

CHAPTER XIX.

WHILE the general Congress, notwithstanding their desire for reconciliation, was prudently moving on with vigor in preparations for war, the popular assemblies in all the provinces and the great mass of the people were engaged in like preparations. A deceptive token of peace had been held out by the British ministry. To the astonishment of all parties in Parliament, Lord North, in March, offered what he called a Conciliatory Bill for their consideration. It provided that when the proper authorities in any colony should offer, besides maintaining its own civil government, to raise a certain revenue and place it at the disposition of Parliament, it would be proper to forbear imposing any tax on that colony except for the regulation of commerce. The minister found himself immediately exposed to a cross-fire. The ministerial party opposed his proposition because it was conciliatory, and the opposition were dissatisfied with it because it proposed to abate but a single grievance, and was not specific.

When a copy of North's bill was laid before the Congress, on the 26th of May, the significant commentary upon it was a resolution that the colonies should be "immediately put in a state of defense." The proposition to petition the King was vehemently opposed as an imbecile and temporizing measure, calculated to embarrass the proceedings of Congress and to give the ministry time to send

fleets and armies while the Americans were vainly waiting to hear words of royal clemency.

There was a decided war spirit in the general Congress. Still they were cautious. Notwithstanding the way for the conquest of Canada was fairly opened, and Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold were calling for aid to make a successful invasion of that province, the Congress, hoping to gain a greater victory by making the Canadians their allies, sent a loving address to them, and resolved, on the 1st of June, "that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony or body of colonists against or into Canada."

But it was difficult to restrain the people. The war spirit was abroad. The patience of supplication was exhausted. Already an army was in the field. When intelligence of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord went from lip to lip throughout New England, the inhabitants rushed toward Boston from almost every town within fifty miles of that city. Within two days at least twenty thousand men, armed and unarmed, were gathered in that neighborhood. They came also from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. The veteran Putnam left his plow in the furrow and hastened to Cambridge. His companion-in-arms in the old French war, Captain Stark, soon joined him there; and Gridley and others, who had shared with him the privations and honors of earlier wars, were ready for action. Artemas Ward was appointed by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety commander-in-chief of the motley army so suddenly assembled, and Richard Gridley was made chief engineer. With a determined spirit they commenced piling up fortifications to imprison the British army upon the Boston peninsula. Day by day the position of that army became more and more perilous, notwithstanding a large

reinforcement arrived at the close of May, under three experienced generals—Howe (brother of the loved commander whose remains Captain Schuyler bore from Lake George to Albany for burial), Clinton, and Burgoyne. Twelve thousand armed men were on that peninsula at the beginning of June; and in the harbor and surrounding waters were several full-armed ships under Admiral Graves.

Gage felt strong as he looked upon his well-appointed battalions, and he determined to march out and scatter the earthworks of the rebels and their undisciplined host to the winds. On the 10th of June he proclaimed all Americans in arms to be rebels and traitors, and offered a free pardon to all who should return to their allegiance, except those arch offenders, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whom he intended to send to England to be hanged. The former was then the president of the Continental Congress, and the latter was the most active and determined spirit in that body.

Apprised of the intentions of Gage to send out an invading force, the patriots prepared to meet him. During the brief darkness of a short June night they cast up intrenchments upon Breed's Hill, overlooking Charlestown and menacing Boston. The British generals could hardly credit the testimony of their senses in the morning when this apparition appeared. Delay would now be dangerous, and on the morning of the 17th of June many boats filled with British soldiers crossed the narrow waters between Boston and the Charlestown peninsula. It was a hot, sultry day, and the slopes of Breed's Hill seemed to glow with flame when the scarlet uniforms of the British soldiers were displayed upon them, and heavy platoons were moving slowly up to attack the redoubt, within which lay fifteen hundred provincials. In full view of the anxious, streaming eyes of friends who covered roofs and balconies

in Boston, the first real battle of the Revolution was then fought, desperately and courageously by both parties. Breed's Hill was strewn with the slain invaders, while the Americans yet held the redoubt. But their scanty ammunition soon failed, and they were compelled to retreat. In the battle they had lost but few men, but at the moment of retreat one of the noblest of them fell. It was Dr. Joseph Warren, just appointed a major-general, but fighting gallantly as a volunteer under Colonel Prescott, the commander of the redoubt. Near the spot where he fell, and within the lines of the little fortress so nobly defended, the countrymen of Warren have raised a tall granite shaft commemorative of the gallant deeds of himself and his compatriots.

