

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL SCHUYLER left New York for Ticonderoga on Tuesday, the fourth of July, and was soon afterward followed by Richard Varick, as secretary, John Macpherson, as aid-de-camp, and Reverend John Peter Testard as French interpreter for the General, and chaplain to the New York troops. On the previous day he had reviewed Colonel Lasher's battalion of militia, accompanied by Generals Wooster and Montgomery, in the presence of quite a large concourse of ladies and gentlemen ; and afterward received at his quarters the personal courtesies of most of the leading men of the city, who had espoused the republican cause.

General Schuyler had already addressed a letter to Colonel Hinman, apprising him of his (Schuyler's) appointment to the chief command in the North, and giving him some instructions concerning affairs on the Canadian frontier ; and on the day before he left he addressed the following letter to General Wooster, in addition to particular instructions which he had given him five days before :*

* In these instructions he directed Wooster to keep up very exact discipline, to prevent jealousies between the troops and the citizens; not to allow any soldiers to go into town without a pass, and to discourage going altogether, because of the prevalence of the small-pox there; to call the rolls twice a-day; for all to pay the utmost attention to dress and cleanliness; to perfect the troops in military exercises; and drunkenness or disorderly conduct, and despoiling orchards, to be discountenanced and punished.

“ America has recourse to arms merely for her safety and defense, and in resisting oppression she will not oppress. She wages no war of ambition, content if she can only retain the fair inheritance of English law and English liberty. Such being the purity of her intentions, no stain must be suffered to disgrace our arms. We are soldiers ambitious only to aid in restoring the violated rights of citizens, and these secured, we are to return instantly to the business and employments of civilized life. Let it be a truth deeply impressed on the minds of every one of us who bear arms, and let us evince to the world that in contending for liberty we abhor licentiousness; that in resisting the misrule of tyrants we shall support government honestly administered. *All unnecessary violence to the persons or property of his Majesty's subjects must therefore most strictly be forbidden and avoided.*”

“ The magistracy of the country are not only to be respected, but aided in all cases not incompatible with the great object of opposing that oppression which called us to defense.

“ Let this be the magnet for directing the conduct of the army under my command. And if doubts arise on any particular occasion, and the emergency will permit, advise with the Congress of the colony in which you may act, and if time allows, apply to the Continental Congress and the general-in-chief. Only orders as general as these can be given respecting events not in immediate view.

“ Close attention to the end of the service will direct to the means of attaining it. Let us act as becomes the virtuous citizen, who seeks for the aid of righteous Heaven and the just applause of an impartial world. Liberty, Safety, and Peace, are our objects—the establishment of the Constitution, and not the lust of Dominion.

“ These are sentiments the goodness of your heart and your attachment to our righteous cause will inculcate. They are principles I wish deeply implanted in the heart of every soldier I have the honor to command. They will lead us to glory—they will merit for us the esteem of our countrymen.”*

General Schuyler and suite reached Albany about one o'clock on Sunday, the 9th of July. He was received at the landing by the members of the general committee of the city and county, the City Troop of horse, under the command of Captain Tenbroeck, the Association Company, commanded by Captain Bleecker, and by the principal inhabitants of the city. They bestowed upon him the honors

* MS. Letter Books, July 3, 1775.

due to his rank, and escorted him to the City Hall, when the committee, through Dr. Samuel Stringer, the temporary chairman, presented to him the following address :

“Permit us, sir, to express our fullest approbation upon the appointment by which your country has raised you to the chief military command in this colony. While we deplore, as the greatest misfortune, the necessity of such an appointment, we have the utmost confidence that you have accepted of power for the glorious purpose of exercising it for the reëstablishment of the liberties of America, at present invaded by a deluded and despotic ministry.

“Born and educated amongst us, in a country which freedom has raised to a state of opulence and envy, you, whose principles are known, whose sentiments have been invariably opposed to power, afford us the pleasing prospect of the unremitting exertion of your knowledge, prudence, and experience, for the restoration of peace upon constitutional principles. When the sword is rendered useless, except against our natural enemies ; when we shall see you restored to the peaceful state of a private citizen ; when this happy period shall arrive, then, and not till then, will Americans enjoy the glorious blessings of freedom.”

To this address the General replied as follows :

“I feel myself so sensibly affected by this public and friendly address, that whilst my heart overflows with sentiments of gratitude, I want words properly to convey my thanks.

“The honor you do me in the approbation which you are pleased to express of my appointment to a military command, confirms me in the pleasing reflection that I shall experience your assistance in a continuance of those generous exertions by which you have already so conspicuously manifested your love for your country, and your zeal for its cause.

