remained here three days, during which time Governor Tryon, and Mr. Kemp, the attorney-general of New York under the old government, came on board. Tryon eyed Allen, as they were walking on different parts of the deck, but did not speak to him. It is natural to presume, that the late governor saw with a secret satisfaction the man in safe custody, who had caused him so much unavailing trouble in writing proclamations. Kemp was the same attorney, whom Allen had met at Albany, when he attended the court there as agent for the patentees of the New Hampshire Grants. No man had been more active in pressing the New York claims, or in stirring up persecutions against the Green Mountain Boys; and of course no one had acquired among them a more odious notoriety. This accidental meeting with Ethan Allen must have called up peculiar associations in the minds of both the governor and the attorney-general.

The Mercury arrived in Halifax after a short passage from New York. The prisoners were put into a sloop, then lying in the harbor, and a guard watched them day and night. In this confinement they were served with so scanty an allowance of provisions, that they suffered cruelly from the distress of hunger, which, added to attacks of the scurvy, made their condition more deplorable than it had been at any former time. They were still under the direction of the captain of the Mercury, to whom they wrote letter after letter, imploring medical aid and other assistance, but in vain. The captain was deaf to their calls, took no notice of their complaints, and, to get rid of their importunities, he ordered the guards to bring him no more letters. Their case seemed now reduced to the verge of despair. Allen resolved, however, to make one more effort. He wrought so far upon the compassion of one of the guards, as to persuade him to take a letter directed to Governor Arbuthnot, which was faithfully communicated. Touched with the claims of humanity, the governor immediately sent a surgeon to the prisoners, with instructions to administer such relief to the sick as was necessary, and also an officer, to ascertain and report the grounds of their complaint. This officer dis-

charged his duty well, and the result was, that the next day they were removed from their dismal quarters on board the prison-sloop to the jail in Halifax.

To seek the asylum of a jail is not a usual experiment for attaining happiness. In the present instance, however, it was a fortunate one for the sufferers, inasmuch as it was the means of relieving them from the pains of hunger, and procuring for them the attendance of a physician. In other respects their condition was little amended, since more than thirty persons were shut up in one room, several of them in various stages of sickness, with hardly a single accommodation, that could in any manner contribute to their comfort or convenience. Some of Allen's fellow-prisoners had been sent to the hospital, and others employed in the public works, so that only thirteen of those taken in Canada now remained with him.

Among the American prisoners, whom Allen met in Halifax jail, was Mr. James Lovell of Boston, a gentleman eminent for his learning and character, who, after his release, was many years a member of the Continental Congress. His zeal in the cause of his country, and frankness in avowing his sentiments, had made him an object of suspicion and odium to the British com-

mander in Boston, where he was first imprisoned; and, when that city was evacuated, he was carried into captivity, and locked up in the jail of Halifax in the same apartment with prisoners of the lowest class.

There were now together four American officers, besides Mr. Lovell, who, by the custom of war and the practice then existing in regard to British prisoners taken by the Americans, had a right to their parole; but this was never granted. They were kept in close confinement till orders came from General Howe to send them to New York. Partial negotiations had commenced between General Washington and General Howe for the exchange of prisoners, and certain principles had been laid down, by the mutual agreement of the parties, as a basis upon which to proceed. Moreover Congress had instructed General Washington to make a special application in favor of Mr. Lovell and Colonel Allen, proposing to exchange Governor Skene for the former, and an officer of equal rank for the latter. The legislature of Connecticut had also interfered in behalf of Allen, and eighteen of the prisoners taken with him, who were natives of that State, and solicited Congress and the Commander-in-chief to use all practicable means for effecting their release. The same

had been done by the Massachusetts legislature in the case of Mr. Lovell.

After the intelligence of Allen's being in Halifax reached his friends, a project was formed by his brother, Levi Allen, to visit him there and attempt to procure his liberty. The State of Connecticut voted money to pay the expense of this enterprise, but the arrival of the prisoners in New York rendered it unnecessary.

The Lark frigate, on board of which were Mr. Lovell, Colonel Allen, and their companions, sailed from Halifax about the middle of October. Luckily they found themselves at last under an officer, Captain Smith, who treated them with the politeness of a gentleman, and with the feelings of a man capable of sympathizing in the distresses of the unfortunate. The first interview is thus described by Colonel Allen. "When I came on deck, he met me with his hand, welcomed me to his ship, invited me to dine with him that day, and assured me that I should be treated as a gentleman, and that he had given orders that I should be treated with respect by the ship's crew. This was so unexpected and sudden a transition, that it drew tears from my eyes, which all the ill usages I had before met with were not able to produce; nor could I at first

hardly speak, but soon recovered myself, and expressed my gratitude for so unexpected a favor, and let him know, that I felt anxiety of mind in reflecting, that his situation and mine was such, that it was not probable it would ever be in my power to return the favor. Captain Smith replied, that he had no reward in view, but only treated me as a gentleman ought to be treated. He said, this is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but it may be in his power to help another."