Two days before this conflict—a conflict in which neither party could claim a victory—a conflict known as the Battle of Bunker's Hill,* the Continental Congress, acting upon the sentiment in their petition to the King—“We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery”—had not only voted to raise an army of twenty thousand men, but had adopted the incongruous one before Boston as a Continental Army, and appointed GEORGE WASHINGTON commander-in-chief of “all the forces raised or to be raised for the defense of the colonies.” Artemas Ward, then in command of the army, with his headquarters at Cambridge; Charles Lee, a restless adventurer and experienced soldier; Philip Schuyler, who had, a few days before, been placed on a committee with Washington to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the army; and Israel Putnam, a vet-

* General Ward ordered Colonel Prescott to fortify Bunker's Hill, lying a short distance back of Breed's Hill. The expedition for the purpose proceeded in the darkness, and by mistake fortified Breed's Hill, nearer Boston.

eran of the French and Indian wars, were appointed major-generals, and composed the principals of Washington's staff. Seth Pomeroy, David Wooster, and Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; Richard Montgomery, of New York; William Heath and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, were appointed brigadier-generals. Horatio Gates, formerly an officer in the British army, but then a resident of Virginia, was appointed adjutant general.

Having made provision for an army and its regulations, the next care of the Congress was to provide the "sinews of war"—money. The requisite amount could not be obtained in specie, so they acted upon the suggestion of the New York Provincial Congress, and on the 22d of June agreed to issue a sum not exceeding two millions of dollars in bills of credit. A month later another million was authorized; and emissions were made from time to time, as necessity demanded, until no less than two hundred millions of dollars, known as continental money, were issued. Much of this was never redeemed, and the bills were utterly worthless after the year 1781. They are now curious relics in the cabinets of collectors.

Washington left Philadelphia for Cambridge on the morning of the 21st of June, accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, and chosen members of his military family. A brilliant civic and military cavalcade, composed of at least two thousand citizens, accompanied them several miles, and a corps of light-horse escorted them all the way to New York. When they approached Trenton they were met by a courier riding in hot haste for Philadelphia, to lay before Congress dispatches concerning the battle on Breed's Hill, and he relieved the mind of the

commander-in-chief of a great burden of uncertainty when he informed him that the militia (on whom was to be his chief reliance,) behaved nobly in the conflict. "Then the liberties of the country are safe!" Washington exclaimed.

At New Brunswick General Schuyler addressed the following letter to the president of the New York Provincial Congress :

"SIR: General Washington, with his retinue, is now here, and proposes to be at Newark by nine to-morrow morning. The situation of the men-of-war at New York (we are informed) is such as to make it necessary that some precaution should be taken in crossing Hudson's river, and he would take it as a favor if some gentlemen of your body would meet him to-morrow at Newark, as the advice you may then give him will determine whether he will continue his proposed route or not."

