

Painted by A. Ritchie

MAJ. GEN^l. JOHN STARK.

John Stark

THE

H I S T O R Y

OF

N E W H A M P S H I R E

FROM ITS DISCOVERY, IN 1614, TO THE PAS-
SAGE OF THE TOLERATION ACT, IN 1819.

BY GEORGE BARSTOW.

CONCORD, N. H.

PUBLISHED BY I. S. BOYD.

JUNE 4, 1842.

File
1842

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CAMBRIDGE PRESS :
LYMAN THURSTON & WM. TORRY.

1743
6437

P R E F A C E .

IT is not without distrusting my own abilities, that I have resolved to perpetuate what is worthy of remembrance in the history of my native state. I am aware of the difficulties and dangers of such an undertaking.

To discard prejudice—to sit in calm judgment upon those who cannot speak for themselves, but who require justice from history—to examine with a faithful scrutiny the institutions of one's own country—to present candid, temperate, and just views of men and things, and yet to mingle pleasure with instruction—this is a task which few have the assurance to begin, and fewer still can say that they have successfully executed. Yet I have thought that I could do something for those who would know their state's history with trifling expense of time, and more for those who are better pleased to travel in the smooth path of connected narrative, than to toil up the rugged ascent of time-worn documents, and broken, disjointed annals.

From the mass of materials before me, I have aimed to build a compact edifice, with fair proportions. My first and highest object has been to present the truth. Yet I have desired to make the history of New Hampshire not simply a record of facts. I have endeavored to trace actions to

motives, and results to causes. I have sometimes delineated the character of those whose actions I have portrayed. I have dared to censure where I thought censure to be due, and have applauded whenever superior virtues have presented a spectacle for admiration. Above all, I have sought to place in bold relief those examples of moral greatness which are fitted for the instruction and emulation of posterity. Such are the duties which I have assumed, and which I have endeavored to execute faithfully and impartially; but it is not without many misgivings that I now commit this volume to the judgment of the public.

The valuable assistance rendered me by others demands a suitable acknowledgment. Of these I take great pleasure in mentioning my talented friend JAMES M. RIX, of Lancaster, to whose research I am indebted for many important facts. I am under like obligations to ALEXANDER LADD, of Portsmouth, for all that relates to the *commerce* of that town. Among those who have furnished me with rare files of papers and documents, are the Directors of the Portsmouth Athenæum, and VIRGIN & MOSES, the present publishers of the New Hampshire Gazette. It is due to JOSIAH STEVENS, JR., secretary, and to ZENAS CLEMENT, treasurer, of the state, to say that their politeness and attention have greatly facilitated the examinations which I have been obliged to make of the state records and papers deposited at Concord in the public archives.

BOSTON, JUNE 1, 1842.

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HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—The red race—The first settlers of New Hampshire, their character—The Scottish emigrants—Columbus—Early voyages—The Cabots—Discoveries of the English, French, and Portuguese—Conquests of the Spaniards—North American Indians—Discovery of New Hampshire—Smith—His character—Mason and Gorges—Sir Walter Raleigh—Landing at Portsmouth—Melancholy decay of the Indians—Search for gold—Description of the country—Attempt to introduce the feudal system into New Hampshire—Death of Mason—His character—Failure of the colony of Mason and Gorges—Reflections.

THE origin of American history is not found in the region of fabulous legend. Its beginning and progress are distinctly known. The people of the United States are acquainted with their earliest ancestors, and with all the succeeding generations. They cannot, like the Romans, consecrate their origin, or rank the founders of the Republic with the gods. Nor have they built, like the nations of modern Europe, over the ruins of fallen greatness. They inhabit a new world—a world conquered from barbarians but yesterday, and subdued by civilization to-day—a world which has begun to witness the birth and growth, but not the decay and death, of nations. No ancient empire has risen or mouldered away within these limits. Except the red race, of doubtful origin and melancholy fate, America has no “surviving memorials of the

CHAP
I.

CHAP.
I.

past." Here are no magnificent and picturesque ruins—no stupendous monuments of forgotten skill—no curious relics of lost arts, the history and birth of which are in dispute. Here were neither high dukes nor mighty earls—neither a nobility, a banditti, nor a priesthood. Yet American history would be a treasure, if it could offer to the world nothing but the name of Washington. Massachusetts would be honored, if it were only for the genius of Franklin. New Hampshire will not be forgotten while she preserves the memory of Stark.

The *first* settlers of New Hampshire were a few merchant adventurers. They were not distinguished for literature or religion. They did not come, like the pilgrims,

Breaking "the depths of the desert's gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer."

Yet they were, like them, a bold and hardy few. Forsaking their English homes in quest of better fortune, they opened a path over the ocean, and chose the wildest solitudes of nature for the scene of their experiment. Their energy and perseverance, their fortitude and courage, made them the terror of the Indians, and fitted them for the struggles of freedom against oppression. They were obliged to fight and conquer a savage foe. They gained their subsistence by a constant warfare against the obstacles of nature. They went out to the field of toil with arms in their hands. While with their axes they bowed the woods, their firelocks leaned against the nearest trees. Their swords hung at their sides. In the character of these men avarice and romance were blended.

After them came a band of the persecuted. They were driven from a neighboring colony* "for conscience sake." These shared the perils of the others. Their character took its impress from the troubled scenes in which their lives were passed. *Their* days, also, were devoted to the fields of toil and battle. Their descendants were nurtured from childhood in the midst of hardships. They were taught in the school of adversity. Resolution, firmness of purpose, and patient endurance impress themselves on their character and mark their history.

The next and most brilliant period of New Hampshire colonization is that which is connected with the history of Scotland. The border romances, the songs of the bard, the Covenanter's honest faith, and all the proud recollections and glorious memories of the land of Burns, were to be transported to the wild woods of New Hampshire. They came with the settlers of Londonderry.

In one thing the companies of the emigrants were all agreed. They founded government on the natural equality of men. They trusted to find all the duties growing out of civil society enforced and performed by the popular will. They believed that all the rights of man may be secured and enjoyed by a government purely elective and free. It is the province of history to hand down to posterity the evidence of their efforts and their success. I shall begin the narrative with the discovery of America.

On the fourteenth of October, at dawn of day, Columbus led his followers to the shores of the

1492.
Oct. 14.

* Massachusetts.

CHAP.
I.

new world. The brilliant court of Spain received the news with transports of joy, and chanted "Te Deum*" for the discovery of a continent. But the great navigator sunk to the grave in neglect, while the world was yet unconscious of the nature and the merit of his services. A jealous rival† had sent him home from the theatre of his achievements, loaded with fetters. He could solace himself only by the consciousness of integrity, and by reflecting upon the great things he had performed. An illiberal envy attended his whole career.

Many were struck with a sense of the great actions of Columbus. Many more were touched with sentiments of veneration and pity;‡ but no one appeared as the avenger of his wrongs. The empress Isabella, his patroness, preceded him to the tomb, and when she was gone, there was none left to redress his injuries. He was doomed to employ the little remainder of his days in fruitless solicitation to Ferdinand, for the punishment of his oppressors and the restoration of his privileges. Vain effort! The heartless monarch amused with unmeaning promises the man who had added a world to his dominions.

Meanwhile, the health of Columbus declined. The ingratitude of his sovereign, whose reign he had rendered illustrious, wounded his generous spirit, and at length, exhausted by hardships, and heart-broken by being deceived in his expectations, he ended his days, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

He was buried at Valadolid, leaving an admir-

* Irving.

† Bovadilla.

‡ Among these was Alonzo del Vallejo, the Captain of the vessel, on board which Columbus was confined.

ing world to reap the fruits of the most memorable CHAP.
EXPERIMENT that human genius ever planned or 1.
performed. ~

The voyage of Columbus, while it filled Europe with astonishment, excited England to emulate the glory of Spain. In less than two years after his return, Henry VIII. invested John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, and his son Sebastian, with the command of an armament, destined to explore unknown regions. 1495.
March
5.

The chief object of Cabot was to reach India by the shortest course. He embarked at Bristol, and sailing due west, discovered an island, which the sailors called Newfoundland, and, in a few days after, a smaller one, which he named St. Johns. He landed on both and brought off several of the natives. Continuing his course westward, he reached the continent at Labrador, and sailed along the coast as far south as Virginia. 1497.
May.
June 24.

Thus England was the second nation that ventured to visit the New World, and the first that discovered the continent of America. The Cabots, like Columbus, derived little benefit from their genius and maritime skill. They gave a continent to England, and were revered as the most remarkable men of their day. History preserves the fact, among the few incidents of their career, that the mean jealousy which pursued Columbus, when thwarted by his death, did not fail to seek out the luminous track of the Cabots and pursue them.

The scheme of finding a shorter passage to the Indies was twice resumed under the reign of Henry VIII. But neither voyage was successful, and both were disastrous. The fisheries on the banks

CHAP. of Newfoundland were an object of attention in the
 I. reign of Edward VI.; and the prospect of opening
 a communication with China and the Spice Islands,
 without doubling the Cape of Good Hope, con-
 tinued to allure the English.

France and Portugal, also, resolved to compete
 with England and Spain. Gaspar Cortereal,
 under the patronage of the king of Portugal,
 1501. ranged the coast of America for six hundred miles,*
 1508. and Francis I., of France, excited, perhaps, by the
 stories of some savages † from the north-eastern
 coast, sent John Verazzani, a Florentine, to explore
 1524. the west. It is worthy of remark, that the repub-
 Jan. 17. lics of Italy furnished all the great captains, who,
 under the patronage of foreign kings, made the
 early voyages to America. In the benefits or evils
 of those voyages Italy was destined to have no
 share.

The reign of Henry VIII. was unfavorable to
 discovery; and a period of more than sixty years
 elapsed, during which the sovereigns of England
 gave but little attention to the country which was
 to add so much opulence to their crown. Yet the
 spirit of adventure did not slumber. Voyages con-
 tinued to be undertaken by companies and private
 adventurers. Merchants fitted out ships, and gave
 them to the conduct of the ablest captains. Though
 the voyages were seldom profitable to the projectors,
 yet, the sphere of English navigation was enlarged
 and the shores of North America became known.
 Hitherto no settlements had been attempted.

The French were forward in these enter-

* Bancroft's History United States, I. 14.

† Bancroft, I. 15.

prises.* They were early awake to the glory of discovery, eager for gain—emulous to excel. Eighty-six years from the date of Columbus' first voyage, they had a hundred and fifty vessels at Newfoundland, and in 1609 one French mariner had made more than forty voyages to the American coast.†

CHAP.
I.
1575.

While the English and French extended their discoveries over the north, the active spirits of Spain rushed to the more favored regions of Mexico and Peru. Cortez, Pizarro and Almagro were leading their followers to the climes of the New World. Mad with the passion for gold, they swept like a whirlwind through half-civilized hordes of natives, and gathered their booty amidst the ruins of cities. Their love of riches was equalled only by their contempt for industry. They hurried the Indians in crowds to the mountains, and forced them, with merciless rigor, to the fatal toil of the mines. Inflexible pride, determined valor, and deliberate atrocity marked their whole career of conquest and oppression. It was a union of avarice, fanaticism and chivalry. These three elements combined, gave rise to those amazing efforts of mind and body, before which the effeminate idolaters of South America fell and disappeared. Desolation marked the footsteps of the Spaniards. The native emperors, incas, and people were involved in common destruction. Never were courage, fortitude and valor devoted to more sordid, unjust and barbarous ends. Never was genius more powerfully employed to scourge mankind.

* See Bancroft's account of the voyages of Cartier, Roberval, and Chauvin, I. 18—25.

† Bancroft, I. 24.

CHAP.

I.

The paganism of the natives had allured to the invasion a few of the old bigots of Spain ; and it is sadly instructive to mark these champions of the cross, trampling, in the name of religion, upon the most sacred rights, and giving glory to God, amidst the destruction of life and the desolation of empire. The expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru. The simple natives had been nearly exterminated. But a golden harvest had fallen into the lap of Spain. Ignorant of political science, the Spanish monarchy greeted this accession of treasure as the fruition of hope and the strength of empire. History celebrated the achievements of the adventurers, and the poetic genius of Spain invested them with a romantic interest. They knew not how weak is a throne resting upon golden pillars. They had not seen how strong may be a government enthroned in the hearts of the people.