An opportunity soon occurred of verifying this last remark. They had not been at sea many days, when it was discovered that a conspiracy was on foot to destroy the captain and the principal officers, and seize the ship. An American captain, who had commanded an armed vessel, and been recently taken prisoner, was the chief conspirator. He revealed his designs to Colonel Allen, and Mr. Lovell, requesting their co-operation in bringing over the other prisoners, about thirty in number, and telling them that several of the crew were ready to join in the plot. It was known that there were thirty-five thousand pounds in money on board, and the plan of the conspiracy was to take the ship into an American port, where they expected to divide the booty ac-

cording to the usual rules of captures. Without waiting to discuss the laws of war, or to reason about the infamy and criminality of such an act with men, who were prepared to execute it, Colonel Allen declared with his usual decision and vehemence, that he would not listen a moment to such a scheme, that, in its mildest character, it was a base and wicked return for the kind treatment they had received, and that he would at every personal hazard defend Captain Smith's life. This rebuff was unexpected by the conspirators, and it threw them into a distressing dilemma, since the fear of detection was now as appalling to them as the danger of their original enterprise. They then requested him to remain neutral, and let them proceed in their own way, but this he peremptorily refused; and he finally succeeded in quelling their conspiracy, by adhering to his resolution, and promising, that as he had been consulted in confidence, he would not divulge the matter, if the leaders would pledge themselves instantly to abandon the design. In the present state of things they were glad to accept such terms. At the conclusion of this affair Colonel Allen was forcibly reminded of the words of Captain Smith.

Before the end of October the Lark frig-

ate anchored in the harbor of New York, and the prisoners were removed to the Glasgow transport. Mr. Lovell was exchanged in a few days for Governor Skene ; and Colonel Allen, after remaining four or five weeks in the transport, where he met with very civil usage, was landed in New York and admitted to his parole. Here he had an opportunity of witnessing the wretched condition and extreme sufferings of the American prisoners, who had been taken in the battle of Long Island and at Fort Washington, and who were left to perish of hunger, cold, and sickness in the churches of New York. He speaks of these scenes as the most painful and revolting, that could be conceived. Indeed numerous concurring testimonies have established it as a fact of which not a shadow of doubt can now be entertained, that human misery has seldom been seen in such heart-rending forms or under circumstances so aggravating. The motives of the enemy for practising or permitting cruelties so little consonant to the dictates of humanity, the customs of civilized warfare, and every principle of sound policy, are not a fit theme of inquiry in this narrative. The fact itself is an indelible stain, deep and dark, in the character of Sir William Howe, which no array of pri-

vate virtues, of military talents, or public acts, will hide or obscure. The picture drawn by Allen, colored as it may be by the ardor of his feelings, is vivid and impressive, and its accuracy is confirmed by the declarations of several other persons, who also related what they saw.

While he was on his parole in New York, a British officer of rank and importance sent for him to his lodgings and told him that his fidelity, though in a wrong cause, had made an impression upon General Howe, who was disposed to show him a favor, and to advance him to the command of a regiment of loyalists, if he would join the service, holding out to him at the same time brilliant prospects of promotion and money during the war, and large tracts of land at its close. Allen replied, "that if by faithfulness he had recommended himself to General Howe, he should be loth by unfaithfulness to lose the general's good opinion;" and as to the lands, he was by no means satisfied, that the King would possess a sufficient quantity in the United States at the end of the war to redeem any pledges on that score. The officer sent him away as an incorrigible and hopeless subject.

In the month of January, 1777, he was directed with other prisoners to take up his

abode on the western side of Long Island, being still on parole, and allowed the usual freedom under such circumstances within certain prescribed limits. Here he remained in a condition of comparative comfort till August, when he was suddenly apprehended, environed with guards, conducted to the provost-jail in New York, and put into solitary confinement. This act was on the pretence of his having infringed his parole, which he affirmed was untrue, and the whole proceeding unjust and malicious. But the cause was now of little moment, since he was chiefly concerned with the effect. For the space of three days he was immured in his cell without a morsel of food. The sergeant, who stood at the door, refused to be removed by offers of money or appeals to his compassion, and repelled every advance with a soldier's oath and the brief reply, that he would obey his orders. The pains of hunger became extreme, but they were at last assuaged; and in a few days he was transferred to another apartment of the jail, where he found himself in company with more than twenty American officers.

From this place he was not removed till the end of his captivity. After being shut up for more than eight months in the provost-jail, a confinement of which the prison-

ers were ever accustomed to speak with disgust and horror, the day of liberty dawned upon him.

Neither his countrymen generally, nor the supreme council of the nation, had at any time lost sight of his sufferings, or ceased to express their sympathy. Congress had on several occasions proposed his exchange; but it was prevented after his arrival in New York by the difficulties, which embarrassed and defeated all attempts for effecting a general cartel between Washington and Howe. It was finally agreed, that he should be exchanged for Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell; and on the 3d of May, 1778, he was taken from prison and conducted under guard to a sloop in the harbor, and thence to Staten Island. Here he was politely received by the British commander, and kindly treated for two days, when Colonel Campbell arrived from Elizabethtown, under the charge of Mr. Elias Boudinot, the American Commissary-General of prisoners. It may easily be conceived that the meeting was one of mutual congratulation and joy. The two released captives drank a glass of wine together in celebration of the event, and Colonel Allen returned immediately with Mr. Boudinot to Elizabethtown.

His feelings, on once more touching the

soil and breathing the air of freedom, will be left to the imagination of the reader. He was now restored to his country, the object of a patriotic devotion, that neither the cruelty nor the enticements of the enemy could diminish; in whose cause he had suffered a captivity of two years and seven months, under all the rigor of chains, hunger, and harsh usage. Insensibility made no part of his nature, and the soul must be callous indeed, that would not thrill with emotion at the recollections of the past, the realities of the present, and the visions of the future, that now thronged upon his mind.