“I most sincerely and unfeignedly deplore with you the unhappy occasion which has forced America to have recourse to arms for her safety and defense. Ambitious only to aid in restoring her violated rights, I shall most cheerfully return my sword to the scabbard, and, with alacrity, resume the employment of civil life, whenever my constituents shall direct, or whenever a happy reconciliation with the parent state shall take place.

“That indulgent Heaven may guide us through this tempestuous scene, and speedily restore peace, harmony, and mutual confidence to every part of the British empire, is the warmest wish of my heart.”

General Schuyler was then escorted to his residence, half a mile south of the town, (now at the head of Schuyler street,) by the whole party that received him, and the city was illuminated in the evening. Beloved by his fellow-citizens as a man, and fully appreciated as a representative, his return to them clothed in such extraordinary honor and dignity excited their most ardent enthusiasm. This took the shape of violent indignation the next morning, when the following publication appeared anonymously, with the evident intention of casting ridicule upon the reception proceedings the previous day :

"The mode of a late VERY EXTRAORDINARY and VERY GRAND PROCESSION :

"I. The Congressional General.

"II. The Deputy Chairman, and who is only chairman pro tempore.

"III. Mr. Tenbroeck—through a mistake.

"IV. The Chairman.

"V. The Committee.

"VI. The troop of Horse, most beautiful and grand. Some horses long-tailed, some bob-tailed, and some without any tails, and attended with the melodious sound of an incomparably fine trumpet.

*"VII. The Association."**

In consequence of this publication, the Committee of Safety, Protection, and Correspondence held an early meeting, and instituted a diligent inquiry after the author of the paper, which they pronounced a "scandalous reflection" on the reception proceedings. He was believed to be some concealed Tory, and for three days the public mind was greatly disturbed. Then, by his own confession, it was discovered that the author was Peter W. Yates, a member of the republican committee. In a moment of indiscreet playfulness he had cast that harmless missile among his fellow-townsmen. He made a most humble apology to his associates of the committee for his indiscretion, and sol-

* Minutes of the Albany Committee.

emly disclaimed "any intention to injure the cause of liberty ;" but the public mind would not be so readily appeased. The city was in an uproar, and at several public meetings Mr. Yates' expulsion from the committee was demanded. He resigned, but this did not satisfy the people. Nothing less than his public apology or his public disgrace would be accepted, and he accordingly appeared before his assembled fellow-citizens and made the required acknowledgment.* This event exhibits the extreme sensitiveness of the public mind at that period, when every man was suspicious of his neighbor, and two of a household often disagreed, and sometimes cherished the most bitter feud.

General Schuyler found the aspect of every thing connected with the republican cause in northern New York dark and unpromising. Rumor after rumor came that the Indians in the Mohawk valley and beyond were becoming extensively disaffected toward the republican cause through the influence of Guy Johnson, the Indian agent, with whom the New York Provincial Congress had recently held a somewhat spicy correspondence. Johnson professed peaceable intentions, but his movements for several months had been so suspicious, that Tryon county, which embraced the whole of the Mohawk region west of Schenectada, was filled with alarm. He had held a council with the Indians at Guy Park, (his residence, about a mile from the present village of Amsterdam, on the Mohawk,) in May, which was attended by delegates from the Albany and Tryon county republican committees. The result was unsatisfactory to all parties. The delegates, knowing that the Indians had been tampered with, mistrusted them ; and Johnson, alarmed by the events at Lexington and Concord,

* *Life of Peter Van Schaack*, by his son, Henry C. Van Schaack, page 68.

and by intimations which he had received that the Provincial Congress contemplated the seizure of his person, broke up the council abruptly and called another at the German Flats, further up the Mohawk, whither himself and family immediately proceeded. But the council was not held there, and Johnson, with his family and the Indians, pushed on to Fort Stanwix (now Rome), and from there went into the wilderness far beyond the verge of civilization. He visited the different tribes in their habitations; sat with them at their council fires; estranged the Oneidas from the Reverend Mr. Kirkland, their beloved missionary; and weakened every bond by which the Six Nations had been held by the republican committees. And while he was thus stirring up the savages to an active alliance with the English authorities in Canada, Sir John Johnson was at Johnson Hall (which he had fortified), exerting a less public but equally powerful influence as brigadier general of the Tryon county militia, and having at his beck a large body of loyalists.

From the far north intelligence came to Schuyler that the Caughnawaga Indians had taken up the hatchet for the enemy, and Colonel Hinman reported that every thing was in the utmost confusion at Ticonderoga, owing to the quarrels of officers and the scarcity of supplies.

“The unhappy controversy” Schuyler wrote to the Continental Congress, “which has subsisted between the officers at Ticonderoga in relation to the command, has, I am informed, thrown every thing there into vast confusion. Troops have been dismissed; others refuse to serve if this or that man commands; the sloop is without either captain or pilot, both of which are dismissed or come away. I shall hurry up there much sooner than the necessary preparations here would otherwise permit, that I may attempt to introduce some kind of order and discipline among them.”*

* MS. Letter Books.