The Provincial Congress responded by appointing four of their number (one of whom was General Montgomery) to meet the commander-in-chief and suite at Newark. Peculiar circumstances produced perplexity. The Congress and the municipal authorities of New York city were placed in an awkward dilemma. Simultaneous with the approach of Washington, the republican general, came Tryon, the royal governor, on his return from England. He had just arrived at Sandy Hook. What must be done? To avoid offense honors must be given to both, and yet, as public officers, the functions of the two men were severely antagonistic, and their respective political friends were fiercely hostile. Only two days before, a small party of the Sons of Liberty, led by Marinus Willet, had confronted an Irish battalion, under Major Moncrief, as it evacuated Fort George and was marching, with some boxes of arms in wagons, to embark for Boston. The republicans seized the arms, conveyed them back to the fort, and took possession of that deserted post. On the same day the Congress

had received official intelligence of the battle on Breed's Hill, and now the respective representatives of the King and of his rebellious subjects were approaching, with claims to the public courtesy. For a little while these legislators were at their wits' end, when it was agreed to honor each party and offend nobody by neglect. Colonel Lasher, commander of the militia, was accordingly ordered to parade his regiment, and be "ready to receive either the generals or Governor Tryon, whichever should first arrive, and wait on both as well as circumstances would allow."

Fortunately for all parties, the arrival of these public characters was not simultaneous. Washington and his party landed on the New York side of the Hudson, at Colonel Lispenard's seat, about a mile above the town, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and were "conducted into the city by nine companies of foot, in their uniforms, and a greater number of the inhabitants of that city than ever appeared on any occasion before."* They were there received by the civil authorities; and Mr. Livingston, the president of the Provincial Congress, pronounced a cautious and conservative address, to which Washington replied. Four hours afterward Governor Tryon arrived, and was conducted to the house of Hugh Wallace, Esq. The civic and military ceremonies of the afternoon were partially repeated in the evening, and all parties were well satisfied with the events of that Sabbath day, the 25th of June, 1775.

Washington and Schuyler spent the entire evening after their arrival, in earnest consultation concerning the present and prospective affairs of the Northern Department, to whose guardianship the latter was assigned. That de-

* *Pennsylvania Journal*, quoted by Frank Moore, *Diary of the Revolution*, i. 101.

partment included the whole of New York, a province then peculiarly situated both geographically and politically. It was an important link in the confederacy, uniting the New England provinces with those of the middle and southern; and upon its preservation from royal control depended the integrity of the union. On its northern border was Canada, with its inhabitants practically neutral in regard to the great question at issue, and likely to become hostile, because British power and influence were vastly predominant there. From that province might come speedy invasions. The central and western regions of New York were filled with the powerful tribes of the Six Confederated Nations of Indians, whose almost universal loyalty had already been secured by the agency of the Johnson family; while nearer the seaboard and in the metropolis, family compacts and commercial interests were powerfully swayed by traditional and natural attachments to the crown, and neutralized to a great extent the influence of the few sturdy patriots who, in the face of frowns and menaces, and fears of the timid, kept the fires of the Revolution burning with continually increasing brightness.

New York, in that crisis, thus presented three dangerous elements of weakness, namely, an exposed frontier, a wily and powerful internal foe, and a demoralizing loyalty. These visible signs of weakness in this important link of the confederacy gave much uneasiness to the commander-in-chief, and yet he felt a secret confidence that all would be well while a man like General Schuyler should be charged with the preservation of the strength and vitality of that link. To that officer, on the same Sabbath evening, the commander-in-chief gave the following instructions:

“You are to take upon you the command of all the troops destined for the New York Department, and see that the orders of the Continental Congress are carried into execution with as much precision and exactness as possible.

“For your better government therein you are hereby furnished with a copy of the instructions given to me by that honorable body. Such parts as are within the line of your duty you will please to pay particular attention to. Delay no time in occupying the several posts recommended by the Provincial Congress of this colony, and putting them in a fit posture to answer the end designed; nor delay any time in securing the stores which are, or ought to have been, removed from this city by order of the Continental Congress.