From the golden seed that was sown in Europe time ripened a bitter harvest. When it expanded to fruit, liberty, prosperity and industry died in Spain. The Cortes ceased to assemble ; public virtue expired ; and long before a century had run its round, it was apparent that the glory of ancient Castile was but a name.

Far different was the effect of English and French colonization on the northern shores of America. The action of the United States and the Old World upon each other forms the noblest feature in their history and ours. We have transplanted arts, manners and languages. They are transplanting liberty and the art of government.

The history of colonization has always been a

dark history. Whatever may have been the professed motives of the founders of colonies, their progress has been destructive to the native inhabitants. It is not improbable that the early voyagers to the North American coast possessed much of the rapacious spirit which deluged Peru with blood. Portugal had long since decided that human flesh was an article of traffic; and in conformity with this, the natives were sometimes kidnapped. Here and there an instance is recorded in history. But there were causes operating to restrain the rapacity of the northern voyagers within very narrow limits. First, there was a dearth of gold in all the northern regions. Secondly, the natives of the North were strong and warlike; those of Mexico and Peru were comparatively languid and effeminate. Like all the inhabitants of the torrid zone, they yielded their independence with but a feeble struggle. Cortez confessed that he relied on nothing so much as the weakness of his enemies. But the natives of the north were men of robust constitutions. They were hostile and jealous. When they were first induced to traffic in their furs, they demanded, in exchange, knives and weapons of steel.* They remembered injuries, and cancelled them in blood. The northern Indian never forgot to tell the story of his wrongs to his children, and they told it again to theirs, to the latest generation. But among the northern tribes there were marked distinctions. While the Mohawks, the Pequots, and the Tarateens of the far east were fierce, and courted war, the Delawares, and the Penacooks of the Merrimack, refused to shed the blood of

CHAP. I. Englishmen. The Indians of New Hampshire were generally inclined to peace. Even when cheated of their lands, and insulted, they, in many cases, forbore to resent it, and often retired quietly before the advancing waves of emigration.

1614. Conspicuous among the northern voyagers to America, was Captain John Smith—a name that will be forever associated with the noblest achievements in navigation. He was the founder of colonies—the father of states. It was he who first explored the coast of New Hampshire and the beautiful harbor of the Piscataqua. With two ships he ranged the shore from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and, returning to England, presented a map of the country to the young prince Charles. Though it is certain that European vessels had visited the coast before, though, for thirty years at least, European traders and fishermen had coasted along the whole line of New Hampshire, for the sake of its furs and its fish, yet nothing remains, even in tradition, to show that they ever entered the mouth of the Piscataqua, or landed upon the banks, or the shores of the sea.

While history retains a record of the generous affection of Pocahontas, the name of Smith cannot be lost; and if we search the annals of the world, there are few whose adventures would lend greater charms to history or to fiction. Though born to a competence, he is found at a very early age embarking on the ocean. From his childhood he was a rover. When but thirteen years of age he sold his school books and satchel to obtain money to go privately to sea; and from that time his whole career was one continued romance.

Whether we view him embarking for Italy, with "a rabble of pilgrims," mounting the deadly breach at Regal, fighting hand to hand with the Turks in the armies of Austria, wandering in the deserts of Circassia, conducted a prisoner in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, passing over into Africa, and visiting the Court of Morocco, or surveying the wild coast of New Hampshire, he appears everywhere to be equally remarkable for his eccentric genius, and his strange fortunes. After passing through a variety of military service, we find him, in 1607, in Virginia. The desponding minds of the colonists are turned to him as the only man who can extricate them from impending danger. He instantly adopts the only plan which can save them from destruction. He repels the hostile savages, and obtains for the colony the most abundant supplies.* When surprised, and taken captive, his eminent faculties do not desert him. He desires to speak with the Sachem. He presents him with a mariner's compass. He points out to the admiring savage the magical play of the needle. He expatiates on the shape of the earth, the vastness of the sea, the course of the sun, and the order of the seasons. Subdued by the influence of wonder, the Indians suspend their purpose. Opecanenaugh gazes with amazement, and, holding up the compass in his hand, gives the signal of reprieve. From that moment the Indians regarded Capt. Smith with a superstitious awe; and when the Great Spirit "shut up the clouds," they sent to Jamestown to entreat that he would pray for rain. But though

CHAP.
1.
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* Grahame's History United States, I., 50, 53.

CHAP. I. he delayed his fate by this stratagem, it did not procure his release. Yet they regarded him as an illustrious prisoner; and it was resolved to refer his destiny to Powhatan. This ferocious king instantly adjudged him to suffer death,* and ordered that his head be beat to pieces with clubs. His self-possession did not forsake him. He had discovered that Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of Powhatan, regarded him with affection. When the appointed hour of death arrived, a large stone was placed before the king, and the executioners stood round it with clubs in their hands.† Captain Smith was then conducted to the spot, his head laid upon the stone, and the men prepared with their clubs to beat out his brains.‡ Amidst these dreadful preparations, Pocahontas stood with the crowd of women that surrounded the executioners. When she saw him dragged, defenceless and bound, but still struggling, to the place of execution, she gave way to loud lamentation. But the savage king was inexorable, and the chief executioner began to lift his club to strike, when Pocahontas rushed with mournful distraction to the stone, and clasping the victim's head in her arms, proffered her own to receive the blow.§ At this gush of feeling, Powhatan relented. He dismissed the executioners, and pronounced the prisoner's pardon. Twice had death been strangely deferred; but Captain Smith now gained from Powhatan, not only his life, but a quantity of provisions sufficient to keep the colony from starving. When charged with sedition by the Virginians, it appeared, on investigation, that

* Smith's Hist. Vir., fol. ed., I., p. 49. † Campbell's Hist. Vir., p. 39.

‡ Burk's Hist. Vir., I., p. 113, 114. § Smith's Hist. Vir., fol. ed., I., p. 49.

his only offence consisted in "the possession of enviable qualities."* CHAP.
I.

It was from the story of this remarkable navigator, that the northern shore of America first attracted the notice of the unfortunate Charles. He bestowed upon it the name of New England. But while Smith was returning to his sovereign with the fruits of his discoveries, an act of perfidy was consummated by his lieutenant, which planted the sting of resentment deep in the savage heart. Thomas Hunt, who remained in charge of a ship which Smith left behind him on his return to England, far from conciliating the natives by acts of hospitality, decoyed twenty of them on board, cautiously hoisted his sails before they were aware, hurried out to sea, and sold them for slaves in Malaga. Thus, without an injury to provoke him, or a show of hostility, the white man hurled at the Indian all the horrors of slavery and the slave trade. In vain would history seek to apologize for so perfidious a deed. It could spring only from that fierce and cruel avarice which has robbed Africa of her children, and entailed upon America the curse of slavery and the scoffs of the world.

The country discovered by Captain Smith soon became of importance. Rumor magnified its advantages, and greedy credulity deemed none of its wonders too extraordinary for belief. Its lofty mountains, its forests of timber, its lakes, its numerous rivers and enchanted isles, dimly appearing in the distance, caught the eye of adventure and invited many, even of the nobility, to take active measures to promote its settlement.

* Bancroft, History United States, vol. I., page 125.

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Forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, were constituted, by the sole authority of the king of England, a council “for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America.”* Among these were Ludowick, duke of Lenox, the marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, and the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Bath, Southampton, Salisbury, and Warwick. Various and strange were the motives which, at that day, led these noblemen to project settlements in the New World. Visionary ideas ever mingle with the spirit of discovery. They were made a corporation with perpetual succession, by election of the majority; and their territories extended from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of northern latitude. The patent, or charter, which the king gave this company, was their warrant of authority, and was the foundation of all the grants made, of the country of New England, until by its odious monopoly it was complained of as “a grievance of the kingdom,” and surrendered to the crown. Thus the first governing power exercised over New England was that CORPORATE power, which has often given a spring to enterprise, and as often threatened to overthrow those principles of civil liberty which first led the fathers of New England to her rocky shores.

Farm-
er's Bel-
knap, p.
8.

In the council of Plymouth there were two men whose fame belongs to New Hampshire. These were Ferdinando Gorges, and Capt. John Mason. Gorges was a man of active genius and dauntless enterprise. He had been at the court of Elizabeth,† and was a companion of Sir Walter Raleigh

* Hubbard's New England, p. 80. Hume's History of England.

† Hume.

—one of the most renowned and attractive names in English story—admitted to be a universal genius, a warrior both on land and sea, an orator, a philosopher, an historian, a poet, an architect, an elegant courtier, a bold projector, a founder of colonies—equally active and great in all—distinguished for the most enviable success and the most pitiable reverses of fortune; raised to the highest pinnacle of favor by the greatest female sovereign of England,* and perishing at last on the scaffold; yet appearing upon the historian's page in glorious association with the most illustrious names of England. No man of that age exhibited so much vigor of mind, with so much versatility of talent. Nature seemed to have fitted him equally well for study or for action. There was hardly a subject which his pen did not touch, or a field of enterprise, however hazardous, which his adventurous foot did not enter. Gorges was full of the restless spirit of his great companion. After the peace of 1604, the king had appointed him governor of Plymouth, in England. He soon grew weary of the quiet round of official duty. He had heard vague stories of the new world, and was burning to embark on a voyage of discovery, when accident flung in his way a new cause of excitement. A captain in search of a northwest passage, brought into Plymouth five natives of America.† Gorges eagerly seized three‡ of them, and kept them in his service three years. He listened with enthusiasm to their

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* Queen Elizabeth.

† Gorges, p. 21.

‡ "These I seized," says Gorges. "Their names were Manida, Skettwaroes, and Tasquantum. They were all of one nation, but of severall parts, and severall families."—Gorges' description of New England, p. 2.

CHAP. half articulate tales of a country abounding in
 I. rivers, islands, fisheries, and stately woods. He*
 learned from them the number, force, disposition,
 and government of the natives, their customs, and
 modes of warfare. He made them trace in rude
 outline on the sand, the figure of the country;
 what mountains rose in it; what great rivers ran
 up into the land; what tribes and chieftains dwelt
 upon their banks. Naturally sanguine, his imagin-
 ation kindled at the tales they told, and he began
 to estimate the profits of discovery. In Captain
 Mason, he found a kindred spirit; his inferior in
 acquirements, his equal in credulity, courage, and
 selfishness. Mason was a London merchant, but his
 roving fancy led him to enter the navy. After the
 peace, he was made governor of Newfoundland, and
 came out to America. On his return to Eng-
 land, he was elected a member of the Plymouth
 Council. From the cold island of Newfoundland
 he had looked with covetous desire towards the
 more southern lands of New England, and con-
 ceived the most extravagant ideas of the facilities
 they afforded for immediate wealth. He was not
 long in procuring from the Council a grant of all
 the land from the river of Naumkeag, now Salem,
 round Cape Ann, to the river Merrimac, and up
 each of those rivers to the farthest head thereof;
 then to cross over from the head of the one to the
 head of the other; with all the islands lying within
 three miles of the coast. This was called the dis-
 trict of *Mariana*. But circumstances had now
 brought Mason and Gorges together; for the
 former had become secretary, and the latter presi-

1621.

* Gorges, p. 4.

dent of the Council. They resolved to unite their fortunes. Accordingly, the next year, a grant was procured, by Gorges and Mason jointly, of the province of Laconia. This comprised all the land between the rivers Merrimac and Sagadahock, extending back to the great lakes and the river of Canada.*

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They now set to work, with characteristic vigor, to people the vast region they had bought. Will not after events show that in this their courage and resolution were more conspicuous than their gain? In the spring of the following year, they sent over some fish-mongers of London, with "a number of other people in two divisions." These were to establish a colony and fishery at the mouth of the Pascataqua. They arrived in safety. They had brought with them tools of various kinds and were well supplied with provisions. One party landed on the southern shore, and called the place Little Harbor.† From the name of Strawberry Bank, which they gave to the spot where Portsmouth now stands, a late historian infers that they touched the shore before mid-summer, and that a profusion of strawberry-blossoms, or fruit, welcomed their arrival.‡ They hastily erected salt-works, and one§ rude house was quickly prepared. The other party of emigrants went eight miles farther up the river and sat down at Dover.||

Thus came the first fathers to New Hampshire. It is now to be seen with what spirit they will bear up against the rugged poverty of the soil, the in-

* The St. Lawrence.