The ambitious, unscrupulous, and quarrelsome Arnold was the cause of all the difficulty. We have already observed his assumptions of command and his offensive bearing toward other officers, especially toward Colonel Allen, who had been, by the committee in charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, formally placed in supreme command there. When Colonel Hinman arrived, he too was subjected to like indignities. Arnold refused to give up to him the command of either Ticonderoga or Crown Point, claiming as before to be the chief by virtue of his commission from the Massachusetts authorities. Confusion ensued. Allen and Warner, and most of the Green Mountain Boys, returned home, and others became disgusted. Meanwhile, a statement of his conduct had been sent to the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and his character was portrayed in most unfavorable colors. No doubt his many faults were magnified, and his few virtues overlooked ; yet a picture of his arrogance and ill-nature could not be over-drawn. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress believed their confidence in him had been misplaced, and appointed a committee to investigate all the charges against Arnold.

When that committee arrived Arnold was at Crown Point. Utterly ignorant of the nature of their errand, he received them courteously and talked to them enthusiastically of his plans for the future and his expected conquests. When the object of their visit was made known, his indignation was fearfully aroused. He felt conscious of having performed good and gallant service, and, almost doubting their allegations, he demanded a sight of their instructions. These increased his rage. He found that his inquisitors were commissioned to ascertain his "spirit, capacity, and conduct," and were clothed with authority to order his re-

turn to Massachusetts to give a full account of his transactions ; or if he remained, to direct him to be subservient to Colonel Hinman, whom Trumbull had appointed chief of the troops on service approved by the Congress of the province within whose domain the fortresses stood. Arnold was greatly enraged. He stamned, swore, cursed congresses and kings, fate, and all committee-men, and declared, with terrible oaths, that he would be second to no man. Throwing up his commission he discharged his men on the spot, and these, becoming indignant in turn, some of them refused to serve under any other leader. Others, instigated by Arnold, threatened to sail for St. John's, independent of all authority ; while the majority, more thoughtful and patriotic, joined the corps of Colonel Easton. Arnold treated the committee with the greatest rudeness, but by judicious management they persuaded his men to acquiesce in their arrangements, while the indignant commander proceeded to Cambridge, to lay before Washington his complaint of ill-usage by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

On the morning of the 13th of July, General Schuyler proceeded northward as far as his country seat at Saratoga, where his family were then residing, and made hasty preparations for his departure for Ticonderoga. Toward midnight he received a dispatch by express from the Albany Committee, giving him intelligence, which they had just received from Colonel Nicholas Herkimer, in the interior, that full eight hundred savages, under Joseph Brant and Walter Butler, had coalesced with the Scotch Highlanders and other Tories under Sir John Johnson, for the purpose of making forays upon the republican settlers in the Mohawk valley, and in cutting off supplies for the army on Lake Champlain. Brant, or *Thayendanegea*, was the Mohawk chief who became both famous and notorious as the

leader of his people upon bloody scouts, and who, with Walter Butler, one of the most cruel of white savages, made Tryon county "a dark and bloody ground" for several years. His sister, Molly Brant, had been first the concubine and then the wife of Sir William Johnson.

This startling intelligence from the interior detained Schuyler at Saratoga for two or three days. He had ordered Captain Van Dyck of Schenectada to march with his company to Lake George. That order was countermanded at the suggestion of the Albany Committee, and he directed Van Dyck to march immediately up the Mohawk valley to the relief of the people of Tryon county. "On whatever duty you may be," Schuyler wrote, "I earnestly recommend vigilance and care, that you may not meet with the disgrace of a surprise. Be careful that your men do not commit any outrages on the inhabitants whom you are going to protect."*

The General's mind was relieved by a letter from the Albany Committee, written on the following day, informing him that the intelligence they had received from the interior was exaggerated. Yet the movements of Guy Johnson caused much uneasiness. He was evidently working upon the Indian mind unfavorably to the republican cause. With the pretext of an exercise of his duties as Indian agent, he had called a great council of the Six Nations at Ontario, in the heart of the country of the fierce Cayugas and Senecas. His family had gone with him into the wilderness, followed by a large train of Mohawk warriors. He was accompanied by Brant (whom Sir William Johnson had caused to be educated at Dr. Wheelock's school, in Connecticut,) as his secretary, and by Colonel John Butler and his son Walter. There he met almost fourteen

* Autograph draft of letter, July 14, 1775.

hundred savages, and held a conference, which, to him, was very satisfactory.