Notwithstanding the strong associations and tender ties, which drew him towards his home and friends, the impulse of gratitude was the first he obeyed. The lively interest taken in his condition by the Commander-in-chief, and his efforts to procure his release, were known to him, and he resolved to repair without delay to head-quarters, and express in person his sense of the obligation. The army was at Valley Forge, and as he advanced into the country on his way to that place, he was everywhere greeted by the people with demonstrations of strong interest, not unmixed with curiosity at seeing a man, the incidents of whose life had given

him renown, and whose fate while in the hands of the enemy had been a subject of public concern. General Washington received him cordially, and introduced him to the principal officers in camp, who showed him many civilities.

Having thus discharged a duty, which he believed to be demanded by justice and gratitude as the first fruit of his liberty,and having remained a few days only at Valley Forge, he turned his face towards the Green Mountains, and hastened to join his family and former associates. From Valley Forge to Fishkill he travelled in company with General Gates, who was proceeding to take command of the army on North River. In the evening of the last day of May, Colonel Allen arrived in Bennington, unexpected at that time by his friends, and a general sensation was immediately spread throughout the neighborhood. The people gathered around him, and, with a delight which could be realized only under circumstances so peculiar, he witnessed the joy that beamed from every countenance, and heard the accents of a hearty welcome uttered by every voice. It was a season of festivity with the Green Mountain Boys, and the same evening three cannon were fired, as an audible expression of their gladness. Nor did the

scene of hilarity end with that day. The next morning Colonel Herrick, who had distinguished himself by his bravery under the veteran Stark in the battle of Bennington, ordered fourteen discharges of cannon, "thirteen for the United States and one for young Vermont," as a renewed and more ample compliment to the early champion and faithful associate of the Green Mountain Boys.

Congress was equally mindful of the services and of the just claims of Colonel Allen. As soon as he was released from captivity, they granted him a brevet commission of colonel in the Continental army, "in reward of his fortitude, firmness, and zeal in the cause of his country, manifested during the course of his long and cruel captivity, as well as on former occasions." It was moreover resolved, that he should be entitled, during the time he was a prisoner, to all the benefits and privileges of a lieutenant-colonel in the service of the United States. That is, he was to receive the pay and other emoluments of that rank. As the brevet commission of colonel did not entitle him to pay, he was allowed seventy-five dollars a month from the date of that commission, till he should be called into actual service. How long this allowance was contin-

ued, I have no means of ascertaining. It does not appear, that he ever joined the Continental army. From the above proofs, however, it is evident, that the proceedings of Congress in regard to him were generous and honorable, manifesting at the same time a proper sense of his past sufferings, and respect for his character.

During his absence, important changes had taken place in the affairs of the New Hampshire Grants. The inhabitants had made a gradual progress in maturing and establishing a new form of government, having declared their territory an independent State, under the name of *Vermont*, framed and adopted a new constitution, and organized the various branches of government by the election of a governor and other civil officers. In effecting these objects they had encountered numerous obstacles, both from the internal distractions caused by the invasion of Burgoyne's army, and from the machinations and adverse influence of external foes. The embers of the old feud with New York were stirred up afresh, when the people of Vermont presumed to talk of independence and a separation from that State. Governor Clinton, and several other prominent individuals in New York, had been warmly enlisted at an early day against the

pretensions of the Green Mountain Boys; and although they were far from abetting or vindicating the rash measures of the colonial administration, yet they were strenuous in asserting the supremacy of New York over the whole territory as far as Connecticut River, and in demanding from the people an obedience to the laws of that State. Hence it followed, that the controversy was only narrowed in its extent, but not at all changed in its principles.

Ethan Allen arrived just in time to buckle on his armor, and enter with renovated vigor into a contest, in which he had been so conspicuous and successful a combatant from its very beginning, and with all the tactics of which he was perfectly familiar. Governor Clinton, by the authority of the New York Legislature, had recently sent out a proclamation, reprobating and annulling the bloody statute heretofore mentioned, acknowledging that attempts contrary to justice and policy had been made to dispossess the original patentees of their lands, and putting forth certain overtures for a reconciliation of differences, but taking care to assert the absolute power of New York over the persons and property of such, as did not choose to accept these proposals. According to the tenor of these overtures,

the patents of the governor of New Hampshire were all to be confirmed, but a continuance of the quit-rents was claimed from the purchasers, as under the colonial system, and the unsettled lands were reserved as the property of the State.

The grand feature of the proclamation was the assumption of supremacy, and this was the point most essential to the people of Vermont, since it struck at the root of their political existence. The overtures were dressed up in such a manner, as to have a plausible appearance, and to be likely to lead astray those persons, who thought less of preserving their political rights, than of the immediate security of their possessions. The more wise and wary, however, took the alarm, and among these was Ethan Allen. He saw a fatal danger lurking beneath a show of proffered indulgences and fair professions. The cautious Trojan distrusted the Greeks even in their acts of apparent generosity; and the leader of the Green Mountain Boys looked with an eye of equal suspicion on the spontaneous advances of the New Yorkers. In short, every proposal, come from what quarter it might, which did not imply the entire independence of Vermont as a separate State and govern-

ment, was in his view to be disdained and repelled.