† F. Belknap, p. 4.

‡ Whiton, p. 1.

§ Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, p. 10.

|| At first named Northam, afterwards Dover.

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hospitable severity of the climate, and the opposition of the surrounding Indians. Five thousand rude tenants of the woods then sufficed to inhabit a state which civilization has since peopled with nearly three hundred thousand souls. A small tribe dwelt at Exeter, another at Dover, and a third, the Pascataquas, on the banks of that river. The Ossipees roamed round the Winnipissiogee* and Ossipee lakes, and the Pequawkets dwelt on the upper branches of the Saco. The Penacooks lived on the beautiful lands around Concord, along the banks of the Merrimac; and the hunting-grounds of the Coos Indians extended through Grafton county and upward, over from the meadows of Lancaster,† to the head waters of the Connecticut. These confederated nations were distinguished by the general name of Pawtuckets, and were subject to the mild sway of the sachem Passaconaway. He was old, had never seen a white man before, and was revered as the father and supreme head of the people. Peaceful and happy tribes! How soon you are destined to perish! You will fall, like leaves scattered by an autumnal blast. Civilization and barbarism have met together. Is it doubtful that the former will gain the mastery? Civilization and barbarism! How mighty are the energies of the one; how poor and powerless the other! At the mention of civilization, the triumphs of science rise before the mind, and all nature is seen made tributary to the wants and the fancy of men. At the mention of barbarism, the mind is transported to the solitudes of the forest. Woman is the slave of the wigwam, and man, far from

* Whiton, p. 8.

† On Israel's river.

being the conqueror of nature, is only left free to follow her and appears to be her simple child. Art binds him with no shackles. Society imposes no restraints. He consults no adviser but inclination. He roams or reposes at will.

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The simple natives received the little band of emigrants with friendship. It would have been easy to exterminate them; but they welcomed them with hospitality, for the children of the woods looked not to consequences. The Indians have now disappeared, and every memorial of them is lost, save when the ploughshare or the water-course dishumes some skeleton form or buried implement of the hunter, and reminds the present generation of their ill-fated predecessors. Thus a whole peculiar people have perished forever.

The first years of the little colony at Pascataqua furnish few events of interest, until 1628; when the colonists were surprised at meeting Indians in the woods of Dover, hunting with fire-arms. The sale of them had been forbidden and had not been suspected. It was soon discovered that they purchased guns and ammunition of a trader in the Massachusetts colony. The vendor was seized at Weymouth, and sent prisoner to England. But the Indian had already learned, with fatal skill, the use of fire-arms. He was charmed with an instrument of destruction so potent, when compared with his feeble arrow and bow. These weapons he soon learned to despise, and freely gave the richest products of the chase for a rifle. The colonists were made to rue, to the latest day, the dire consequences of the traffic at Weymouth.

Near the close of the next year, Laconia was

CHAP. I. divided, probably* by mutual agreement,† between
 Mason and Gorges. The wild region east of the
 Pascataqua was relinquished to Gorges, and took
 the name of Maine; while the tract west of this
 river and extending back into the country sixty
 miles, was confirmed to Mason. The county of
 Hampshire, in England, had been the place of his
 residence, and to his extensive grant in the New
 World, he gave the name of New Hampshire.

The Pascataqua settlement now advanced slowly. A part of Mason's associates in the "Company of Laconia," for the better security of their interests, obtained a grant of the township of Dover, while Mason himself procured a charter of Portsmouth. Thus early the colonists were divided into two distinct communities, and were familiarly called the Upper and Lower Plantations. They were subject to different regulations, were carried on under different auspices, and were afterwards two distinct governments, like independent states. The Dover plantation was under the patronage of the "west countrie" adventurers, and they appointed Thomas Wiggin, their superintendent and agent. The lower plantation was under the patronage of the London adventurers, and the first superintendent of Portsmouth, was Walter Neal. The enterprise of the lower plantation soon whitened the harbor with a little fleet of shallops, fishing-boats, and skiffs; and while the English were busy with their lines, the Danish emigrants among them sawed lumber and made potash. The few pieces of cannon which the proprietors sent over to terrify the Indians, were placed at the northeast

* F. Belknap, p. 8.

† Whiton, p. 10.

point of the Great Island, on a high rock, about a bow-shot from the shore. It was thought that “the redoubling noise of these great guns, rolling in the rocks, would cause the Indians to betake themselves to flight.” But the colonists were soon in danger of turning this artillery against each other; for when the agent of Dover took possession of a point of land at Newington, the agent of Portsmouth claimed it, and both parties, heated by dispute, prepared to appeal to arms. But at length they were persuaded to refer the dispute, for arbitration, to their employers; and thus, without bloodshed, the place acquired the name of **Bleedy Point**.

Shortly after the termination of this dispute Neal was summoned to an expedition against the far-famed pirate, **Dixy Bull**. This daring marauder had appeared upon the coast and raised an alarm by taking several boats and rilling the fort at Pemaquid. Neal equipped four pinnaces and shallops, and being joined by twenty more from Boston, proceeded to Pemaquid to meet the enemy. But a storm arose, and the winds that separated his own barques drove the pirates beyond the reach of pursuit. He was obliged to put back in a shattered condition, and the Boston forces returned home.

When the plantations appointed their agents, they declared their “severall businesses” to be, trade, fishery, salt-making, building and husbandry. These common pursuits, however, were not all. The meagre profits of the fisheries and salt-making were not sufficient to satisfy the desires of such men as **Mason and Gorges**. To search for gold was the great object of their errand

CHAP. to America. Mason believed the country to be
I. full of the precious metals concealed in mines. In
this opinion he was not alone.

Ever since the discovery of the New World was proclaimed in Europe, the strangest delusions filled the minds of men. America became at once the region of romance. Descriptions of it appeared in rapid succession, each presenting a new accumulation of wonders. By these the people of Europe were completely infatuated. To them the western world was enchanted ground. Every island and lake were such as mankind had never dreamed of before. Every tree, and plant, and animal, assumed extraordinary forms and differed from those of the ancient hemisphere. Old Europe began to be despised, as too narrow, and seemed to offer to the heated imagination nothing above mediocrity. Columbus himself, a man of sound understanding, declared that in America he had found the seat of paradise; and Ponce de Leon ranged, with his followers, through the Lucayo islands, in search of "the fountain of youth." The old were to become young, by bathing in its salutary waters. "Why do you quarrel," said a young cazique to the Spaniards, "about such a trifle as gold? I will conduct you to a region where the meanest utensils are made of it."

It was true that the natives of South America ignorantly wore the material from which the most precious jewels of Europe were made. The plunderers of Mexico and Peru had actually returned laden with gold. Montezuma had exhausted his treasures to glut their rapacity. Their success had surpassed the wildest vision of the boldest

imagination. It was everywhere extolled, and all Europe began to dream of America as a land where the sands sparkled with gold, and the earth was paved with glittering gems—where mountain and vale were brightly veined with silver, and crystal rivers glided over beds pebbled with diamonds. While such were the fabulous tales, half believed in England, is it strange that Mason should have come to Portsmouth with the same visionary ideas of infinite wealth? He knew that the Spaniards dug their gold from the mountains. New Hampshire was a region of mountains. Would fortune be less propitious in Laconia than in Mexico? Why should he hesitate to adopt a conclusion to which he could so easily arrive by reasoning from analogy? He did not hesitate; and there were those among his followers who looked to Laconia as a region where nature would smile in eternal fertility and bloom—where wealth would flow in upon them with the profusion of an ocean—where towns* and cities would rise as by a stroke of the enchanter's wand.

It had been described as containing divers lakes, and extending back to a great lake and river in the country of the Iroquois. This river was said to be “a faire large river, well replenisht with many fruitfull islands; the ayr thereof is pure and wholesome; the country pleasant, having some high hills full of goodly forrests and faire vallies and plaines fruitfull in corn, vines, chesnuts, wallnuts, and infinite sorts of other fruits, large rivers well stored with fish, and invironed with goodly meadows full of timber trees.”†

* Gorges, p. 31.

† Gorges, p. 58.

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In the great lake were said to be “4 faire islands, which are low and full of goodly Woods and Meadows, having store of game for hunting, as Stagges, Fallow-Deer, Elkes, Roe-Bucks, Beavers and other sorts of Beasts, which come from the main land to the said Islands. The rivers which fall into the Lakes, have in them good store of Beavers, of the skins of which Beasts, as also of the Elkes, the Salvages make their chiefest Traffique. The said Islands have been inhabited heretofore by the Salvages, but are now abandoned by reason of their late wars one with another. They contain twelve or fifteen leagues in length and are seated commodiously for habitation in the midst of the Lake, which abounds with divers kindes of wholesome Fish. From this lake run two rivers Southward, which fall into the Eastern and Southern Sea-coast of New England.”*

Such was the description of Laconia, penned by Gorges himself in the true style of adventure. The king of England and his ministers entertained ideas of it scarcely less exalted, for in the patent of New England, they took especial care to convey “the Mines, Mineralls, Quarryes, Shoares, Soyles, Waters, Lakes, Fishings, Huntings, Fowlings, Commodities, Hereditaments, Prerogatives, Rights, Jurisdictions, and Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, Escheats, Liberties and Prochemiencences.”† But it is not from the testimony of Gorges alone, nor yet from the technical language of the patent, that the visionary hopes of the colonists are to be inferred. It appears from the letters of the Portsmouth planters themselves, that “their views were

* Gorges, p. 47.

† Gorges, pp. 34—36. Patents of New England.

chiefly turned towards the discovery of lakes and mines." It also appears that they expected to derive a considerable revenue from the culture of grapes. They fell into the errors which would naturally be committed by those who are at once sanguine and avaricious. Instead of subduing the forest, they penetrated into the earth. Instead of counting upon the natural growth of the colony, founded upon its apparent and well-known resources, they built their chief expectations upon the fortune of discovery. Agriculture they abandoned for the uncertain and chance advantages of Indian trade and fishing, and for the cultivation of grapes. No mill was erected for grinding corn; for "the colonists had none of their own to grind." Bread came from England in meal, except some corn and wheat, which were brought from Virginia and sent to the windmill at Boston to be ground.* Beef and corn they could have produced easily. But these were luxuries almost unknown to them. They searched the earth for roots, and caught the wild game of the woods. At the end of ten years, so large had been their outlays and so small their returns, that the proprietors in England began to feel the supplies they furnished them to be a burden. The colonists themselves acknowledged that their golden hopes had failed. They did not increase in wealth or importance. No mines but those of iron were discovered, and these were not wrought. The lakes were not explored. The vines were planted,† but would produce nothing. The peltry trade with the Indians was of some value. So also were the fisheries. But neither

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* Prince's Annals, pp. 30, 70.

† F. Belknap, p. 13.

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magnificent, and so refreshed his confidence that he ever saw his glory ripening, and chided the seemingly dim vision of his timid followers. But they were sullenly discontented, and most of them resolved to remove. Some abandoned their lands wholly. Others sold their shares and departed. Thus Mason and Gorges became immediately the principal, if not the sole proprietors. The shares which had been relinquished, fell of course into their hands. Others they bought, until nearly the whole came to their possession.

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They now looked around for means to revive the drooping colony. They appointed Francis Williams governor, and sent over from England a fresh supply of servants and materials for building.