From that rude council chamber Johnson wrote the following letter to the president of the New York Provincial Congress :

ONTARIO, July 8, 1775.

“SIR : Though I received your letter from the Provincial Congress several days ago, I had not a good opportunity to answer it till now. I suppose, however, this will reach *you* safe, notwithstanding all the rest of my correspondence is interrupted by ignorant impertinents.

“As to the endeavor you speak of to reconcile the unhappy differences between the parent State and these colonies, be assured I ardently wish to see them. As yet, I am sorry to say, I have not been able to discover any attempt of that kind but that of the Assembly, the only true legal representatives of the people ; and as to the individuals who you say officiously interrupt (in my quarter) the mode and measures you think necessary for these salutary purposes, I am really a stranger to them. If you mean myself you must have been grossly imposed on. I once, indeed, went with reluctance, at the request of several of the principal inhabitants, to one of the people’s meetings, which I found had been called by an itinerant New England leather-dresser, and conducted by others, if possible, more contemptible. I had, therefore, little inclination to revisit such men, or attend to their absurdities. And although I did not incline to think that you, gentlemen, had formed any designs against me, yet it is most certain that such designs were formed. Of this I received a clear account by express from a friend near Albany, which was soon corroborated by letters from other quarters, particularly one from a gentleman of the Committee at Philadelphia, a captain in your levies, who was pretty circumstantial, and since I have had the like from many others. I have likewise found that mean instruments were obviously employed to disturb the minds of the Indians, to interrupt the ordinary discharge of my duties and prevent their receiving messages they had long since expected from me. To enter into a minute detail of all the falsehoods propagated and all the obstructions I met with, though it could not fail astonishing any gentlemen disposed to discountenance them, would far exceed the limits of a letter or the time I have to spare, as I am now finishing my congress, entirely to my satisfaction, with 1,348 warriors, who came hither to the only place where they could transact business or receive favors without interruptions, and who are much dissatisfied at finding that the goods which I was necessitated to send for to Montreal were obliged to be ordered back by the merchant,

to prevent his being insulted or his property invaded by the mistaken populace—that their ammunition was stopped at Albany—the persons on this communication employed in purchasing provisions for the Congress insulted, and all my letters, as well as even some trifling articles for the use of my own table stopped; and this moment the Mayor of Albany assured me that he was the other day aroused out of his bed, at a certain Mr. Thompson's, above the German Flats, by one Herkimer, and fifteen others, who pursued him to search for any things he might have for me.

“You may be assured, sir, that this is far from being agreeable to the Indians; that it might have produced very disagreeable consequences long since, had not compassion for a deluded people taken place of every other consideration. And that the impotent endeavors of a missionary (who has forfeited his honor pledged to me,) with part of one of the tribes, is a circumstance that, however trifling, increases their resentment.

I should be much obliged by your promises of discountenancing any attempts against myself, etc., did they not appear to be made on conditions of compliance with Continental or Provincial Congresses, or even committees formed, or to be formed, many of whose resolves may neither consist with my conscience, duty, or loyalty. I trust I shall always manifest more humanity than to promote the destruction of the innocent inhabitants of a colony to which I have been always warmly attached, a declaration that must appear perfectly suitable to the character of a man of honor and principle, who can on no account neglect those duties that are consistent therewith, however they may differ from sentiments now adopted in so many parts of America.

“I sincerely wish a speedy termination to the present troubles, and I am, sir, your most humble servant,

“G. JOHNSON.

“I shall have occasion to meet the Indians of my department in different quarters this season.”

Johnson went from Ontario to Oswego, where he invited the Six Nations to another council, to “feast on a Bostonian and to drink his blood”—in other words, to eat a roasted ox and drink a pipe of wine. The council was held, and the Six Nations were further estranged from the republicans. Then Johnson, with a large number of the chiefs and warriors of the confederacy, who had been invited to an interview with Sir Guy Carleton and Sir

Frederick Haldimand at Montreal, crossed Lake Ontario and went down the St. Lawrence.

Meanwhile the Continental Congress, perceiving, from the frequent letters of General Schuyler and others in New York, the great importance of keeping a vigilant eye upon the Six Nations and other Indians, and of preserving their neutrality if not securing their alliance, established a Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, in three distinct departments, known as the Northern, Middle, and Southern. They appointed as such commissioners for the Northern department General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Turbutt Francis, Oliver Wolcott, and Volckert P. Douw. They also adopted appropriate "talks" or addresses to the Indians, in which the nature of the quarrel between the colonists and the mother country was explained; and they were entreated to remain at home in peace :*

"We desire," they said, "you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear, and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles, that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours to pass and repass without molestation. * * * What is it we have asked of you? Nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation; and if application should be made to you by any of the King's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side, we only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the King's troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterward? Therefore, we say, brothers, take care! hold fast to your covenant chain."