In this spirit he wrote an address to the inhabitants of Vermont, stating briefly the grounds of their claims to the privilege of self-government, and exhorting them not to relax for a moment in their efforts to attain the end for which they had struggled so long and so hard. A large part of his address was taken up in animadverting on Governor Clinton's proclamation, in which, as with a good deal of ingenuity and force he made it appear, the overtures of New York held out to them nothing which they did not already possess, and would deprive them of the dearest of earthly treasures, their liberty. His arguments and his mode of stating them were suited to the people, whom he addressed, and without doubt produced the desired effect of confirming their confidence in themselves, and inciting them to union and perseverance.

Sometimes he touches on personal incidents. Alluding to the bloody act of proscription, which had been passed under Governor Tryon, he observes; "In the lifetime of that act I was called by the Yorkers an outlaw; and afterwards by the British I was called a rebel; and I humbly conceive, that there was as much propriety in

the one name as the other; and I verily believe, that the King's commissioners would now be as willing to pardon for the sin of rebellion, provided I would afterwards be subject to Britain, as the legislature above mentioned, provided I would be subject to New York; and I must confess I had as lief be a subject of the one as the other, and it is well known I have had great experience with them both."

In his concluding remarks on the overtures in the proclamation he says, still addressing himself to the people; "The main inducement I had in answering them was, to draw a full and convincing proof from the same, that the shortest, best, and most eligible, I had almost said the only possible way of vacating those New York interfering grants, is to maintain inviolable the supremacy of the legislative authority of the independent State of Vermont. This, at one stroke, overturns every New York scheme, which may be calculated for our ruin, makes us freemen, confirms our property, and puts it fairly in our power to help ourselves in the enjoyment of the great blessings of a free, uncorrupted, and virtuous civil government. You have fought, bled, and hitherto conquered, and are as deserving of those good fruits of your valor, hazard,

and toil, as any people under heaven.

"You have experienced every species of oppression, which the old government of New York, with a Tryon at their head, could invent and inflict; and it is manifest, that the new government are minded to follow in their steps. Happy is it for you, that you are fitted for the severest trials. You have been wonderfully supported and carried through thus far in your opposition to that government. Formerly you had every thing to fear from it; but now, you have little to fear, for your public character is established, and your cause known to be just. In your early struggles with that government you acquired a reputation of bravery; this gave you a relish for martial glory, and the British invasion opened an ample field for its display, and you have gone on conquering and to conquer until tall grenadiers are dismayed and tremble at your approach. Your frontier situation often obliges you to be in arms and battles; and by repeated marching, scoutings, and manly exercises, your nerves have become strong to strike the mortal blow. What enemy of the State of Vermont, or what New York land-monopolizer, shall be able to stand before you in the day of your fierce anger!"

By harangues like this, abounding more

in strong expressions, than in good taste or a graceful diction, he wrought upon the minds of the people, and inclined them to his wishes. But it should be said to his praise, considering the scenes he passed through, that on no occasion did he encourage or countenance laxness in government, or disobedience to the laws and magistrates, recognised as such by the people themselves. "Any one," he remarks, "who is acquainted with mankind and things, must know, that it is impossible to manage the political matters of this country without the assistance of civil government. A large body of people destitute of it, is like a ship at sea, without a helm or mariner, tossed by the impetuous waves. We could not enjoy domestic peace and security, set aside the consequences of a British war and the New York strife, without civil regulations. The two last considerations do, in the most striking manner, excite us to strengthen and confirm the government already set up by the authority of the people, which is the fountain of all temporal power, and from which the subjects of the State of Vermont have already received such signal advantages." These sentiments he avowed repeatedly, and even when he was stirring up and leading out the mobs of Bennington, he always declared it was in self-

defence, the result of a necessity forced upon them by their enemies; and he never ceased to recommend order, good faith, and submission to the laws, as essential to the prosperity and happiness of the community.

We here discover, in fact, the explanation of the successful progress of the people in rearing up a political fabric, which became solid and durable, although for several years they were apparently in a state of confusion, if not of anarchy. But this was more in appearance than reality. There were no internal broils or commotions, that in any degree disturbed the general order of society. United in one great object of resisting a common foe, and impelled by the same interests and aims, they had few motives for dissensions among themselves; and this union not only pointed out the necessity of rules of government, but afforded opportunities to frame and adopt them in such a manner, that they were acceptable and efficient. The inhabitants of the Grants were mostly natives of the New England colonies, and possessed a similarity in their sentiments and habits, which enabled them ot harmonize the more easily in regulating public concerns.

Committees of safety and conventions were the contrivances to which they resorted,

for setting in motion and sustaining the machinery of government. These were organized on the strictest republican principles, being created and constituted by the people themselves, acting at first voluntarily in their individual capacity, and agreeing to be controlled by the voice of a majority. Upon this basis the committees were intrusted with all the power requisite to form regulations for local purposes. The conventions attained the same objects in a broader sphere, and with higher authority. The system was peculiarly felicitous in being adapted to communities of every description, and to small numbers as well as large. Its principles were likewise the elements of the best constructed governments; and hence the people were gradually trained up in the art of self-control, and qualified to assume and maintain the character of an independent State, even while embarrassed by the hostility and interference of the neighboring powers. It is remarkable, that the plan of conventions and committees, which was adopted by all the States at the beginning of the Revolution, had previously been eight years in practice among the first settlers of Vermont.