Shortly after this time the Plymouth colony surrendered their charter to the crown. It had been complained of as a monopoly, and Gorges, seeing it in jeopardy, resolved to appear in person and defend it. He arrived at Westminster and soon gained an audience. The house being resolved into a committee, Sir Edward Coke in the chair, Gorges came forward to the bar.* Sir Edward briefly explained to him that the charter of the Plymouth colony had been complained of as a "grievance of the Commonwealth; also that it was a monopoly, and that the colour of planting a colony had been put upon it for particular ends and private gain;" all which the house were to look into and to minister justice to all parties. First of all, demanded Sir Edward Coke, the charter must be brought into the house and de-

* Gorges, p. 23.

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livered by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. To which that ardent hypocrite replied, in the canting tone of the day,—“For my own part,” said he, “I am but a particular person, and inferior to many to whom the Pattent was granted, having no power to deliver it without their assents. Neither in truth is it in my custody.” “Humbly bold in behalf of himself and the rest of those intrusted in the Pattent,”* he continued strenuously to maintain that “it could not be a grievance to the Publique, seeing at first it was undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of a nation, the increase of trade, and the imployment of many thousands of all sorts of people.”† A second and a third time he appeared before a committee of the house, and strove to convince them that all his adventures were “for the advancement of religion in those desert-parts, and that he had been drawne, out of zeal for his countryes happinesse to engage his estate so deeply as he had done.”‡ This confused and sinister harangue availed nothing. When Parliament presented the “publique grievances of the kingdome,” the patent of New England was the first.§ They had heard Gorges and his “Learned Councill severall dayes, but they could not defend the same,” and it was resigned to the king. Gorges did not fail to ascribe it to the influence of evil counsellors around the throne. “Notwithstanding,” says he, “amongst those great swarmes, there went many that wanted not love and affection to the Honor of the King, and happinesse of their native country, however they were mixed with those that had the state of

* Gorges, p. 24. † Gorges, p. 24. ‡ Gorges, p. 28. § Gorges, p. 29.

established Church Government in such scorn and contempt, as finding themselves in a country of Liberty, where tongues might speak without controule, many, fuller of malice than reason, spared not to speak the worst that evill affections could invent.”*

Previous to the surrender, he and Mason had taken care to secure to themselves some portion of the expiring interest. That of Mason comprehended both his former patents; and in September following, Gorges sold to him a tract of land on the northeast side of the Pascataqua. It extended three miles in breadth,† following the course of the river, from its mouth to its farthest head, and included a saw-mill at the falls of Newichwannock.

In the midst of his fond anticipations of better fortune, Captain Mason was removed by death. 1635. This happened near the close of the year. He had accomplished none of the great purposes for which he came to this wilderness world. He embarked with vast expectations of boundless wealth and grandeur. He proceeded “the best time of his age, loaden with troubles and vexations from all parts.” Golden visions hovered round him to the last, in spite of the light of experience. He had no religious views in the purchase and settlement of New Hampshire. His whole energies were absorbed in the discovery of wealth, and the aggrandizement of himself and his family. His darling scheme was the introduction of the feudal system into New Hampshire; by which his family were to be the lords, and the people tenants of the soil. For this he labored; for this he sacrificed

* Gorges, p. 43.

† F. Belknap, pp. 14, 15.

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his all; still dreaming of the profits of discovery, and the glory of founding a state. But though a dreamer, he was at the same time a man of action. "This Captain John Mason was himself a man of action,"* is the testimony of Gorges. Nothing daunted him. Nothing deterred him. Though adversity might cloud his prospects, it never depressed his spirits. The frustration of his efforts and the frequent wreck of his hopes only seemed to display the indestructible vigor of his mind. Amidst disappointment and discouragement he continued to attempt the foundation of a feudal empire, until death interrupted his toils and left him only a reputation for attempting impossible things.

In their American possessions, both Mason and Gorges readily embarked their whole property, expecting the investment to return to them suddenly with great gain. But their estates melted away, and they received no profits. Yet their efforts, though fruitless to themselves, were not wholly lost. Their daring energy excited other minds; and, like the first voyagers over an unknown sea, they discovered and pointed out the quicksands to others, who profited by their disastrous experience. Thus they left the spur of their example to those who should set on foot new enterprises, or improve those which they had so boldly begun. "I began," says Gorges, "when there was no hopes for the present but of losse; in that I was yet to find a place, and being found, it was itselfe in a manner dreadfull to the behoulders; for it seemed but as a desart Wildernesse replete onely with a kind of

* Gorges, p. 38.

savage People and overgrowne trees. So as I found it no meane matter to procure any to go thither, much lesse to reside there; and those I sent knew not how to subsist but on the provisions I furnished them withall."* Such was then a true picture of this now flourishing state, and such were the endeavors of the first settlers. In all the movements of Gorges there was a lack of system. "I was forced," says he, "to hire men to stay there the winter quarter at extream rates."† There was no place prepared to receive the emigrants who consented to be the companions of his fortune. His enthusiasm allured them to his standard; his eloquence persuaded them to embark. When they became discouraged, he inspired them with confidence. When their provisions were exhausted, he supplied them. Meanwhile he continued his exploring expeditions in the country, feeding his mind with visions of future splendor and power. But it was impossible to bear up against the obstacles of savage nature. It was impracticable to reap prosperity in a plan which neglected all the solid sources of growth.

Gorges and Mason established no government. They employed persons to trade and fish for them, yet erected no tribunal to which they were amenable for fraud or breach of trust. They might commit the most flagrant crimes, and yet escape punishment. They might squander their goods, and yet avoid any civil liability. It was not, however, from undue confidence in man, or any mistaken views of the goodness of human nature, that they were led to dispense with the forms of

* Gorges, p. 49.

† Gorges, D. N. E., p. 12.

CHAP. government and law. It was the philosophy of
I. Gorges, that “profit and content are (for the most
part) the motives that all men labor, however otherwise adjoined with faire colours and goodly shadows.”* He often wondered and complained when their plans failed. But how could it be otherwise with those who neglected agriculture, which is like rearing the superstructure, having omitted the foundation? How could it be otherwise with those who, instead of grain, planted the vine and sought a purple vintage, as if the cold shore they dwelt on had been the brightest island of a tropic sea? Their scheme throughout, in all its details, was stamped with impracticability. They sketched out a fanciful system of lordships, and dwelt upon the plan of granting the lands subject to quit rents and feudal tenures. The money necessary for this splendid government was to be dug from the earth; the fashions and decorations were to be imported from the old world. They were to have stars and titles of nobility. But in all this they were doomed to disappointment. No lordships were established; no order of nobility arose. There were neither titles to be enjoyed, nor wine-presses to be trodden. The same cold wilderness still stretched before their eyes. The rivers, broad and deep, rolled on, reflecting only the wild woods that had intermingled their branches and cast the shadows of ages over the waters. The same soil, rugged, but strong and productive, yet waited for the hand of industry, and refused to yield anything but to patient toil. It could not give them what it did not possess. It furnished wood

* Gorges, D. N. E., p. 11.

and iron in abundance. But silver nor gold would it reveal. Had it possessed these, New Hampshire might have been what Mexico is, and England would have shared the calamities of Spain.

Well was it for posterity that the unnatural eyes of Adventure, alone, could discern mineral wealth in the hills of New Hampshire. Fortunate was it that the soil was, for the most part, reserved for men who should settle upon it with no chimerical and vain hopes of treasure; but men viewing human life and society in a true light—not building the castles of avarice; but living by their industry—expecting only the rain and dew upon the seed they had sown—hoping for health and competence—and laying the only sure foundation for a great and flourishing country in intelligence and public virtue—good schools, good morals, government, and sober industry. These are the strength of a state.

CHAPTER II.

DOVER.—The Antinomians—Exeter—Form of government a democracy—Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts—Hampton—Government formed at Portsmouth—At Dover—Constitution—Causes which led to the settlement of Exeter—The Puritans—Contest between them and the Antinomians, Henry Vane, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, Wheelwright—They are banished from Massachusetts—They come to Exeter—Their doctrines—Calvin—Calvinism—Union with Massachusetts—Wheelwright—His interview with Oliver Cromwell—The confederation—Passaconaway disarmed—The White Mountains explored—Neal searches their summits for gold—description of them—Superstitious reverence of the Indians for their invisible inhabitants.

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II.

THE death of Captain Mason left the lower plantation on the Pascataqua under deep embarrassments. He had been the moving spring in all its affairs, and his services were lost in the time of sorest need. But while the upper settlement lay under discouragement, the lower one also was struggling with difficulties. It was finally resolved that Captain Wiggin, the superintendent, should make a voyage to England to obtain more ample means for its advancement. He procured a number of families from the west of England, some of them men of property, and “of some account for religion,” to come over and increase the colony. Trade was their object, and they resolved to build a town. Accordingly, they divided the land on Dover neck into small lots; and on the most inviting part of that beautiful eminence which lies between the two branches of the river, they erected

1633.

a church. Danger compelled them to surround it with an intrenchment, and flankarts. High above the surrounding shores, commanding an extensive and delightful prospect, stood this first edifice, consecrated to the public worship of God. A church! Seldom has the New England village been found without one. Its spire, pointing to heaven, is the ensign of those who put not their trust in outward show, but in the inward purity. But the pious Leveridge, whom Wiggin brought over to minister to the people, was soon obliged to leave them for want of support; and he retired to the Plymouth colony. After this, wandering adventurers,* and artful impostors, (as they were supposed to be,) came and preached to the people. George Burdet stole the hearts of the majority, so that they elected him governor, to the defeat of his rival, Wiggin. He represented his opponents as hypocritical, and that, under pretence of greater purity and discipline in matters of religion, they were aiming at independent sovereignty.

CHAP.
II.

1631.

1636.

1637.

1638.

At this time the far-famed Antinomian controversy, at Boston, had occasioned a violent strife and schism. It terminated in banishing from that colony the principal persons who bore that name of reproach. Conspicuous among the exiles were the learned and truly pious Wheelwright, and his famous sister, Anne Hutchinson. They had before purchased some land of the Indians at Squamscot Falls, and now came, with the few friends who followed them into banishment, and began a plantation. They called it Exeter. Desirous to give efficiency to those doctrines which they sacredly

1638.

* F. Belknap, p. 18.

CHAP. cherished, and for which they had been driven from
 II. Boston, they formed themselves into a church.
 They also combined into a separate body politic,
 and chose rulers and assistants. Each ruler had
 two assistants.

1638. These were sworn into office, and the people
 were as solemnly sworn to obey them. Their
 rulers, with the assistants, were elected annually.
 The laws were made in a popular assembly, and
 formally assented to by the people. Though they
 styled the king "the Lord's anointed," and
 punished treason against the king or the country,
 rebellion and sedition, yet in all their proceedings
 they presented a specimen of a pure democracy.
 They founded government on the true basis,
 viz., the consent of the governed. They recog-
 nised the right of every man to have a voice in the
 selection of his rulers; thus making the people the
 source of power—the fountain from which it flows.
 This government conferred upon man a perfect
 equality of rights. It made the people subject to
 no laws but those of their own enacting, and it left
 in their own hands the absolute right of repeal;
 thus giving them the power to correct public evils
 so soon as they should manifest themselves. This
 little association of exiles I consider to be the first
 institution of government in New Hampshire.*
 The colony of Mason cannot be regarded as such.
 It contemplated nothing but amassing wealth. It
 was formed wholly for purposes of trade and
 emolument. It imagined a system which was
 wholly impracticable, and was never, in fact, at-
 tempted. The settlement at Exeter, therefore, was

* Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, vol. I., p. 6.

the foundation of the state. That government has continued with trifling alteration for more than two hundred years. Two hundred years! How wide a space in the world's history! In that period what revolutions have convulsed the earth! In that period Napoleon has run his career, changed the face of Europe, and died in exile. England has deposed sovereigns, reared a Commonwealth, and changed, again and again, the entire structure of her monarchy. France has overturned thrones, and all Europe has been shaken by the earthquakes and thunders of revolution. South America has been made to reek with blood unprofitably shed. The farthest east and the west, even to savage wilds, have been desolated by war. But with little interruption the northern states of America have shown to the world a proud example of liberty, stability, and progress.

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II.