* Journals of Congress, July 12, 13, 1775.

This was an honest effort to keep the savages from the field, and, had a like humane and discreet policy governed the councils of the British ministry and their agents, many a horrible deed, whose record stains the annals of that period, would never have been committed. But at that very time, when the Republicans were endeavoring to chain the bloodhounds, Johnson and his superiors in Canada were inciting them to engage in the contest, and carry on their hellish warfare side by side with the troops of enlightened England. British historians have asserted to the contrary; and the character of the really humane Carleton has been defended by assertions that he discountenanced all alliance with the Indians at the beginning of the war. But almost thirty years afterward, Brant, the most noted of the allied chiefs, bore explicit testimony to the contrary in the following extract from his speech, in which he recapitulated the services of the Mohawks during the contest:

“I exhort you,” Carleton said to us, “to continue your adherence to the King, and not to break the solemn agreement made by your forefathers; for your own welfare is intimately connected with your continuing the allies of his Majesty. He also said a great deal more to the same purport. * * * A council was next convened at Montreal in July, 1775, at which the Seven Nations (or Caughnawagas) were present, as well as ourselves, the Six Nations. On this occasion General Haldimand told us what had befallen the King’s subjects, and said, ‘Now is the time for you to help the King. The war has commenced. Assist the King now, and you will find it to your advantage. Go, now, and fight for your possessions, and whatever you lose of your property during the war, the King will make up to you when peace returns.’ This is the substance of what General Haldimand said. The Caughnawaga Indians then joined themselves to us. We immediately commenced in good earnest, and did our utmost during the war.”*

* Stone’s *Life of Brant*, i. 89. “The speech of Brant, from which the preceding extract is taken,” says Mr. Stone, “was written in the Mohawk language, and never by him rendered into English.” Mr. Stone procured its translation for his work.

General Schuyler reached Ticonderoga early on the morning of the 18th of July, and entered immediately into an examination of the condition of the fort and garrison. He found every thing in a wretched state. The army was comparatively but a handful, and the supplies were very meager. The troops under Colonel Hinman numbered only about twelve hundred. They consisted chiefly of Connecticut people, some New York volunteers, and a few Green Mountain Boys. Most of them were undisciplined, and those from Connecticut were extremely insubordinate. Unaccustomed to actual military service; having volunteered to perform the duty required of them; feeling a perfect equality with the officers set over them; and demoralized by the quarrels of their official superiors, of which they had been daily witnesses, they were in an unfit mood for yielding to the requirements of necessary discipline, especially such as General Schuyler felt it his duty to impose. He found Colonel Hinman only a nominal commander of the garrison, for very few of his men were disposed to obey him. This was a state of things which Schuyler could not endure for a moment. He was a thorough disciplinarian, naturally authoritative, and precise and systematic in all his arrangements. He was therefore much annoyed by all that he saw and heard after reaching the head of Lake George, and on the evening of the day of his arrival he wrote as follows to General Washington, at Cambridge :

“You will expect that I should say something about this place and the troops here. Not one earthly thing for offense or defense has been done. The commanding officer had no orders; he only came to reinforce the garrison, and he expected the general. (But this, my dear general, as well as what follows in this paragraph, I pray may be *entre nous*, for reasons which I need not suggest.) About ten last night I arrived at the landing-place, the north end of Lake George, a post oc

cupied by a captain and one hundred men. A sentinel, on being informed that I was in the boat, quitted his post to go and awake the guard, consisting of three men, in which he had no success. I walked up and came to another, a sergeant's guard. Here the sentinel challenged, but suffered me to come up to him; the whole guard, like the first, in soundest sleep. With a pen-knife only I could have cut off both guards, and then have set fire to the blockhouse, destroyed the stores, and starved the people here. At this post I had pointedly recommended vigilance and care, as all stores for Fort George must necessarily be landed there. But I hope to get the better of this inattention. The officers and men are all good looking people, and decent in their deportment, and I really believe will make good soldiers, as soon as I can get the better of this *nonchalance* of theirs. Bravery, I believe, they are far from wanting."*

This letter brought a sympathetic response from Washington, written on the 28th of the month. The Commander-in-Chief had arrived at Cambridge on the 2d of July, where he was greeted by the shouts of a great multitude of soldiers and citizens, the clangor of bells, the strains of martial music, and the waving of banners, and escorted to the house in which he made his headquarters. On the following day, seated upon his large white horse of Arabian blood, he reviewed the troops and took formal command of the army. Like Schuyler, his first care was to make himself acquainted with the condition of the post and the character and position of the enemy's works. The inquiry revealed much to discourage a less trusting spirit than his. He found a disposition to insubordination the rule, and good discipline and cheerful obedience the exception; and with the hope of inspiring the troops with a due sense of the importance of the service and the necessity for perfect obedience, harmony, and good will, he issued a general order which may be regarded as a model of its class, in which, in a few words, he evoked harmony, order, the

* MS. Letter Books, July 18, 1775.

exercise of patriotism, morality, sobriety, and an humble reverence for and reliance upon Divine Providence.