Considering the part, which Ethan Allen had acted before his captivity, and the con-

sistency of his conduct, it was to be expected, that he would embark with his accustomed zeal in a cause, which had now acquired a new importance, and especially as it was still involved in the old quarrel with New York. As his countrymen had not forgotten the military rank to which they raised him in the season of their former perils, nor the services he rendered at the head of the Green Mountain Boys, and were disposed to profit again by his sword, as well as by his pen and his counsels, he was, soon after his return, appointed a general and commander of the militia of the State. A stronger proof of the confidence could not have been shown, more particularly at this time, when an invasion of the British from Canada might at any moment be apprehended, and when the delicate relations subsisting between Vermont and two adjoining States threatened an ultimate resort to arms as a possible consequence, either to quell internal factions, or to resist aggressions from abroad.

Meantime an incident occurred, which encumbered the affairs of Vermont with other difficulties. For certain political reasons, sixteen townships in the western parts of New Hampshire, bordering on Connecticut river, formed a combination to desert from

that State and join themselves to Vermont. They sent a petition for that purpose to the Vermont legislature; but it was at first no farther acted upon than to refer it to the people. At the next meeting of the legislature it was found, that a majority of the legal voters was in favor of admitting the sixteen townships. Hence a new enemy was raised up, and the field of discord enlarged. The governor of New Hampshire wrote a spirited protest to the governor of Vermont, claiming the sixteen townships as a part of that State, and deprecating such an unwarrantable dismemberment. He wrote at the same time to the Continental Congress, demanding their interference in a matter of vital moment, not only to New Hampshire, but to every State in the Union, should such a disorganizing act be tolerated as a precedent.

The Vermont Assembly saw their error too late to retract it, since they had referred the subject to the people, and were bound to abide by their decision. To set the thing in as fair a light as it would bear, however, they appointed General Allen a special agent to proceed to Philadelphia, and explain to Congress this point and others requiring explanation, and endeavor as far as possible to ascertain the views of the members in re-

gard to the independence of Vermont, and what was to be expected from the future deliberations of that body.

Furnished with proper instructions, General Allen repaired to Philadelphia, and applied himself to the duties of his mission. He soon discovered the undertaking to be surrounded with more difficulties, than he had anticipated. Distinct from the absolute merits of the case, there were in Congress party divisions, emanating from various sources, which prevented any union of action or sentiment on the subject of Vermont. The New England members were mostly in favor of granting independence. This was not less the dictate of sound policy, than of the natural feelings of attachment to people closely allied to themselves and their constituents. Another State in the bosom of New England would of course strengthen the power and influence of the whole in the general scale. It was to be presumed, therefore, that the New England States would second the claims of Vermont; nor was this presumption weakened by any hereditary good will, that had formerly existed between those States and New York.

Unfortunately New Hampshire, for the reasons above stated, had been induced to deviate from the line of her neighbors, un-

der the apprehension that her interests were in jeopardy. She was indeed meditating ambitious projects of her own, and forming a design to defeat the pretensions of Vermont, by extending her jurisdiction as far as Lake Champlain, and drawing the whole territory within her limits. She thus placed herself in rivalship with New York, in hostility to Vermont, and at variance with the other adjoining States.

Taking these considerations into view, and the known enmity of the New York members, General Allen's prospects of carrying back a satisfactory report to his friends were faint and discouraging. The southern delegates were different, or only adhered to one side or the other as a means of exerting a party influence. It is doubtless true, also, that several members were conscientiously opposed to any decision by Congress, believing the question not to come within the powers intrusted to that assembly. They argued, that the subject could not rightfully be brought before them in any shape, except in obedience to special instructions from the respective States. Others again denied the power of Congress to interfere at all, affirming that Vermont was in fact independent, and had a right to set up such a scheme of government as she

chose. This was a short mode of settling the controversy, but it would hardly satisfy the scruples of New York, or the aspiring hopes of New Hampshire.

On his return from this mission, General Allen presented a report to the legislature of Vermont, containing the result of his observations, in which he gave it as his opinion, "that the New York complaints would never prove of sufficient force in Congress to prevent the establishment of the State of Vermont," and advised the legislature by all means to recede from the union with the sixten townships, since it could never be approved by Congress without violating the articles of confederation, by which the rights and original extent of each State were guarantied. On this topic he spoke with decision and force.

In addition to the general objects of his mission, the visit to Congress was not without advantage to himself and his constituents. It made him intimately acquainted with the views of the delegates in Congress, and with the arguments used by various individuals and parties. He ascertained likewise how far policy and individual bias on the one hand, and a regard for the absolute merits of the question on the other, operated in giving a complexion to the national councils.

This knowledge had an important influence on the future proceedings of Vermont. General Allen turned it to an immediate account, and he wrote a treatise vindicating the course hitherto pursued by Vermont, and maintaining the justice of her claim to set up such a form of government, as the people themselves should judge most conducive to their prosperity and happiness.* Mr. Jay said of this book, in writing to a member of Congress when it first appeared, "There is a quaintness, impudence, and art in it." He might have added, argument and the evidences of a good cause.

In these unwearied labors for the defence of the rights and dignity of the State, and in superintending its military affairs as commander of the militia, General Allen's time was fully employed. It was at this period, that the British generals in America began to meditate the scheme of bringing Vermont into a union with Canada, by taking advantage of the disputes, which had continued so long and waxed so warm, that it was supposed Vermont had become alienated from Congress and the opposing States, and would

*The tract was entitled, *A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York, and of their Right to form an Independent State.* It was published in 1779, by order of the Governor and Council, or with their approbation.

be ready to accept tempting overtures from the British. This idea received encouragement from the circumstance, that Congress afforded but a slender defence to the frontiers of Vermont, although the governor of Canada was in condition to make a descent with a force sufficient to bear down any opposition, that could be interposed by the whole strength of the State. The first step was to bring over some of the leaders; and as Ethan Allen was the most conspicuous of these, and also the military chieftain, the attempt was made upon him. That his views might be ascertained on this subject, the following letter was written to him by Beverly Robinson, colonel of a regiment of loyal Americans, or, in other words, refugees adhering to the British cause and embodied in the British army.