About this time the plantation of Hampton was formed at a place which the Indians called Winnicomet. The salt meadows had attracted the notice of Massachusetts, and the general court of that colony had empowered Richard Dummer and John Spencer to build a house there. This settlement opened the way and invited some persons from Norfolk, in England. They shortly afterwards came over, and the Hampton settlement, with this accession, numbered fifty-six. It was considered at this time as belonging to the colony of Massachusetts.

1638.

P. Bel-
knap, p.
20, 21.

1638.

After the death of Capt. Mason, his widow, weary of the great expenses and inadequate returns of the Portsmouth plantation, informed her servants that they must provide for themselves.

1639.

1639.

CHAP. II. Some removed with their goods and cattle ; others remained, keeping possession of the buildings and improvements, which they henceforth claimed as their own. But the houses at Newichwannock were consumed by fire, and nothing was left of Mason's estate but a doubtful interest in the soil. Thus, the people were left without a government. After the example of Exeter, they formed themselves into a body politic.* Those of Dover did the same.† By a written instrument, signed by forty-one persons, they agreed to submit to the laws of England and such others as should be enacted by a majority of their number, until the royal pleasure should be known. Here was a constitution, not dissimilar to that which is now kept sacred by a mighty nation, grown up around that first experiment upon constitutional government.

1640.

Oct. 22.

Thus, I have briefly traced the history of these first four republics of the wilderness. They rose humbly from the forest. They stood as four cities of refuge, thrown open to those whom the sword of persecution might drive to them from beyond the Atlantic, or from the borders of the neighboring colonies. But it is here to be remarked that they were in fact‡ governments of the churchès. The Bible was their law book ; and when the magistrate enquired his duty, he asked only what is the will of God. The plantation at Exeter formed the first congregational church, that at Hampton the second, that at Dover the third. Their difficul-

* The time when is uncertain.

† F. Belknap.

‡ With the exception perhaps of Portsmouth, where a small Episcopal society had been formed, but no Congregational society existed there for many years.

ties, embarrassments and bickerings, arose from vexed questions of religious faith and practice. The backsliding of some church member was always an event of importance. The imprudence of some minister was sufficient to agitate all the colonies. These three plantations were in all their circumstances much alike. Their governments were essentially the same. Yet the settlement at Exeter must be regarded as the most important, both in its origin and in its influence upon the character of the state. It was made up of the persecuted Antinomians. But the history of the Antinomians is so intimately connected with that of the puritans, that it is impossible to present the one properly, without at least a preliminary view of the other. Without such a view, the character and motives of the first settlers of Exeter would be but little understood. The term Antinomian was a name of reproach. It signifies, an opposer of law. The Exeter settlers were deemed opposers of law; and I now propose to glance at the history of the puritans, in order to show who were these Antinomians—why they were thus stigmatized, and how it came to pass that they were driven out from Massachusetts, and came, as exiles, to take shelter in the woods of New Hampshire.

Next after the merchant adventurers at Portsmouth, came the band of the persecuted to Exeter. Massachusetts was peopled by a feeble company of puritans, who fled from religious persecution in England. Massachusetts was destined in her turn to draw the sword of persecution, and to people other colonies with the exiles whom she drove from her borders. Her intolerance founded Rhode

CHAP. Island, and gave immortality to the name of Roger
II. Williams.

The puritans distrusted the power of truth to work out her own triumphs. This, however, was the error of the age in which they lived; and on that account they demand from posterity, when passing judgment upon them, a magnanimous forbearance. History would do them injustice, did it fail to suggest the universal prevalence of this error, as an apology for the violence which the cause of religious liberty received at their hands. The puritans never professed to be advocates for freedom of conscience. From their writings they carefully excluded the idea of religious liberty. They demanded of the Church of England the right to enjoy their faith unmolested; not because they approved of toleration, but because they believed they had found the true faith, and that all opposition to it was rebellion against God. They expressly denied and repudiated the doctrine of toleration, as a heresy, whenever it was imputed to them in England; and when they came to America, they came, not to establish religious liberty, but to enjoy, unmolested, the peculiarities of their own faith. They fled to the New World to escape from inquisition—not to establish a system from which inquisition should be excluded. They regarded their distant retreat rather as a home and household of their own, than as the world's asylum, and they claimed a right to dictate the terms on which their guests should enter. American eloquence and poetry have frequently eulogized them for opening a refuge for the world's outcasts. This is far from being true. They had no such intention. They always claimed

the right to thrust out those whom they should find to be enemies to their safety and harmony. Such was the illiberal spirit by which they were actuated, in common with the age in which they lived, that they ever regarded the advocate of new doctrines as an intruder, coming to sow tares in the field. They experienced the alarm which the careful shepherd feels at seeing a wolf enter his fold.

CHAP.
II.

The fame of Massachusetts had gone abroad to the most distant lands, and the year 1635 witnessed an accession of three thousand emigrants to the puritan colony.* Among these came Henry Vane, the younger; a youthful statesman of aspiring mind, but of spotless integrity. His admirable genius, his energetic will, his noble devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty, rank his name high amongst those of whom history may be proud. The author of "Paradise Lost" has composed his eulogy in the most splendid forms of the English language. His elevated rank, his distinguished ability, his piety, and love of freedom, commended him to the freemen of Massachusetts, and he was elected governor, notwithstanding his extreme youth and want of experience. Under his administration, the effect of religious divisions began to be felt, and the formation of two distinct religious parties may be perceived. The first party consisted chiefly of the original settlers. They had founded the commonwealth, and were intent upon building it up. They were satisfied with the established order of things. It was the work of their hands. They were afraid of innovations, and

1635.

1636.

* Bancroft, I., p. 383.

CHAP. dreaded the effects of unlimited freedom of discus-
II. sion.

The other party consisted of persons lately arrived in the colony. They had come, not so much to build up a commonwealth as to establish, enjoy and perpetuate entire freedom of religious opinion. They had fled from the oppressive laws of Europe, and they determined to resist every form of despotism over the mind in America. It was their pride to follow out the principles of the reformation of Martin Luther, with logical precision, to all their consequences.* The founders of this party were, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her brother, John Wheelwright; the former, a woman whose eloquence and admirable understanding were universally acknowledged and admired. Mr. Wheelwright, her brother, was a clergyman of elegant accomplishments and devoted piety, and, at that time, the minister of Braintree, which then formed a part of Boston. When Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother examined the institutions of Massachusetts, they found this new building of the reformation defective, and proceeded in very bold language to point out the "flaws." They denounced the clergy as "ushers of persecution," and "popish factors"—the magistrates as "priest-ridden," and as not having imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform.† They were encouraged by Henry Vane. The men of learning and members of the general court adopted the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a majority of the people sustained her in her presumptuous rebellion against the clergy. Thus, at the outset, the party of Mrs. Hutchinson was in

* Bancroft, I., p. 387.

† Bancroft, I., 387.

the ascendancy. But the subject became of the highest political importance, and both parties prepared for an obstinate contest. Nearly all the clergy clustered together under Winthrop, and selected him as their candidate for governor; while the new sectarians rallied under Vane. The whole colony was convulsed with the contest. Throughout Boston and its environs the tide of enthusiasm rose to an unprecedented pitch. The nicest shades of faith were of sufficient magnitude to throw the whole community into transports or broils. The most abstruse distinctions were debated with a confidence and a swell of importance, such as the great fathers of theology never felt or comprehended.

The general court consumed its sessions in debating what quantity and quality of piety should be preached on the coming Sabbath, and on Monday they enquired what minister had preached sedition the Sunday before. The speeches of the members were made up of apt texts of Scripture, endowed with a new and powerful meaning, designed for the context into which they found themselves thus unceremoniously introduced.* The shops were supplied with elaborate essays, and the streets thronged with crowds eagerly discussing the subtlest points of controversy. Many persons declared themselves in personal companionship with the Holy Spirit. Some became insane, and others, plunged in learned doctrinal disquisitions, forgot the duties of active benevolence. The Wheelwright men were unforbearing and impatient of contradiction. Mrs. Hutchinson divided the Christian

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II.

* Grahame.

CHAP. II. souls into sound and unsound, and stigmatized the last as a set of "unchristian vipers." The Winthrop men, in return, denounced the followers of Wheelwright as fanatics, extreme Calvinists and Antinomians. In Mrs. Hutchinson they found an unconquerable antagonist—slow to hear, quick to speak. She assembled conferences, presided in person, and kept the fire of controversy in a constant blaze. She attacked her opponents with acrimony, and those who refused to receive her doctrines found the consequence to be a full measure of abuse. "There is no peace in the neighborhood," said the clergy. "Home and the fire-side have no quiet." Though they admitted her to be an adept in debate, they professed to find her deficient in all the gentle graces that adorn the female character.

Meanwhile election day arrived, and on that occasion the pious Wilson deemed it his duty to climb into a tree to harangue the people at the polls. The result of the election proved the Winthrop party, the fathers and founders of the colony, to be in a majority. They elected their governor and their candidates for the magistracies. When they found themselves in possession of power, they procured a movement to be made in the general court. Thus did the theological jar gain admission into the legislature of the colony.

1637. An act was passed censuring Wheelwright and his friends for sedition. Vane, who pleaded eloquently for the liberties of Catholics and Dissenters in Parliament, and afterwards laid down his life in the cause of religious liberty, remonstrated, but ineffectually, against this act of censure. He, likewise,

opposed the alien law, which the puritan fathers passed, for the purpose of excluding "such infatuated men as Wheelwright" from the colony. Wheelwright and his friends, however, bade defiance to the decrees of the court. They avowed the dictates of conscience to be of higher authority than acts of legislative assemblies. They declared themselves to be, as usual, in direct communication with the Holy Spirit, and guided by immediate revelations from heaven. Winthrop and the pious fathers now excited the people with apprehensions of an immediate insurrection of lawless fanatics. This spread alarm through the colony. They declared themselves to be on the eve of a revolution, and that it was a crisis calling for a convocation of the grand synod of the clergy of New England. It was accordingly convened, but the mountain of investigation gave birth to nothing. The synod found, that with all their theological acumen, they could discover no criminal difference between the dreaded Antinomian heresy maintained by Wheelwright and his sister, and the more orthodox tenets of Winthrop and Colton. They therefore adjourned, and left to the civil magistrates the task of punishing the leaders of Antinomianism. The magistrates, glad of an opportunity to exercise their newly acquired power, passed sentence of banishment upon Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson and Aspinwall. The exiles, wearied with opposition, took up their march for the wilderness, seeking a refuge from intolerance, —banished from among banished men—exiles from a place of exile. Dissenters could not tolerate a dissenter.

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II.

Thus ended the Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts. It now remains to point out the distinctive doctrines of each party. First, then, it is to be observed that the Wheelwright men were rigid Calvinists. They did not come to Massachusetts with the first band of emigrants. When they arrived, they found that the colonists had relaxed somewhat from the precise tenets of Calvin. They were placing what was considered an undue reliance upon good works, and were swerving from the true faith on the important subjects of election and foreordination. They proclaimed the precise dogmas of Geneva, with which they had come freshly laden, and "reproached the colonists with being practical men under a covenant of works." The Winthrop men wished to preserve Calvinism, but softened and mellowed down with an infusion of what they deemed practical religion. The Wheelwright men relied for salvation on absolute predestination, which could not be affected by the merits or demerits of men's actions. The Winthrop men relied for salvation on faith and good works. Wheelwright believed that the divine choice had rested, from all eternity, upon a certain number, to whom grace was given by an absolute, unchanging decree. Winthrop believed that the salvation of men was not so absolutely decreed as to be impregnable against the assaults of temptation and sin. The divine will is unchangeable, said Wheelwright. The eternal counsels of God are sure. Is the will of Heaven to be defeated by the sins of man? Of what use, then, enquired Winthrop, is repentance? To what purpose is the practice of virtue and piety,

since the divine favor is neither to be propitiated nor forfeited? Wheelwright was himself a most powerful pulpit advocate of Calvinism. Both he and his sister, in their conduct and doctrines, were prone to extremes. Yet in the history of the Calvinists there is much to palliate error and much to mitigate the harshness of censure. Liberty never had braver defenders than were these extreme Calvinists. Almost always in the old world, and generally in the new, the warfare for Calvinism has been a warfare against oppression. The soldier of the cross, in the Calvinistic sense of the term, has ever been the soldier of liberty; and of all the multitudes who have worshipped at the shrine of that goddess, few have been more devout. They have investigated the bounds of authority. They have set limits to the power of kings. They never were the slaves of priestcraft. In their system of church government they acknowledge no sovereign pontiff. It is a pure democracy. The will of the majority is law. There is nothing to disturb equality of rights. Whatever power the clergy may have obtained, is no fault of the system itself; for no power of necessity pertains to them or to any officer of the church. The humblest member has no superior but the King of kings. Nor is the pastor superior to any brother, except it be in faith, humility, and hope. He has no greater power over the brother than the brother has over him. They are monitors of each other—counsellors of each other. They use no liturgy—they bow to no confessor. The pastor is but the expounder of the divine will. The body of the church are the judges of it, and God is the

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II.

judge of all. This system leads, of necessity and naturally, to popular liberty. The idea that wealth is to be deified, and government founded upon property, never sprung from the system of John Calvin. It is a plant of after growth amongst us. The democratic theory springs naturally from the Calvinistic system of church government. The *theory* has been caught up by thousands who have rejected the *creed*. The Calvinists were adherents of a system that sprung from the people. The great reformer was himself a plebeian. His infancy was cradled in a lowly abode. His youth and manhood were spent in wrestling with the errors of a world. He raised and elevated an enslaved peasantry. He exposed the crimes of a corrupt priesthood. He was the advocate of common schools, the glory of New England. On the whole, humanity is largely indebted to the man whose cruel burning of Servetus has left an indelible stain on his memory.