Every day some new difficulty, some weakness unobserved before, some exhibition of an impatient if not an actually mutinous spirit in the troops caused Washington to feel that a fearful weight of responsibility was resting upon his shoulders ; and with a full appreciation of the situation of Schuyler, he wrote to him in reply to that officer's letter respecting affairs at Ticonderoga, saying :

“I can easily judge of your difficulties in introducing order and discipline into troops who have from their infancy imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind. It would be far beyond the compass of a letter for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you that mine must be a portraiture at full length of which you have had in miniature. Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in the separation of the army or fatal contests with one another. * * * However, we mend every day, and I flatter myself that in a little time we shall work up these raw materials into a good manufacture. I must recommend to you what I endeavor to practice myself—patience and perseverance.”

To this Schuyler replied, after thanking him for his “very kind and polite letter :”

“I foresaw, my dear sir, that you would have an herculean labor in order to introduce that proper spirit of discipline and subordination which is the very soul of an army, and I felt for you with the utmost sensibility, as I well knew the variety of difficulties you would have to encounter. * * * I can easily conceive that my difficulties are only a faint semblance of yours. Yes, my General, I will strive to copy your bright example, and patiently and steadily persevere in that line which alone can promise the wished for reformation.”*

General Schuyler set about reforms with a will and energy that soon produced material changes. Yet there was so much tardiness in the service, in all directions, that he

* MS. Letter Books, August 6, 1775

could accomplish but little in preparations either for an invasion of Canada or a successful defense should a respectable force make its way up the lake from that province. It was very difficult to procure reliable intelligence from Montreal and Quebec. Every account concurred in representing the Canadians as being generally favorable to the republicans, while the elders of the Caughnawagas were hesitating whether to lift the hatchet for the King, as the young men desired to, or remain at home in peace. The moment seemed favorable for marching to the borders of, and perhaps into that province; and circumstances were occurring which made it probable that the golden moment was passing when an almost bloodless conquest might be won. Robert Benson, Chairman of the New York Committee of Safety, in a postscript to a letter, had said: "General Burgoyne has not been seen at Boston since the 17th ult. (June), and it is currently reported and believed that he is gone to Quebec;"* while a gentleman just arrived from Montreal stated that Governor Carleton was very sanguine that, through the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, the Canadians might be kept neutral, if not be made friendly to the government, and that troops from England or Boston were expected at Quebec. Other accounts contradicted this.

These items of intelligence made Schuyler impatient, and he wrote to every person and public body from whom he had a right to expect aid, urging them to put forth all their energies in providing him with men, money, stores, and munitions of war. He was informed that the British were strengthening St. John's, at the foot of the lake, and were making preparations to construct vessels for a fleet.

* Autograph letter.

“But, unfortunately,” he wrote to the Continental Congress, “not one earthly thing has been done here to enable me to move hence. I have neither boats sufficient, nor any materials prepared for building them. The stores I ordered from New York are not yet arrived. I have, therefore, not a nail, no pitch, no oakum, and want a variety of articles indispensably necessary, which I estimated and delivered into the New York Congress on the 3d instant. An almost equal scarcity of ammunition exists, no powder having yet come to hand. Not a gun carriage for the few proper guns we have, and as yet very little provision. There are now two hundred troops less than by my last return. These are badly, very badly armed, indeed; and only one poor armorer to repair their guns.”*

The tardiness with which the troops for the service assembled gave Schuyler more uneasiness than any thing else. Those of Connecticut, under General Wooster, at New York and on Long Island, were very slow in their movements; and the preparations of the New York levies for the field seemed to have almost ceased after he left for the north. On this subject he wrote very urgent letters to the Provincial Congress. That body, utterly powerless, sent his letters to the New York delegates in the Continental Congress, with an earnest appeal.

“We have no arms, we have no powder, we have no blankets,” they said. “For God’s sake, send us money, send us arms, send us ammunition. Burgoyne, we learn, has gone to Quebec. If Ticonderoga is taken from us, fear, which made the savages our friends, will render them our enemies. Ravages on our frontiers will foster dissensions among us ruinous to our cause. Be prudent, be expeditious.”