“Keep a watchful eye upon Governor Tryon, and if you find him directly or indirectly attempting any measures inimical to the common cause, use every means in your power to frustrate his designs. It is not in my power at this time to point out the mode by which this end is to be accomplished, but if forcible measures are judged necessary respecting the person of the governor, I should have no difficulty in ordering them if the Continental Congress were not sitting; but as this is the case, and the seizing of a governor quite a new thing, and of great importance, I must refer you to that body for direction should his Excellency make any motion towards increasing the strength of the Tory party or arming them against the cause in which we are embarked. In like manner watch the movements of the Indian agent, Colonel Guy Johnson, and prevent, as far as you can, the effect of his influence to our prejudice with the Indians. Obtain the best information you can of the temper and disposition of those people, and also of the Canadians, that a proper line may be marked out to conciliate their good opinion or facilitate any future operation.

“The posts on Lake Champlain you will please to have properly supplied with provisions and ammunition; and this I am persuaded you will aim at doing on the best terms, to prevent our good cause from sinking under a heavy load of expense. You will be pleased, also, to make regular returns to me, and to the Continental Congress, once a month, and oftener, as occurrences may require, of the forces under your command, and of your provisions and stores, and give me the earliest advices of every piece of intelligence which you shall judge of importance to be speedily known. Your own good sense must govern you in all matters not particularly pointed out, as I do not wish to circumscribe you within narrow limits.”

On Monday morning Washington left New York for Cambridge. General Schuyler accompanied him as far as

New Rochelle, in Westchester county, where they met and conferred with General Wooster, who was in command of the troops raised by Connecticut, and which had been stationed on the shores of Long Island Sound to protect the southern frontier of that colony. A rumor having been spread, about ten days before Washington's arrival, that a regiment of British troops was soon to be landed in New York, the Provincial Congress sitting there invited General Wooster to march within five miles of the city for its defense, and while there to be under their command or of that of the Continental Congress. By permission of the government of Connecticut, Wooster complied with their request, and was on his way when met by Washington and his officers. He arrived in the neighborhood of the city on the 28th of June, with seven companies of his own regiment and that of Colonel Waterbury complete—in all about eighteen hundred men. They encamped in the vicinity of Murray Hill, then two miles from the city, where they remained for several weeks.

General Schuyler left Washington at New Rochelle, and returned to New York to enter upon the duties of his important command. He immediately addressed a letter to the Continental Congress, informing them of the scarcity of powder in New York ; of efforts which he should make to cultivate a good understanding with the people of Canada ; and of reports of hostile demonstrations on the part of the Six Nations. He also urged them to appoint a commissary-general and a quartermaster-general for his department ; assured them that Governor Tryon had made professions of sorrow because of the unhappy controversy, and that he would not create any trouble in his government—professions which he believed to be sincere ; and concluded by saying, “ Be assured, honorable sirs, that I shall

omit nothing in my power faithfully to discharge the important trust with which you have honored me. If, however, I should be unfortunate, I hope your candor will impute it to that want of abilities which I with much truth and sincerity avowed previous to my appointment, unless you should be convinced that any neglect of duty proceeded from wickedness of heart.”*

Affairs on Lake Champlain demanded General Schuyler's first and most earnest attention, for the possession of Canada, either by an alliance in the cause or by conquest, was a consideration of the greatest importance. From the beginning of the contest that province, inhabited by French Roman Catholics, having no religious, social, or national sympathy with the Anglo-American colonies or the mother country, had been an object of great solicitude to both parties. The imperial government had made concessions by which they stimulated the loyalty of the clergy, and through them the laity; also made promises for the future, which caused the Canadians to be half forgetful of past animosities. The republican leaders of the colonies in arms had, meanwhile, made affectionate appeals to their brethren beyond the St. Lawrence to join in seeking a redress of grievances by the arguments of reason or the sword. In an address to the Canadians, put forth by the Continental Congress in 1774, the representatives of their sister colonists said :

“ We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another,

* MS. Letter Books, June 28, 1775.

and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that invaded them."