Thus the motives of the first settlers of Exeter were in harmony with democratic principles of government. They were exiles "for conscience sake." They came to the wilderness for freedom. They were tried in the school of misfortune; they were disciplined by struggling with persecution. Such was the Exeter settlement. Christianity presided at its birth and "rocked its cradle."* It grew up. It put forth its hands with increasing strength, and displayed in its form the beauty of youth. It ripened to maturity. It became the State of New Hampshire—a member of that Union which binds together a mighty confederated Republic.

* Bancroft.

Four distinct governments had been formed on the several branches of the Pascataqua. These combinations were but voluntary agreements. They might be invaded by capricious leaders, or dashed asunder by the first wave of popular discontent. The people were too much divided to form any general plan of government, and the distracted state of the mother country cut off all hope of the royal attention. In this state of things, the minds of the more considerate men were turned to a union with Massachusetts. The affair was agitated for more than a year, and on the fourteenth of April, it was concluded by an instrument of union, subscribed in the presence of the general court. Thus did Massachusetts spread the broad wing of her jurisdiction over the Pascataqua settlements. Her laws now took immediate effect in New Hampshire, and the histories of the two plantations, for a period of thirty-eight years, become blended together. The population of New Hampshire, at this time, did not exceed one thousand, which was about one twentieth of the whole population of the American colonies. When the act of union took place, one extraordinary concession was made to New Hampshire. By a law of Massachusetts, a test had been established, which provided that none but church members should vote in town affairs, or sit as members of the general court. This gospel requisite was dispensed with in favor of the New Hampshire members, and her freemen were permitted to vote in town affairs, and her deputies to sit in the general court, without regard to religious qualifications; an amazing stride in liberality—a stretch of toleration, which

CHAP.
II.
1641.

April
14th.

1641
to
1679.

1641.

CHAP. II. some declared to amount to absolute atheism, and others looked upon as the entering wedge of impiety, destined to sunder the goodly bonds of society. It sent a shudder through the whole body of the church.

Under the new order of things, Wheelwright was no longer safe. His sentence of banishment was still in force, and when the laws of Massachusetts took effect in New Hampshire, he was obliged to make another remove, to escape the sword of persecution. Attended by a few faithful followers he withdrew to Wells, in Maine, and there gathered a small church. He was afterwards permitted to return, and exercise his ministry at Hampton. Meanwhile, a revolution in England had raised Oliver Cromwell to the head of the English commonwealth. Some time afterwards, Wheelwright went to England, and was conducted to the presence of Cromwell. The Lord Protector, with characteristic constancy to his early friends, recognised him as an old college acquaintance. They had been at the University together. "I remember the time," said Cromwell, turning to the gentlemen then about him, "when I have been more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than of meeting any army since in the field." Cromwell received him kindly, took him into favor, and appointed him to a post of distinction. After the 1660. restoration, he returned to Salisbury, in New Hampshire, where he died in 1680, at the advanced age of more than eighty years. It will be remembered that the immediate cause of Wheelwright's banishment, was a sermon which he preached at Boston. That sermon was considered, by the

magistrates, as "tending to sedition." "But it was not such," says Savage, "as can justify the court in their sentence for *sedition* and *contempt*, nor prevent the present age from regarding that proceeding as an example and a warning of the usual tyranny of ecclesiastical factions."

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II.
Winthrop,
vol. I,
p. 215.

Scarcely had the act of union taken place, when the settlers were alarmed by apprehensions of an attack from the Indians. Rumors were circulated of a plot formed for the utter extermination of the English. A party was immediately despatched to seize and disarm Passaconaway. The old chief, as a pledge of amity, readily delivered up his guns. It was soon discovered that the reports of a plot had but a slight foundation, and the affair ended with an apology to Passaconaway, for the acts of violence which had been committed. But groundless as this alarm proved, it drew the attention of the colonists to the advantages of a confederation. They were surrounded by common difficulties and menaced by common dangers. On the one hand, the Dutch coveted their possessions. On the other the French threatened to encroach. All around them lay savage tribes, against whom they could rely for security only upon their arms, their union and their valor. Influenced by these considerations, the inhabitants of four colonies, viz., Connecticut, New Haven, New Plymouth, and Massachusetts, which embraced New Hampshire, formed a confederacy. It lasted for half a century—a type of that more glorious *Union* under whose broad wings their posterity now repose.

By the articles of confederation, as they were called, these colonies entered into a perpetual

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league of friendship and amity. It was declared to have a twofold object. It was to propagate the gospel and for mutual safety and welfare. Each plantation was to retain its own jurisdiction and government. No other colony could be received as a confederate, nor could any two of the confederates be united into one, without the consent of the rest. They decreed the establishment of a legislative assembly to manage their affairs, and this consisted of two commissioners, or members chosen from each colony. All affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, number of men for war, division of spoils, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantations, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants and consequences of such a confederation, for amity, offence and defence, were weighed and determined by these commissioners, and the determination of any six of them was to be binding upon all. The expenses of all just wars, were to be borne by each colony, in proportion to its number of male inhabitants. But the commissioners were directed to take into consideration the causes of such war ; and if it should appear that the fault was in the colony invaded, such colony was not only to make satisfaction to the invaders, but to bear all expenses of the war. The commissioners were also authorized to frame and establish agreements and orders, in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of war, or difference with others. It was also wisely provided in the articles, that runaway ser-

vants and fugitives from justice should be returned to the colonies to which they belonged, or from which they had fled. If any of the confederates should violate any of the articles, or in any way injure any of the other colonies, such breach of agreement was to be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other colonies. Such were the powers of the general government of the colonies; and it was expressly provided that this general power should not intermeddle with the government of any of the jurisdictions; which by the third article was preserved entirely to themselves.*

While the leading men of the colonies were busy with the confederation, Capt. Neal explored the White Mountains.† He was by no means devoid of the passion for discovery; and a feature so prominent in the scenery of New Hampshire could not fail to attract his attention. The Indians had given the name of Agiocochook to the whole group of northern mountains. These awful summits they regarded with superstitious veneration. The red man believed that a powerful genius presided on their overhanging cliffs and by their waterfalls. His imagination peopled them with invisible beings. He saw the Great Spirit in the clouds gathered around their tops. He heard his voice speaking in the revels of the storm, and calling aloud in the thunders that leaped from cliff to cliff and rumbled in the hollows of the mountains. Wherever surpassing excellence appears in the works of nature, the Indian discerns the presence of a divinity. He believes that some unknown agency has made the

* Pitkin's Hist. U. S., pp. 50, 51. Holmes' American Annals, vol. I., pp. 326-7.

† Whiton, p. 11.

‡ Winthrop, Hist. New England, II., 67, 68.

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firmament, and set a light in the eastern sky. A god resides in the stars, the lakes, and the recesses of the grottos. He sees him in the clouds and hears him in the winds—frowning in the wintry blast—breathing in the zephyrs of spring—smiling in the first blush of morning, and the last hue of twilight that lingers above the pines in the western sky. In his undefined ideas of nature, the sentiment of fear is always mingled. He cannot solve the origin of her changes or analyze her laws. Every uncommon appearance excites his amazement and strikes him with terror. With every hidden agency, with every mysterious influence of nature, he blends the idea of a divinity. Superstition springs up in his mind from all her inexplicable relations and remarkable features. Influenced by fear, the Indians never ascended the White Mountains. They supposed the invisible inhabitants would resent any intrusion into their sacred precincts. But while they presented an impassable barrier to the Indian, they offered a charm to the mind of the white man, and their supposed mineral wealth allured him to their heights. Such an impression had they made upon the imagination of Neal, that he set out on foot, attended by two companions, to reach them through an unexplored forest. He described them, in the most exaggerated style, to be a ridge extending an hundred leagues, on which snow lieth all the year, and inaccessible, except by the gullies which the dissolved snow hath made. On one of these mountains the travellers reported to have found a plain of a day's journey over; whereon nothing grows but moss; and at the further end

Bel-
knap.

of this plain, a rude heap of mossy stones, piled up on one another, a mile high; on which one might ascend from stone to stone, like a pair of winding stairs, to the top, where was another level of about an acre, with a pond of clear water. This summit was said to be far above the clouds; and from hence they beheld a vapor, like a vast pillar, drawn up by the sunbeams out of a great lake into the air, whence it was formed into a cloud. The country beyond these mountains, northward, was said to be "daunting terrible," full of rocky hills, as thick as mole hills in a meadow, and clothed with infinite thick woods. They had great expectation of finding precious stones; and something resembling crystals being picked up, was sufficient to give them the name of "Crystal Hills." From hence they continued their route in search of a lake and "faire islands." But their provisions were now well nigh spent, and the forests of Laconia yielded no supply. So they were obliged to set their faces homeward, when "the discovery wanted but one day's journey of being finished." Late in the year, depressed with that disappointment which ever treads upon the heels of extravagant expectation, they returned from their melancholy journey across the wilderness. They seemed to expect a treasury underneath every foot of the rude soil. They imagined every rock of yellowish hue to be impregnated with gold. They slept on the mountains, dreaming of the rich ore lurking in their rocky foundations, and overlaying the roofs and floors of their deep subterranean halls. With fancy's eye they saw through the fissures of the rocks, and beheld yawning caverns starred with

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Bel-
knap.

1642.

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gems and rough with gold. Two centuries have rolled over the bleak summits of these stupendous mountains without realizing one dream of early adventure. They still stand, the throne of the thunder and the storm; still rear their snow-crowned heads into the sky, unchanged and unchangeable—images of eternal duration.

“Oh! that some bard would rise—true heir of glory,
With the full power of heavenly poesy,
To gather up each old romantic story
That lingers round these scenes in memory,
And consecrate to immortality—
Some western SCOTT, within whose bosom thrills
That fire which burneth to eternity,
To pour his spirit o'er these mighty hills,
And make them classic ground, thrice hallowed by his spells!”*

1650. After the confederation of the colonies, few events claim a notice in history, till the middle of the seventeenth century. The settlements had continued to increase in population; and Major Richard Waldron, having risen, by his bravery and force of character, to be the most conspicuous man of the province, was occasionally elected speaker of the Massachusetts assembly. Portsmouth had lost the rustic name of Strawberry
1652. Bank, and assumed its present appellation. Massachusetts had begun that admirable system of
1647. common schools, which has ever been the pride of New England; and Mayhew Elliot and others had begun to journey on foot through the pathless wilderness—fording streams—paddling sometimes in canoes on the rivers, lodging in the “smoky week-wams,” and suffering every privation, to preach Christianity to the Indians. It was not the least

* Hibbard's description of the Franconia Mountain Notch, Democratic Review of April, 1839, No. 16.

of Elliot's labors that he translated the whole Bible into the language of the Pawtuckets. An important change had occurred in the form of legislative proceedings. Hitherto the magistrates and representatives, who together constituted the general court, had acted as one body. From this time their deliberations assumed parliamentary forms. The magistrates met in a separate apartment, constituting an Upper House, and bills were sent from one house to the other for concurrence in a parliamentary way.