To General Schuyler they wrote at the same time in an equally despairing tone, saying :

“We have already ordered to Albany tents for one regiment. Our troops can be of no service to you. They have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition; the officers no commissions; our treasury no money; ourselves in debt. It is in vain to complain. We will remove difficulties as fast as we can, and send you soldiers whenever the men we have

* MS. Letter Books, July 21, 1775.

raised are entitled to that name. * * * Use, we pray you, the bad troops at Ticonderoga as well as you can.”*

Yet Schuyler was not discouraged. “I hope,” he wrote to Governor Trumbull, “in a little while to make all obstacles vanish. Much may be done when people set down to business with hand and heart.” A few days afterward he was cheered by the announcement that his wishes had been complied with, in the appointment of necessary officers for his department. Walter Livingston (already employed by Schuyler) was appointed deputy commissary-general of stores and provisions, Donald Campbell was made deputy quarter-master general, and Gunning Bedford deputy muster-master general.†

Feuds had caused delay in the organization of the regiment of Green Mountain Boys. Schuyler had no confidence in their professions of strength in numbers and zeal in patriotism. Under their title he had known, for several years, a set of rioters and lawless men, who had defied the authorities of his province, and he was not at all pleased with the idea of having those train-bands as a part of his army. He was, therefore, extremely cautious, and took pains to know whom he was to call to the field before he issued his proclamation of the resolves of the two congresses. He accordingly wrote to Stephen Fay, a leading man of Bennington, saying :

“Who the people are that are designated by the appellation of Green Mountain Boys, I am at a loss particularly to determine. Perhaps such of the inhabitants of this colony as reside on what are commonly called the New Hampshire Grants are intended. In this doubt I find myself under the necessity of applying to you for information, which I entreat, and make no doubt but you will give me with all that candor which, as a friend to your country, is your indispensable duty to do.”‡

* Journals of the New York Committee of Safety, July 15, 1775.

† Journals of Congress, July 17, 1775.

‡ MS. Letter Books, July 10, 1775.

He then urged Mr. Fay to take such necessary steps "as that the Green Mountain Boys, whoever they may be," might immediately proceed to the election of their officers, and fill the regiment without delay. Mr. Fay assured him that the inhabitants of the Grants were the Green Mountain Boys alluded to, and that they would "esteem it a favor to be incorporated into an independent battalion," subject to the required regulations. "As to the nomination of the officers," he said, "I am advised to mention none to your honor except the field officers, which are universally approved of, namely, Mr. Ethan Allen and Mr. Seth Warner."*

Meanwhile, Allen and Warner had become impatient of the delay. In a letter to Governor Trumbull, the latter said :

"Were it not that the grand Continental Congress had totally incorporated the Green Mountain Boys into a battalion, under certain regulations and command, I would forthwith advance them into Canada and invest Montreal, exclusive of any help from the colonies; though, under present circumstances, I would not, for my right arm, act without or contrary to order. If my fond zeal for reducing the King's fortresses, or destroying or imprisoning his troops in Canada, be the result of enthusiasm, I hope and expect the wisdom of the continent will treat it as such; and on the other hand, if it proceed from sound policy, that the plan will be adopted."†

Allen and Warner visited Ticonderoga, and laid before General Schuyler the state of affairs in the Grants. They spoke of the feuds that delayed the organization of the regiment, and acknowledged, what Schuyler had suspected, that the number of Green Mountain Boys was so small that they would be compelled to recruit in New England to make up the complement of five hundred men. Not

* Autograph letter, July 13, 1775.

† American Archives, ii. 1,649, July 12, 1775.

doubting their own election to the highest posts, they urged him to empower them to appoint all the subordinate officers. He referred them to the resolutions of both congresses, which left the choice of all the officers to the people ; and they departed, not well pleased with the results of their visit, nor with each other.

Soon after this Allen and Warner quarreled. Their respective friends became antagonistic partisans and the feud was intensified. Others felt disposed to drop them both, and give the field offices to less objectionable men. Mr. Fay's letter, in which he had recommended them, offended some of the leading persons in the Grants, and they wrote to Schuyler on the subject, urging him not to issue any commissions until the voice of the people, expressed in a convention about to be held, could be heard, when he should "be favored with an authentic answer to his letter." Schuyler paid very little attention to these communications. He had no love for the Green Mountain Boys as a body, and these feuds, standing in the way of the public service, disgusted him. He was willing to dispense with the services of Colonel Allen altogether, for, prejudiced perhaps by past occurrences, he regarded him as selfish in his ambition, naturally insubordinate, and too indiscreet to be a safe leader.

The more thoughtful men of the Grants, looking at the past, and contemplating the aspect of the future, also felt a doubt of the policy of placing Allen at the head of the regiment ; and when, at last, toward the close of July, the election was held, he was passed by. They omitted to choose a colonel, and Warner was nominated for lieutenant-colonel.