This address was translated into French and received the favorable notice of many leading Canadians. But, unfortunately, the Congress had practiced some duplicity which the ethics of diplomacy might excuse, but it completely neutralized the effects of this appeal. Only five days before the appeal was adopted, the Congress had said, in their address to the people of England, who delighted in shouting "No Popery!" and in burning the effigies of the Roman Pontiff and the devil together, as co-workers in iniquity :

"We think the Legislature is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion [alluding to the Quebec Act] fraught with sanguinary tenets, in any part of the globe; nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country [Canada] a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world."

This also was translated into French, and was read to a numerous audience of intelligent Canadians at Montreal. When the reader came to that part which treated of the "new modelling of the provinces," said a letter writer, "and drew a picture of the Catholic religion and Canadian manners, they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses. 'Oh, the perfidious, double-faced Congress!' they exclaimed; 'Let us bless and obey our benevolent prince, whose humanity is consistent and extends to all religions; let us abhor all who would seduce us from our loyalty by acts that would dishonor a Jesuit, and whose addresses, like their resolves, are destructive of their own objects.'"

This was a most unfortunate occurrence, and the effect

of this duplicity was highly detrimental to the republican cause for a while. Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, took advantage of the feeling which it produced, and used every means in his power to conciliate the Canadians; but their resentment soon cooled, and the smouldering fires of national hatred of England, that had been burning for a thousand years, glowed too intensely to be quenched. When the address of the second Congress was sent to them at the close of May, 1775, in their own language and in printed form, many a Gallic bosom heaved with aspirations for freedom from English rule. Such was the prevailing feeling of the Canadians at the period immediately succeeding the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and had Congress then acted upon the earnest advice of Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, who were boldly asserting the supremacy of the republicans on Lake Champlain, the conquest of Canada might have been easily and completely accomplished. The former, with keen perception that proved to be almost prophetic in its suggestions, wrote a characteristic letter to the Provincial Congress of New York on the 2d of June. After speaking of the forts on Lake Champlain as the key "either of Canada or our own country," he said:

"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 diversion would weaken General Gage or insure us Canada. I would lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men I would 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 can not spare but a certain number of her troops; nay, she has but a small number that is disciplined, and it is long as it is broad: the more that are sent to Quebec the less can she send to Bos-

ton, 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 into our power better to work our policy with Canadians and Indians, or, if need be, to make incursions into the territory of Canada, the same as they could into our country provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected headquarters at or near Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power 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 I have 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.”

No doubt the Provincial Congress did think it an “impertinent proposal,” coming from a man who, by an assembly similar to their own, had, only the year before, been pronounced an outlaw, and placed under legal sentence of death as a traitor to the State. It was the first public proposition to invade Canada, and was made at a moment when timid prudence caused both the Provincial and the Continental Congress not only to hesitate, but to pointedly condemn any movement toward a forcible possession of the territory beyond the St. Lawrence. They considered the

letter a bold and injudicious production of an ambitious and reckless man, intoxicated with momentary success, and who ought to be checked rather than encouraged. But in less than ninety days afterward, the Continental Congress authorized an invasion of Canada ; and the whole people who longed for freedom, from the far northeast to the extreme south, approved the measure. The battle on Breed's Hill and other circumstances had changed public opinion ; and the patriots had cause to regret that the voice of Colonel Allen had not sooner been heeded.

Allen and his confederates, who captured the lake fortresses, had counselled much together on the importance and feasibility of the conquest of Canada, and had made successful movements with that end in view. Immediately after the capture of those posts, a party of *Green Mountain Boys* had surprised Skenesborough, at the head of the lake, and made prisoners of Major Skene, a son of the proprietor,* and more than sixty other persons, and taken away with them a schooner and several bateaus. The former was immediately manned by Colonel Arnold, with some new recruits, and armed with a few guns from Ticonderoga. Thus equipped he sailed northward, followed by Colonel Allen and one hundred and fifty men in bateaus, to attack St. John's on the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain.