CHAP.
II.
1641.

The heirs of Mason, in England, now learned that Massachusetts had extended her jurisdiction over New Hampshire. They could offer no effectual resistance. While England was distracted with civil wars, there was no time for legal investigation; and when Robert Tufton, the heir to whom his estate descended, came over, on the death of Mason's executrix, he found the heirs of Mason already dispossessed of the lands at Newichwannock. To recover possession, he instituted some suits in the county court. This induced Massachusetts to order a survey, which extended to Aquedochtan, the outlet of lake Winnipiseogee. The court decided that a portion of land proportionate to Mason's disbursements, with the privilege of the river, should be laid out to his heirs. Tufton gave up the remainder for lost, and returned to England, where now centered all hope of recovering any further portion of his ancestral domains. The family of Mason had been too strongly attached to the royal cause to expect any relief from the commonwealth and the Protectorate of Cromwell.

1658.

CHAPTER III.

WITCHCRAFT at Portsmouth—In England, and France—In Germany, and Scotland—Trial of a witch—The Salem witchcraft—Conjectures as to the phenomena of witchcraft—Persecution of the Quakers—Execution of Leddra, Robinson, and Stevenson—Reflections.

CHAP.
III.
1658.

I HAVE now reached an epoch in the history of New Hampshire, from which I would gladly pass to some other point, if oblivion could cover the space that would lie between. While Old England was shaken by the earthquakes of two revolutions, and a civil war raged, in which an ancient throne passed away and returned again, the people of Portsmouth, in common with the whole of New England, were agitated by convulsions scarcely less terrific. Old women, in the shape of cats, rode the air on broomsticks, and unwonted spectres haunted many a disordered imagination. Some were publicly accused, and many more were privately stamped and known as witches. While accusation and suspicion were confined to the abodes of humble life, the bewildered reason of man submitted in silence, and the mania seemed to admit of no cure. But when some of the principal persons were accused, they assumed the offensive, and brought suits of slander against their accusers. This put a stop to prosecutions; but a lingering belief in witchcraft still remained with the superstitious. The trial of "Goodwife Walford," is a

curious relic of the times.* She was brought before the Court of Assistants at Portsmouth, on complaint of Susannah Trimmings, and the testimony of a number of witnesses was gravely laid before the court. The complainant, the person bewitched, was the first witness, and testified as follows :

CHAP.
III.

March.

“As I was going home on Sunday night I heard a rustling in the woods, which I supposed to be occasioned by swine ; and presently there appeared a woman, whom I apprehended to be old Goodwife Wallford. She asked me to lend her a pound of cotton. I told her I had but two pounds in the house, and I would not spare any to my mother. She said I had better have done it, for I was going a great journey but should never come there. She then left me, and I was struck as with a clap of fire on the back, and she vanished toward the water side, in my apprehension in the shape of a cat. She had on her head a white linen hood, tied under her chin, and her waistcoat and petticoat were red, with an old gown apron and a black hat upon her head.”

Oliver Trimmings, her husband, thus testified : “My wife came home in a sad condition. She passed by me with her child in her arms, laid the child on the bed, sat down on the chest, and leaned upon her elbow. Three times I asked her how she did. She could not speak. I took her in my arms, and held her up, and repeated the question. She forced breath, and something stopped in her throat as if it would have stopped her breath. I unlaced her clothes, and soon she spake and said,

* Adams's Annals of Portsmouth. N. H. Hist. Coll., I. p. 255.

CHAP.
III.

Lord, have mercy upon me ; this wicked woman will kill me. I asked her what woman. She said Goodwife Walford. I tried to persuade her it was only her weakness. She told me no, and related as above, that her back was a flame of fire, her lower parts were, as it were numb and without feeling. I pinched her and she felt not. She continued that night and the day and night following very ill, and is still bad of her limbs, and complains still daily of it."

Nicholas Rowe testified, that " Jane Walford, shortly after she was accused, came to the deponent in bed, in the evening, and put her hand upon his breast, so that he could not speak, and was in great pain till the next day. By the light of the fire in the next room, it appeared to be Goody Walford, but she did not speak. She repeated her visit about a week after, and did as before, but said nothing."

Eliza Barton deposed that she " saw Susannah Trimmings, at the time she was ill, and her face was colored and spotted with several colors. She told the deponent the story, who replied that it was nothing but fantasy ; her eyes looked as if they had been scalded."

John Puddington deposed that " three years since, Goodwife Walford came to his mother's. She said that her own husband called her an old witch ; and when she came to her cattle, her own husband would bid her begone ; for she did overlook the cattle, which is as much as to say in our country, bewitching."

Other cases occurred at Portsmouth, of a similar character. But in no instance was the accused

condemned to suffer death. Yet the scenes which were enacted in New Hampshire would be worthy of notice, as instances of remarkable delusion, if they had not been far exceeded by the multitude of witch trials at Salem, Braintree, Andover and Topsfield, in Massachusetts; which trials were also far surpassed, in enormity and absurdity, by cases which occurred in almost every country in Europe. In France and Germany, in England and Scotland, witchcraft was recognised as a crime in courts of justice, and by sovereigns and legislators. The most learned judges of the day, infected by the popular belief, gravely listened to the testimony of witch-finders, passed judgment, in the forms of law, upon the condemned, and inflicted punishment in every form of death and torture. Thus Europe, the land of the arts and sciences, the world of civilization and learning, was echoing with authority on the subject of witchcraft. Accounts were arriving constantly of its horrors in the old world and the trials and executions of witches. The same excitement began to prevail in America; until, at length, witchcraft broke out at Salem in its most malignant form. Twenty persons were condemned and perished by the hands of the executioner. They protested their innocence to the last, and died for a crime which modern intelligence declares never existed but in the imagination of man. The public excitement rose to such a pitch that all legal principles seem to have been as effectually destroyed as were the Jewish laws at the trial of Christ.*

1692,
1693.

* See the "Trial of Jesus," translated from the French of M. Dupin, by a member of the American Bar.

CHAP.
III.

The judges partook of the frenzy which bore the multitude away. Thus it happened that this most undefined of all crimes, witchcraft, was established by the most absurd modes of proof that ever insulted a judicial tribunal. No punishment was decreed against false witnesses.* During all this delusion, no such thing as perjury was suspected. The magistrates seem never to have thought of imposture, fraud, or mistake. Cross-examination of witnesses, one of the great shields of innocence, was prohibited. The judges, whose duty it was to protect the innocent, obeyed the popular clamor, and sought to elevate themselves in public estimation by entrapping the prisoner into confessions of guilt. The most diabolical witch evidence and hobgoblin cant were greedily listened to from the bench, and the testimony of impartial, substantial witnesses was suspected and frowned upon. Revolting and ingenious modes of torture were often resorted to, and insults were offered to the prisoner in open court, by the bystanders, and by the judges and officers of the court.

While the laws were forgotten, or trampled upon, the ties of nature seemed to be loosened and dissolved. It was not uncommon for young children to be witnesses against their parents, and parents against their children. Contrary to the laws of nature and the laws of civil society, husbands were permitted to accuse their wives, and wives to bear witness against their husbands. What can be more revolting than a superstition thus deaf to the voice of humanity; arming itself with supernatural terrors; striding with icy foot

* Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

over the family hearth; sundering the sweet kindred ties, and making husband and wife, parent and child, the blind instruments of each other's doom!

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III.

So bitter was the public hatred against witches, and with such a terrible zeal did the multitude pursue all suspected persons, that many confessed themselves guilty, that they might either be acquitted, or suffer death and find in the grave a refuge from their tormentors. But this was not to be their lot. All who confessed were acquitted. This is directly at war with the principles of the common law, under which the witch magistrates professed to act. By the common law, when a crime has been committed, free, voluntary confession is deemed the best evidence of guilt. Yet all those who had been proved guilty by what is usually deemed the best evidence, were acquitted; while those were executed, to procure whose conviction all justice had been violated and every principle of law broken down. Fifty-five persons confessed that they were witches, and had formed a compact with the devil. By maintaining their innocence, they had before them the certain prospect of an ignominious death. They knew that the delusion had full control of their accusers, and of the magistrates and jurors. It was in vain to breast the torrent of excitement. A simple confession would save them from a horrid death. Should they hesitate? Self-preservation, the first law of nature written on man's heart, was the law upon which they acted. Some instances doubtless occurred of persons really believing themselves guilty, and confessing under that belief. Nor need this excite wonder. Confused by the terrors

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III.

of an arrest, cut off from their friends, overwhelmed by evidence wholly new, and which they did not suppose to exist, heart-broken and bewildered in mind, they ceased to distinguish between things suggested by their own knowledge and memory, and things poured into their ears by their accusers, and echoed and re-echoed by the popular cry. To increase their embarrassment, there was a class of professed witch-finders, who had various devices for finding out witches. These creatures were permitted to give their spectral evidence in court, and make oath to what they had discovered by the use of charms. To this detestable jugglery the magistrates lent a ready ear.

The effect of accusation upon the accused sometimes resembled the effect of epidemic disease; for they immediately fancied themselves possessed of, and exhibited, all the demonish witch symptoms which the ignorance or malice of their accusers attributed to them. When superstition has thus become contagious, it reigns in its most appalling aspect. It prostrates its wretched victims like the blasting touch of the plague. It moves like a spreading disease, and strikes both the heart and the intellect, like the touch of the torpedo. It invades the bench, and manhood seems to be lost in the magistrate. Unable to summon energy of mind to resist or mitigate this merciless scourge, he seems prepared, under its baneful influence, to inflict upon his fellow-men the greatest of evils.

The mode of examination and trial pursued by the Salem magistrates, sufficiently explains the control it had gained over them. It was this. A warrant being issued out to apprehend the person

complained of by "the afflicted children," the said person is brought before the justices. "The afflicted children" are present. The justices ask the accused, why she afflicts these poor children. To which she answers, "I do not afflict them." Unavailing is this artless plea of "not guilty," tendered to the magistrate in the simplest language that insulted human nature could utter—*I do not afflict them.* The justices next order the accused to look upon "the said children;" which she accordingly does. The afflicted are then cast into fits. The accused is next commanded to touch the afflicted; whereupon the afflicted ordinarily come out of the fits, and then proceed to affirm that the accused has bewitched them. The accused is straitway committed to prison, on suspicion of witchcraft. In the solitude of her dungeon she awaits her trial, wholly unconscious of the crime which must seal her doom, and unable to fathom the mystery which brings suspicion and punishment upon an innocent head.

This process was called "the evidence of ocular fascination;" and in order that it might have its perfect work, the accused and the accusers were confronted face to face, in the presence of the court. When the supposed witch was ordered to look upon the afflicted persons, instantly, upon coming within the glance of her eye, they would scream and fall down in convulsions. It was thought by the magistrates of Salem, that an invisible and impalpable fluid darted from the eye of the witch, and penetrated the brain of the bewitched.* By bringing the witch so near that she could

* Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

CHAP.
III.

touch the afflicted persons with her hand, it was supposed that the malignant fluid was attracted back into her hand, and that thus the sufferers recovered their senses. It was a favorite theory of the Salem magistrates that a witch, or a person in confederacy with the devil, could not weep. The "callous spot," also, was an infallible proof of guilt. They believed that Satan affixed his mark to the bodies of those in alliance with him, and that the spot where this mark was made became callous and dead. Thus, upon the testimony of witch-finders, many aged women were condemned, because some spot could be found upon their old and palsied frames, insensible to a throb of pain; or, because they were so overwhelmed, when brought before their tormentors, by the horrors of their situation and approaching fate, that the fountain of grief was dry.