Allen, who had not the least doubt of his election, was much mortified. "Notwithstanding my zeal and success in my country's cause," he wrote to Governor Trumbull,

“the old farmers in the New Hampshire Grants, who do not incline to go to war, have met in a committee meeting, and in their nomination of officers for the regiment of Green Mountain Boys have wholly omitted me.” Many were pleased; and General Montgomery, when he heard of it, wrote to Schuyler, saying: “It is a change which will be very acceptable to our convention.”

Allen, who was undoubtedly a true patriot, and did not really deserve the suspicions and dislike of Schuyler, did not suffer this severe disappointment to chill his zeal in the cause, and he immediately repaired to Ticonderoga and offered his services to the General as a volunteer. Even these were at first refused, for Schuyler doubted whether he could keep the restless republican within due bounds. He finally accepted his services, and employed him in pioneer duties on the frontier, in which he was energetic and faithful.

Another volunteer for similar service appeared. Major John Brown, an American resident on the banks of the Sorel or Richelieu river, who was well acquainted with the character of the Canadians, the impressions to which they were most susceptible, and the topography and resources of their country, offered to use his influence in persuading the inhabitants to join the republican standard. He came well recommended, and General Schuyler at once commissioned him for the service, and furnished him with the following general letter to such persons as, in his judgment, would give information and efficient aid:

“TICONDEROGA, July 21, 1775.

“SIR:—Reports prevail that General Carleton intends an excursion into these parts; that for that purpose he is raising a body of Canadians and Indians; that he is preparing to build as well armed vessels as other craft to transport troops across the lake; that he is strongly fortifying St. John's; that Colonel Guy Johnson is to join him with a body of In-

Indians; that vast magazines of arms and ammunition are collected at Montreal; that the Canadians are averse to take part in the unhappy contest; that they nevertheless wish we would enter Canada and attack the regular troops. On every one of these articles I wish the fullest information, together with such other as you may be enabled to give me. The regular troops at Boston have been severely handled by the provincials; a list of the killed and wounded officers you will see in the newspapers which I send you. Many of the wounded are since dead.

“General Washington commands an army before Boston of twenty-three thousand men, which is continually increasing.

“Pennsylvania has raised five thousand; these, with three thousand from Jersey, are encamped in different towns in the Jerseys, as near New York as they conveniently can. Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, of New York, and Brigadier General Wooster, of Connecticut, who command under me, are on their way up to join me. The latter, with two thousand Connecticut people, join me to-day. The former, with three thousand New Yorkers, is following—the front reach Fort Edward to-day. Five hundred Green Mountain Boys are to join me in ten days, as also Colonel Ross, with six hundred riflemen from the back parts of Pennsylvania. When these all meet, my force will consist of near 8,000 men.

“We have just received information that the accounts of the Lexington affair had got home. It threw the nation into the greatest ferment; the ministry were loaded with curses, the Guards at St. James' doubled, the city of London in the greatest confusion, and, to add to all this, they just then received the most alarming accounts of the intentions of the Spaniards. If the ministry would but suffer his Majesty to see the injury they are doing to the empire, oh! they would give us an opportunity to fight the royal foes of his royal house; to spend our blood and treasure in supporting his dignity and resenting the insults the nation is threatened with by the haughty Spaniards, who are preparing to take the advantage of a divided empire.

“PHILIP SCHUYLER.

“Please to settle a mode of correspondence with the bearer. I do not direct this, lest the consequences should prove detrimental to you, should they fall into some hands.”*

In his instructions to Major Brown, the General said: “Try to get the Caughnawagas to come and speak to me here. I will give them presents, and renew that friendship which subsisted between them and my ancestors. Wild-

* Schuyler's Order Book.

man knows me, and so does Mr. Williams'* sister. I gave her some things the winter before last, having sent for her to my house at Saratoga."

General Schuyler gave Major Brown a letter to Mr. Price, a merchant of Montreal, who was well-disposed toward the republican cause ; and on Monday morning, the 23d of July, he set out with Captain Cochrane and a sergeant, and two Frenchmen.

"I am determined," he wrote to Schuyler, on his departure, "to touch at Caughnawaga the first place after hauling our boat out of the lake into some thicket near the river La Colle. Shall endeavor to see John Station, an English Indian and good old friend, by whose assistance I hope to get access to my friends at Montreal, by which means I shall find it in my power to execute your orders in every particular. Hope to return as soon as may be ; but if, through misfortune, I am detained and ill-treated, I pray you to advance with force sufficient to effect with power that which I ought to have done with policy."†

* The reputed father of Eleazer Williams, the "Lost Prince,"—the alleged Dauphin of France, son of Louis the Sixteenth. The "Prince" died at Hogsburg, New York, in 1859.

† Autograph letter, July 23, 1775.