Arnold's schooner outsailed Allen's bateaus. At the foot of the lake he left her, and with thirty-five men in two bateaux, he pushed down the Sorel to St. John's. At

* Philip Skene, father of the Major, arrived from England early in June, with a commission of Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and their dependencies, and was seized before he landed, by order of the Continental Congress, it having been rumored that he was authorized to raise a regiment in America. He was afterward released, and was living at Skenesborough when Burgoyne invaded the upper Hudson valley, in the summer of 1777.

six o'clock the following morning he surprised the garrison there, which consisted of a sergeant and twelve men ; captured a King's sloop, with seven men ; destroyed five bateaux ; seized four others ; put on board the sloop some valuable stores from the fort, and within two hours after his arrival, sailed with a favorable breeze for Ticonderoga, with his prisoners and booty. He met Allen and they held a council, the result of which was that Arnold and his prizes proceeded to Ticonderoga, and Allen went on to St. John's to garrison the fort with a hundred men, and act as circumstances should require.

Rumors reached Arnold, before he left St. John's, that a large reinforcement for the garrison there was hourly expected from Montreal and Chamblée. These rumors became certain information soon after the arrival of Allen, who, learning that the approaching party was more numerous than his own, crossed the river, and there, early on the following morning, was attacked by about two hundred men. He fled to his boats, and escaped to Ticonderoga without losing a man. Thus ended a series of exploits, bold in conception and gallant in execution. Within eight days two strong fortresses with their dependencies were wrested from the British by a handful of half-disciplined provincials, acting without special authority or specific aim ; and the little fleet of the enemy on the lake—his chief dependence there—was captured or destroyed in a day.

The British authorities in Canada were alarmed at these movements, and Governor Carleton sent a force of four hundred men—regulars, Canadians, and Indians—to St. John's, with the intention of recapturing Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Arnold, thirsting for opportunity to win by valor what he was deprived of by necessity, namely, the chief com-

mand on the lakes, was delighted when he heard of these preparations, and without waiting for orders from any source, he proceeded in fitting out the vessels in his possession to confront the enemy. Having armed and manned them, he appointed his subordinate officers, and, as self-constituted commodore of the first Continental Navy, he took post at Crown Point, with one hundred and fifty men in the vessels, to await the expected foe. He also assumed the command of the garrison at Crown Point, and became a sort of amphibious leader, ready to fight on land or water. He also busied himself in sending off the ordnance at Crown Point to the army at Cambridge, and in despatching emissaries to Montreal and the Caughnawaga Indians in that vicinity, to ascertain the feelings of the Canadians and savages toward the republicans in arms, and also to gain intelligence of the actual state of Carleton's preparations.

Arnold, like Allen, was anxious to invade Canada. He disliked the latter and his *Green Mountain Boys*, and avoided all coöperation with him as much as possible. Unmindful, and perhaps ignorant of the proposition of Allen to the Provincial Congress of New York concerning an invasion of Canada, Arnold wrote to the Continental Congress on the 13th of June, and laid before them a plan of operations whereby the conquest of that province might be secured. He asserted that persons in Montreal had agreed to open the gates of that city, when a continental army of sufficient force to maintain it should appear before it; assured the Congress that Carleton could not muster more than five hundred and fifty effective men; and offered to lead an expedition to the St. Lawrence and hold himself responsible for the consequences.

As no troops had been raised in New York at the time of the capture of the lake fortresses, the Congress of that

province accepted the generous offer of Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut, to send a sufficient force, with supplies, to hold them until New York should be ready to perform that service. Connecticut had, from the beginning, acted in concert with Massachusetts in levying soldiers, making military preparations, and providing means for the support of an army; and at this time the colony was alive with excitement on account of the result of the expedition to Lake Champlain.