New York, March 30th, 1780.

"Sir,

"I am now undertaking a task, which I hope you will receive with the same good intention, that inclines me to make it. I have often been informed, that you and most of the inhabitants of Vermont are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans, in attempting to separate this continent from Great Britain, and to establish an

independent State of their own; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great Britain, and restoring that happy constitution we have so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg you will communicate to me without reserve whatever proposals you would wish to make to the Commander-in-chief, and I here promise that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions, and I flatter myself I can do it to as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments; but I think, upon your taking an active part, and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont in favor of the crown of England to act as the Commander-in-chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government under the King and constitution of England, and the men be formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, and be on the same footing as all the provincial corps are here.

"I am an American myself, and feel much for the distressed situation my poor country is in at present, and am anxious to be serviceable toward restoring it to peace, and that mild and good government we have

lost. I have therefore ventured to address myself to you on this subject, and I hope you will see it in a proper light, and be as candid with me. I am inclinable to think, that one reason why this unnatural war has continued so long is, that all the Americans, who wish and think it would be for the interest of this country to have a constitutional and equitable connexion with Great Britain, do not communicate their sentiments to each other so often and so freely as they ought to do.

"In case you should disapprove of my hinting these things to you, and do not choose to make any proposals to government, I hope you will not suffer any insult to be offered to the bearer of this letter; but allow him to return in safety, as I can assure you he is entirely ignorant of its contents; but if you should think it proper to send proposals to me, to be laid before the Commander-in-chief, I do now give you my word, that, if they are not accepted, or complied with by him, of which I will inform you, the matter shall be buried in oblivion between us. I will only add, that if you should think proper to send a friend of your own here, with proposals to the general, he shall be protected and well treated here, and allowed to re-

turn whenever he pleases. I can add nothing further at present, but my best wishes for the restoration of the peace and happiness of America. I am, &c.

"BEVERLY ROBINSON."

This letter, artful and plausible as it was, made no impression upon the patriotism of Ethan Allen. Although written in February it was not received till July. He immediately sent back the messenger, and in confidence communicated the letter to the governor and a few other friends, who all agreed with him, that it was best to pass it over in silence. That they might not be outdone, however, in the allowable stratagems of war, they bethought themselves to turn to a profitable purpose this advance on the part of the enemy. The British were expected soon to appear on Lake Champlain in great force, and it was a thing of essential importance in the present difficult condition of Vermont, to ward off the impending danger. Several prisoners from this State were now in Canada, and it was advised that the governor should write to the commander in Canada, proposing a cartel for an exchange. A letter was written accordingly despatched with a flag. The object was to produce delay, and by a finesse to lead the enemy to pursue

their ideas of drawing Vermont over to their interest. While this should be fostered, it was not probable they would attack the people, whom they wished to conciliate.

No answer was returned, till the enemy's fleet was seen coming up the Lake in a formidable attitude, spreading an alarm far and wide, and apparently threatening an immediate invasion. Many persons took their arms and marched to the frontier. But no hostile acts were committed. The commander on board the fleet sent a flag to General Allen, with a letter to the governor of Vermont, assenting on the part of General Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the British army in Canada, to the proposal for an exchange of prisoners, and offering a truce with Vermont till the cartel should be arranged.

This preliminary negotiation of a truce was conducted by General Allen. In defining the extent of territory, which the truce should cover, he included all the settlements as far west as the Hudson River. To this extension the British objected, as not being within the bounds of Vermont. Such an arrangement would moreover prevent the expedition up the Lake from acquiring honor, or attaining any ostensible object; whereas, if not hampered with the truce, it might act

with some effect on the frontiers of New York. This was a strong motive for insisting, that the truce should be confined strictly within the limits of Vermont, but as General Allen was unyielding, the officer gave way, and it was definitely settled as reaching to Hudson's River. This was a dictate of sound policy, as appeared in the subsequent history of Vermont. It had a conciliatory effect upon the inhabitants of that part of New York included in the truce. Their antipathy was disarmed, and at one time they even courted a union with Vermont.

As this was a secret arrangement, and not then made known publicly, the people were surprised to see the fleet retreating down the Lake, and the military disbanded and going home. Commissioners were appointed by the governor of Vermont to meet others from Canada, and settle the terms of a cartel. The season was so far advanced, however, that they were obstructed in their voyage across the Lake by the ice, and obliged to return. Nothing was done during the winter. The advantage thus far gained by Vermont was, that a campaign of the enemy on her borders had been rendered ineffectual. As a compensation, the British supposed they had made good progress in detaching from Congress the affections of a dis-

contented province, and winning them over to the King.

As these transactions were well known to the enemy in New York, Colonel Robinson was concerned not to have received an answer to his letter. Thinking it might have miscarried, although he had sent a duplicate and triplicate, or assuming such a supposition as a pretence for writing again, he despatched a second letter to Ethan Allen, dated February 2d, 1781. In this was enclosed a fourth copy of the first, and it contained the following paragraph.