Governor Trumbull, on the 30th of May, placed one thousand men in charge of Colonel Benjamin Hinman, with orders to march for Ticonderoga. These composed the fourth regiment raised by Connecticut. At about the same time, the general committee at Albany resolved to raise eight hundred men "for the defense of American liberty," and three companies were enlisted in the course of a few days, and marched for Lake Champlain. Aware of the approach of Hinman's regiment, and earnestly desiring the general command of a considerable force, Arnold, in a postscript to his letter to the Continental Congress, evinced that desire, and at the same time his aversion to Allen and the men under his immediate command.* He proposed, in order to give satisfaction to the different colonies, that Colonel Hinman's regiment should form part of the army; that the remainder should be composed of five hundred New York troops, and five hundred of his own regiment,

* Arnold affected great contempt for Allen and his men. On the day after the surrender of Ticonderoga, he wrote to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, saying: "Colonel Allen is a proper man to lead his own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service." And in a letter to the Committee of Safety at Albany, giving an account of his operations at St. John's, he speaks of meeting, on his return, "one Colonel Allen, with a party of near one hundred men, who were determined to proceed to St. John's and make a stand there," etc., and subscribed himself "Commander at Ticonderoga."

including the seamen and marines on the vessel under his command, "but no Green Mountain Boys."

At this time Colonel Allen and his lieutenant, Seth Warner, were in Philadelphia for the purpose of procuring pay for their soldiers from the Continental Congress, and to solicit authority to raise a new regiment for the public service in the New Hampshire Grants. The appearance of these heroes of the north produced a sensation in that city. They were introduced upon the floor of Congress, and permitted to make their communications to that body orally. Allen talked long and earnestly in his quaint style and slow-spoken sentences respecting affairs on the northern frontiers, and the dangers to which the confederacy and the cause of freedom in America would be exposed when the British regulars in Canada should be reinforced; and he again urged the great necessity of an immediate invasion of the province, while the arm of the imperial government was comparatively weak, and the friendship of the Canadians for the revolted colonies was strong. His words had a powerful effect, and on the very day when Congress received Arnold's letter, in which he expressed an ill-natured desire that "no Green Mountain Boys" should be employed in an invasion of Canada, the Continental Congress

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the convention of New York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised for the defense of America those called *Green Mountain Boys*, under such officers as the said *Green Mountain Boys* shall choose."*

The wishes of Allen and Warner in regard to pay were also complied with, and they departed for New York with cheerfulness, to present themselves before the Provincial Congress there. Their appearance on such an errand pro-

* Journals of Congress, June 17, 1775.

duced embarrassment in that body. They had been proscribed as outlaws but a few months before ; now no one doubted their patriotism. What should be done ? There were members of that Congress who had taken an active part against these very men. Could they give their old enemies a friendly greeting ? The prejudices of these members, and the scruples of others who could not perceive any propriety in holding public conference with men whom the laws of the land had declared to be rioters and felons, produced a strong opposition to their admission to the legislative hall. Debates on the subject ran high, until Captain Sears, the staunch leader of the Sons of Liberty, moved that "Ethan Allen be admitted to the floor of the House." The motion was carried by a large majority, as was a similar resolution in regard to Warner. The old feud was instantly healed. These men were received as heroes and patriots, and the New York Provincial Congress decreed that a regiment of *Green Mountain Boys*, five hundred strong, should be raised. The subject was referred to General Schuyler, who soon afterward proclaimed the resolution in the New Hampshire Grants. With grateful hearts Allen and his companion journeyed to Bennington, and the latter afterward wrote to the New York Congress, saying :

"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 which has lately taken place, in making a united resistance against ministerial vengeance and slavery, I can not 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 battalion, 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."

Colonel Hinman arrived at Ticonderoga, with four hundred Connecticut troops, at about the middle of June, assumed the general command, and held that position for a month, when he was formally superseded by General Schuyler. There were in the field, in the colony of New York during that time, less than three thousand men fit for duty, and yet, with this small force, preparations were made for the invasion of Canada.* The visit of Allen and Warner to the Continental Congress, and concurrent circumstances, had produced a great change in the views of that body, and on the day when General Schuyler parted with Washington at New Rochelle, and returned to New York to enter upon his duties as commander of the Northern department, the General Congress, by unanimous resolution, ordered General Schuyler, if he should "find it practicable, and not disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue such other measures in Canada as might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these provinces."†

These words were mild and cautious, but were understood as conveying an explicit order for the invasion of Canada. They reached General Schuyler on the 30th of the month, and on the same day he wrote as follows to the Continental Congress :

* According to General Schuyler's first returns, dated July 1, 1775, which he considered imperfect because of a want of entirely reliable material, the troops in the colony of New York mustered as follows: Of Brigadier General Wooster's regiment, at *New York*, 582; Colonel David Waterbury's regiment, at *New York*, 982; of Colonel Benjamin Hinman's regiment, at *Ticonderoga*, 495, at *Crown Point*, 302, at the *Landing*, foot of Lake George, 102, and at *Fort George*, head of Lake George, 104; of Massachusetts Bay forces, at *Ticonderoga*, 40, at *Crown Point*, 109, and at *Fort George*, 25; of the New York forces, at *Fort George*, 205.

† Journals of Congress, June 27, 1775.

“In obedience to the resolutions of Congress, I shall, without delay, repair to Ticonderoga. It will, however, be necessary, previous to my departure from hence, that I should take order to have the various articles necessary to carry into execution the views of the Congress, sent after me with all possible expedition.* These will probably detain me until Monday. The success of the intended operation will evidently depend so much on dispatch that I am sorry I do not think myself at liberty to move the troops now here to Albany without the immediate consent of Congress. At this place I do not apprehend they can be wanted; at Albany they would greatly facilitate and expedite the service, as well as save expense by their assistance in the transportation of stores and provisions, and by their aid in building boats, carriages, etc. And as they must ultimately go on this service, the forces at Ticonderoga being vastly inadequate to the enterprise, I wish the sense of the Congress with all possible dispatch, and therefore I send this by express.†

* On the 3d of July General Schuyler addressed a letter to the New York Provincial Congress, inclosing a list of necessary supplies for the army on the lakes. This first estimate for an army of between three and four thousand men is such a fair specimen of materials used in such service, that we give a copy of it for the gratification of the curious reader:

“50 swivel guns; 2 tuns musket balls or lead; what powder can be spared; 2 dozen bullet moulds; soldiers' tents for 3,500 men, 6 men to a tent; a proportionable number of bell tents; officers' tents; tents for two general officers and their suite; 15 casks of 24-penny nails; 10 casks of 20-penny; 15 casks of 10-penny; 1,000 weight of spike nails; 1 tun of oakum; 30 barrels of pitch; 300 felling axes, exclusive of those for the camp use of the soldiers; 200 bill-hooks; 200 spades; 200 shovels; 150 pick-axes; 20 crow-bars; 20 mason's trowels; 20 do. hammers; 2 tuns of bar iron; 500 weight of steel; 100 set of men's harness (believe there is some in Connecticut); 3 sets of gunsmith's tools, exclusive of those for the regimental armorer; 3 sets of blacksmith's tools; 50 broad axes; 20 whip saws; 20 cross-cut saws; 4 sets of blocks and tackles, strong; 50 lbs twine; 4 fishing nets, with ropes; 10 bolts of sail cloth; fifty oil-cloths, well painted; 1,500 oars, 12, 14, and 16 feet long; 500 fathoms of tarred rope, for painters for boats; half a ton of tarred rope, sorted; 4 chests of carpenter's tools; 28 mill saws, for Dutch mills; 7 do. for English mills; 5 dozen mill saw files; an assortment of articles in the artillery way; paper; shot cannisters; fuses; 1 dozen lime sieves; 50 small truck carriages, if they are ready made here; 10 do. for field pieces, if do.; necessaries for a hospital; 3 months provisions for 4,000 men. Much of the meat kind to be fresh, as it may be driven to the army, and save the expense of transportation; whatever arms can be spared; 20 grass scythes; flints.”—*MS. Letter Books.*

† *MS. Letter Books*, June 30, 1775.