"The frequent accounts we have had for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had of your inclination to join the King's cause, and assist in restoring America to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial in sending this to you, especially as I can now write with more authority, and assure you that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you and the people of Vermont take an active part with us. I beg to have an answer to this as soon as possible, and that you will, if it is your intention, point out some method of carrying on a correspondence for the future; also in

what manner you can be most serviceable to government, either by acting with the northern army, or to meet and join an army from hence. I should be glad if you would give me every information, that may be useful to the Commander-in-chief here."

Shortly after receiving this second epistle, General Allen sent them both to the Continental Congress, accompanied by one of his own, in which he expressed in very emphatical language his sentiments in regard to the interests of Vermont, and the unjustifiable attempts of the adjoining States to abridge her rights and even destroy her existence. Having explained the mode in which the letters came into his hands, and mentioned his having shown the first to Governor Chittenden and other gentlemen, he proceeds as follows.

"The result, after mature deliberation, and considering the extreme circumstances of the State, was, to take no further notice of the matter. The reasons for such a procedure are very obvious to the people of this State, when they consider that Congress have previously claimed an exclusive right of arbitrating on the existence of Vermont, as a separate government; New York, New

Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay at the same time claiming this territory, either in whole or in part, and exerting their influence to make schisms among her citizens, thereby, in a considerable degree weakening this government, and exposing its inhabitants to the incursion of the British troops, and their savage allies from the province of Quebec. It seems those governments, regardless of Vermont's contiguous situation to Canada, do not consider that their northern frontiers have been secured by her, nor the merit of this State in a long and hazardous war; but have flattered themselves with the expectation, that this State could not fail (with their help) to be desolated by a foreign enemy, and that their exorbitant claims and avaricious designs may at some future period take place in this district of country.

"I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them; for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she oblig-

ed to defend the independence of the united claiming States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress consider the circumstances of this State, they will be the more surprised, that I have transmitted to them the enclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are that of the United States; and rather than fail, I will retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large."

The concluding words of this paragraph may be considered as characteristic of the writer; but the sentiments expressed in the letter, respecting the allegiance due from Vermont to the United States, were unquestionably entertained by all the principal men of that State. Independence was their first and determined purpose; and, while they were neglected by Congress, and, like another Poland, threatened with a triple partition between the adjoining States, they felt at liberty to pursue any course, that would secure their safety, and conduct them towards their ultimate object. It was on

this principle, that they encouraged advances to be made by the British, and not that they ever had the remotest intention of deserting the cause of their country, or submitting in any manner to the jurisdiction of the English government.

While the war continued, however, these negotiations with the enemy were carried on with much address, and so successfully as to prevent any further hostilities from Canada. A correspondence was kept up, which was known only to a few persons, and was chiefly managed by Ethan Allen and his brother Ira Allen. Messengers came to them secretly with letters, and waited in concealment till consultations were held, and answers prepared, with which they returned to Canada. This was a slow process, but it served to amuse the enemy, and keep their hopes alive. While this could be done, Vermont was safe from attack, and had only to apprehend the artifices of those, who were striving by the weapons of the civil power to annihilate her freedom.

The English ministry had at one time sanguine expectations from the prospect of affairs in this quarter. I have seen two letters from Lord Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, one written in February and the other in June, 1781, wherein the minister congrat-

ulates the commander-in-chief on the happy return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, and represents it as an important event. He adds, that, should Washington and the French meditate an irruption into Canada, they would find in Vermont an insurmountable barrier to their attempts; and also that General Haldimand would undoubtedly send a body of troops to act in conjunction with the people, secure the avenues through the country, and, when the season should admit, take possession of the upper parts of the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers, and cut off the communication between Albany and the Mohawk country. Again, he observes, that, should the people of Vermont be menaced by a detachment from Washington's army, General Haldimand would have forces ready to throw in among them, by which they would be relieved from any fears of the resentment of Congress, and see it to be their wisest and safest course to return to their loyalty. Such were the vagaries of Lord George Germain in his office at Whitehall, even within a few months of the capitulation at Yorktown. And in truth they present a very just specimen of the strange reveries, surprising ignorance, or wilful blindness of that minister, in regard to American affairs, during the whole war.

General Allen was not entirely occupied with the duties of his military station. At the next election after his return from captivity, he was chosen a representative to the Assembly of his State. How long he continued in public life as a legislator, or how long he retained the active command of the militia, I have not been able to ascertain. When peace was restored, however, he seems to have resumed his agricultural habits, and devoted himself to his private affairs. He was a practical farmer, accustomed to labor with his own hands, and submit to the privations and hardships, which necessarily attend the condition of pioneers in a new country.

In this retirement he published a work on a series of topics very different from those, which had heretofore employed his pen.* He says in the Preface, that he had been from his youth addicted to contemplation, and had from time to time committed his thoughts to paper. This book purports to be the result of his lucubrations, revised, arranged, and prepared with much labor for the press. In its literary execution it is

* This book is entitled, *Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a compendions System of Natural Religion.* It was published at Bennington, in the year 1784. The preface is dated July 2d, 1782.

much superior to any of his other writings, and was evidently elaborated with great patience of thought and care in the composition. It is nevertheless a crude and worthless performance, in which truth and error, reason and sophistry, knowledge and ignorance, ingenuity and presumption, are mingled together in a chaos, which the author denominates a system. Some of the chapters on natural religion, the being and attributes of God, aud the principles and obligations of morality, should perhaps be excepted from this sweeping remark; for, although they contain little that is new, yet they are written in a tone, and express sentiments, which may screen them from so heavy a censure.

Founding religion on the attributes of the Deity and the nature of things, as interpreted by reason, the author takes it for granted, that there is no necessity for a revelation, and thence infers, that the Christian Revelation and miracles are false; and he argues against the Old Testament upon the same principles. Historical facts and internal evidence, the only basis of correct reasoning on this subject, are passed over in silence. There is no proof that the author ever examined them. It must be allowed, however, that he mistook some of the errors of Chris-

tian sects for the true doctrines of revealed religion, and that his views, as to the reality and nature of the system itself, were perverted by this misapprehension.

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

"We should so far divest ourselves," he observes, "of the incumbrances of this world, which are too apt to engross our attention, as to acquire a consistent system of the knowledge of our duty, and make it our constant endeavor in life to act conformably to it. The knowledge of the being, perfec-

tions, creation, and providence of God, and the immortality of our souls, is the foundation of our religion." Again, "As true as mankind now exist and are endowed with reason and understanding, and have the power of agency and proficiency in moral good and evil, so true it is, that they must be ultimately rewarded or punished according to their respective merits or demerits; and it is as true as this world exists, and rational and accountable beings inhabit it, that the distribution of justice therein is partial, unequal, and uncertain; and it is consequently as true as that there is a God, that there must be a future state of existence, in which the disorder, injustice, oppression, and viciousness, which are acted and transacted, by mankind in this life, shall be righteously adjusted, and the delinquents suitably punished."

To what extent these doctrines bear out the charge of a belief in the transmigrati on of souls, let the reader judge.

After the publication of the above work, I have not found recorded any events in the life of Ethan Allen, which are sufficiently important to be commemorated; unless it be the circumstance of his having been solicited, by Shays and his associates, to take

command of the insurgents in Massachusetts. He rejected the proposal with disdain, sending back the messengers who brought it, with a reprimand for their presumption, and at the same time writing a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, in which he expressed his abhorrence of the insurrection, and assured the governor that his influence should be used to prevent any of its agents and abettors from receiving countenance or taking refuge in Vermont. This was conformable to all his previous conduct; for, notwithstanding the scenes of turbulence in which he was often engaged, it should be remembered to his honor, that he was ever, in theory and practice, a firm supporter of civil government when founded in equity and the rights of the people. So rigid was he in his patriotism, that, when it was discovered that one of his brothers had avowed Tory principles, and been guilty of a correspondence with the enemy, he entered a public complaint against him in his own name, and petitioned the court to confiscate his property in obedience to the laws of the State.

Before the end of the war, General Allen removed from Bennington, which had long been his place of residence. He was next for a short time an inhabitant of Ar-

lington, afterwards of Sunderland, and finally he settled himself in the vicinity of Onion River, where he and his brothers had purchased large tracts of land. He was twice married. His second wife, and children, by both marriages, survived him. Through life he possessed a robust constitution, and uncommonly good health; but his career was suddenly terminated by an apoplexy, at Burlington, in the year 1789.

We have thus sketched the principal incidents in the life of a man, who holds a place of some notoriety in the history of his time. His character was strongly marked, both by its excellences and defects; but it may safely be said, that the latter were attributable more to circumstances beyond his control, than to any original obliquity of his mind or heart. The want of early education, and the habits acquired by his pursuits in a rude and uncultivated state of society were obstacles to his attainment of some of the higher and better qualities, which were not to be overcome. A roughness of manners and coarseness of language, a presumptuous way of reasoning upon all subjects, and his religious skepticism, may be traced to these sources. Faults of this stamp, and others akin to them, admit of no defence, though, when viewed in connexion

with their causes, they may have claims to a charitable judgment. Had his understanding been weak, his temperament less ardent, his disposition less inquisitive, and his desire of honorable distinction less eager, the world would probably never have heard of his faults; the shield of insignificance would have covered them; but it was his destiny to be conspicuous, without the art to conceal or culture to soften his foibles.

Yet there is much to admire in the character of Ethan Allen. He was brave, generous, and frank, true to his friends, true to his country, consistent and unyielding in his purposes, seeking at all times to promote the best interests of mankind, a lover of social harmony, and a determined foe to the artifices of injustice and the encroachments of power. Few have suffered more in the cause of freedom, few have borne their sufferings with a firmer constancy or a loftier spirit. His courage, even when apparently approaching to rashness, was calm and deliberate. No man probably ever possessed this attribute in a more remarkable degree. He was eccentric and ambitious, but these weaknesses, if such they were, never betrayed him into acts dishonorable, unworthy, or selfish. His enemies never had cause to question his magnanimity, nor his friends

to regret confidence misplaced or expectations disappointed. He was kind and benevolent, humane and placable. In short, whatever may have been his peculiarities, or however these may have diminished the weight of his influence and the value of his public services, it must be allowed, that he was a man of very considerable importance in the sphere of his activity, and that to no individual among her patriot founders is the State of Vermont more indebted for the basis of her free institutions, and the achievement of her independence, than to ETHAN ALLEN.

ERRATUM.—On the 5th page, 12th line from the bottom, for "ONLY" read "EARLY." The reader is desired to make this correction, with a pen or otherwise, as the present reading gives an entirely different meaning from the one intended by the author.

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