The public mind had become so inflamed that it was unsafe to express a doubt of the reality of witchcraft. Accused persons were accordingly without defence. But the extremity of an evil sometimes suggests its cure. It is a fact that the first check given to the Salem witchcraft arose from an accusation brought against the wife* of one of "the principal men of the town." This has generally been considered accidental. But it may be that there were, amongst the poor and unprotected, some bright minds, whose keen perception discovered that the only way to check this fatal delusion was to bring it home to the firesides of the clergy, the magistrates, and the rich men of the colony. It may be that these poor persons pur-

* Mrs. Hale.—See Upham's eloquent Lectures on Witchcraft.

posely accused some of "the principal citizens," in order to awake others from their trance, in time to avert the impending calamity from their own humbler dwellings. CHAP.
III.

It would perhaps be difficult to offer a solution of all the phenomena of witchcraft, upon scientific principles. Most of them, however, point to diseases of the nervous system; and particularly to an affection of the optic and auditory nerves. To the afflicted, the air, the darkness, and all space were full of strange sights and sounds. Drums beat in the air at dead of night, and guns, swords, and armed men appeared in the darkness. The minds of all were oppressed with the most distressing apprehensions of coming evil. Every uncommon sight was construed into a preternatural signal of approaching dissolution. Death bells tolled through their dreams, and a departed spirit seemed to shriek on every rushing blast. Their visions were disturbed by the forms of their deceased friends, walking before them in their grave-clothes. Every village teemed with legends of haunted houses, where ghosts looked out from the windows. The simple guide-post, and the tavern signs were transformed into ghosts, stretching out their hands to the travellers, like supernatural assassins. The withered tree, red with autumnal foliage, often took the form of a murderer, giving in the confession of guilt by holding out his gory hands. The strange twitchings, and spasmodic action, with which whole families were seized, the fits and convulsions, the settled melancholy, and occasional insanity of others, are all symptoms of nervous affections; and when we consider that the witch-

CHAP.
III.

craft excitement spread gradually over Europe, and reached America, (while other portions of the world were untouched,) reigning for a brief season, and then disappearing, it is not an improbable conjecture that the whole mystery of witchcraft may be solved, by ascribing it to an epidemic disease of the nerves ; which, like the cholera and the plague, overspread vast portions of the earth, and passed away ; leaving mankind in doubt, as to the cause of its origin and the mode of its fearful progress.

1658. While the magistrates of Portsmouth were busy with the witches, religious intolerance broke out fiercely against the Quakers. During the whole period of this persecution, New Hampshire was but an appendage to Massachusetts, and the laws by which Quakers were whipped and led through the streets of Dover, tied to carts, were laws of Massachusetts. The stain of that vindictive persecution attaches itself to New Hampshire, because she had a small representation in the assembly of Massachusetts when those laws were enacted.

The civil authorities at Boston justified their proceedings, with the specious pretence of securing the peace and order of society. They declared the “vagabond Quakers” to be “capital blasphemers,” seducers from the glorious Trinity, open enemies to government, and subverters both of church and state.*

Accordingly, a law was published, prohibiting the Quakers from coming to the colony, on pain of the house of correction. “Notwithstanding

* Sewall's Hist. Quakers, p. 462.

which, by a back door they found entrance.”* The penalty was then increased to cutting off the ears of those who offended the second time. This barbarous punishment was inflicted in several instances; for which the *public safety* was the ready apology. But even this proved ineffectual; and the offenders were next banished, upon pain of death, for returning. But this availed nothing. The Quakers returned and sealed with their blood the testimony of their faith. Of all the wrongs which man has inflicted upon his fellow-man, is there one which has not been perpetrated in the name of religion and for *the public good*? On the twenty-seventh of October, Robinson and Stevenson were led to execution, attended by two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen. When they had come near the gallows, a coarse and vulgar priest cried out tauntingly to Robinson, “Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?”† To which the martyrs made a mild reply. The prisoners then tenderly embraced each other, and ascended the ladder. When Robinson signified to the spectators that he “suffered not as an evil-doer,” the voice of the priest was again heard,—“hold thy tongue; be silent; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth.”‡ The sufferers were soon launched off; their last words were silenced by the beating of drums. When William Leddra was brought to the gallows, he began a speech, which “took so much with the people that it” “wrought a tenderness in many.”

CHAP.
III.1659.
Oct. 27.1661.
March
14.

* See “The Apology of the Bloody Persecutors.” Sewall, I., p. 460.

† This was one of the crimes of the Quakers. Sewall, I., p. 596.

‡ Idem, p. 597.

CHAP.
III.

Allen, an officious priest was near, whose business it was to make the martyr odious; and instantly interrupted him. "People!" cried Allen, "I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die." The hangman was commanded to make haste with Leddra, "and so he was turned off, and finished his days." But his friends, with pious solicitude, gathered around the foot of the gallows, caught the body in their arms, as it fell, bathed it with tears, and having waited until the hangman had stripped it of the clothes, laid it decently in a coffin. Thus intolerance had another victim.

When the news of this bloody work was carried to England, and reached the king, an order was forthwith issued to Governor Endicot, to suspend all executions, and send the Quakers to England, for trial*—a privilege which they had claimed, when brought before the courts of Massachusetts.

The next year, three Quaker women were publicly whipped in New Hampshire. In the depth of winter, the constables were ordered to strip them and tie them to a cart; then to drive the cart and whip these three tender women through eleven towns, with ten stripes apiece in each town. The route lay through Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham, Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham; a distance of near eighty miles. They were whipped at Dover and Hampton, and then carried, "through dirt and snow half the leg deep," in a very cold day, to Salisbury; and there whipped again. They would probably have perished long before reaching

1661.
Sept. 9.

1662.
Dec.
22.

* Sewall, I., p. 475.

the end of the route, but at Salisbury they were happily released. Walter Barefoot persuaded the constable to make him his deputy, and having received the warrant, set them at liberty, and they returned to Dover.*

CHAP.
III.

The Quakers were accused of courting persecution. It was said that "they rushed upon the point of the sword." It would be difficult perhaps to reconcile all their conduct with that principle of common law and common justice which requires every man so to use his own rights as not to interfere with the rights of others. Actuated by a mistaken sense of duty, they sometimes violated this salutary maxim. But so long as the errors of an honest faith inflict no great evil upon society, enlightened reason will regard them rather as the harmless eccentricities of misguided zeal, than as offences deserving the extreme vengeance of the law.

* Sewall, I., p. 563.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR with the Indians—Passaconaway—His character—His dying speech—The Penacooks refuse an alliance with king Philip—Indian depredations—Fall of Philip—Waldron seizes the refugees by stratagem—The Mohawks instigated to attack the eastern Indians—Union with Massachusetts dissolved—New Hampshire made a royal province—President Cutts.

CHAP.
IV.

1660.

AT the restoration of Charles II., Tufton, who now took the surname of Mason, determined to make one more attempt to recover the vast possessions of his ancestor. The family of Mason had been too strongly attached to the royal cause to look for favor to the Protector. But when Charles II. ascended the throne, it was hoped that a ray of royal favor might beam from the mind of the besotted king. The monarch received his petition favorably, and referred it to the attorney general, Sir Geoffrey Palmer. That officer reported that Mason had a good title to the province of New Hampshire. But the English government, being at this time involved in difficulties at home, nothing of importance was done relative to this title; and while it lay in suspense an Indian war burst upon the colony. Suddenly, the towns and settlements were filled with alarm. Business was suspended, and the inhabitants, deserting their dwellings, were seen flocking together into the fortified houses, or hastily throwing up entrenchments. Behind these they awaited, in terror, the approach of the savages.

1675.

At this time the far-famed sachem Passaconaway dwelt at Penacook. He was now old; and his reputation for wisdom and cunning had become celebrated amongst all the eastern Indians. His authority extended over the Penacooks, and over all the tribes on the Pascataqua and its branches, and around the environs of lake Winnipiseogee. But he was famed not less for his duplicity and cunning, than for his moderation and love of peace. He had, also, the reputation of a sorcerer. The Indians believed that he held secret intercourse with the mysteries of nature; that it was in his power to make water burn and trees dance. They supposed he had power to change himself into flame; that he could darken the sun and moon; that in winter he could raise a green leaf from the ashes of a dry one, and a living serpent from the skin of one that was dead.* With the Indians, such attributes give their supposed possessor a boundless influence. Passaconaway had always been an advocate for peace. From the first landing of the English, this savage seemed to have a presentiment that they were destined to exterminate his race.

A few years before, the Indians held a great dance and feast. On such occasions the elderly men, in songs or speeches, recite their histories, and deliver their sentiments and advice to the younger.† At this solemnity, Passaconaway was present, and made his farewell speech to his children. The warriors and chiefs were gathered from all the tribes, and sat reverently to hear the last words of their great father. Passaconaway was gifted with all the natural eloquence of the Indian.

* Hutchinson, vol. I., p. 474. F. Belknap, p. 66. † F. Belknap, 66.

CHAP. IV. He rose deeply affected, and spoke as a dying man to the dying. He described the happy hunting-grounds, once theirs, with the stores of fish and animals which the Great Spirit had made for his red children; and placed in mournful contrast their past independence and power, with their present weakness and decay. He explained the superior powers of the white man, and told the Indians plainly that the day would come when the English would be tenants of all the pleasant lands of their fathers. He prophesied that a war would shortly break out all over the country; and that it was only by standing aloof from it that they could hope to preserve a small seat, so that they might not be beggars in the pleasant places of their birth. "Hearken," said he, "*to the last words of your father and friend. The white men are sons of the morning. The Great Spirit is their father. His sun shines bright about them. Never make war with them. Sure as you light the fires, the breath of heaven will turn the flames upon you and destroy you. Listen to my advice. It is the last I shall be allowed to give you. Remember it and live.*"*

When this recital was ended, Passaconaway sat down, and a cloud of sorrow passed over the brow of the venerable savage. The Indians remained for some time musing in silence upon his words. His speech had deeply agitated them, during the whole recital. His aged frame, loaded with years, his deeply plaintive voice, his sad and altered tones, when he spoke of the hunting-grounds once theirs,

* Williamson's Hist. of Maine, vol. 1., p. 461. Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 67-8, and 329. Hist. New England, p. 60.

strongly agitated the whole assembly. When he drew the picture of their melancholy decay, and compared them to the snows of winter dissolving, the Indians bowed their heads and gave way to loud lamentation. CHAP.
IV.

His counsels made a deep impression upon all ; but upon none more than Wanalonet, his son. With the exception of the Pequot war, in Connecticut, the settlers of New Hampshire had lived in peace with the Indians for nearly fifty years. Yet the Indians were not too blind to see, without concern, the growing power of the English. Their favorite hunting-grounds were growing narrower, and their game fled at the repeated sound of the woodsman's axe. The wilderness around them was falling. What would be the end of this intrusion ? Their minds began to be haunted with melancholy forebodings of eventual dispossession. Philip, the far-famed warrior of Mount Hope, perceived the discontent of his brethren, and resolved to take immediate advantage of it to foment a war. He had long sought a pretext for hostilities. Philip was an artful, ambitious, warlike chief ; and if patriotism be the love of one's own country and people, he was a patriot. He foresaw that his people must eventually be destroyed, unless they could equal the whites in civilization, or vanquish them in battle. The former was impossible ; and he resolved upon the latter. His old men approved it, and his zeal was seconded by the rash ardor of his young warriors. In pursuance of his design he went from tribe to tribe, exhorting the Indians to a war of extermination. He sent out his runners in all directions, always selecting men of ad-

CHAP.
IV.

dress, to urge on the bloody enterprise. A fortunate incident, happening at this time, brought into his alliance the Tarrateens and most of the eastern Indians. It was one of those accidents which was well fitted for his purpose. As the wife of Squando, sachem of the Pequawkets, was passing on Saco river, with her infant child in her frail birch bark canoe, she was met by some thoughtless sailors. They had heard that Indian children could swim as naturally as the young of brutes, and wantonly overset the canoe. The child sunk; the mother instantly dived and recovered it; but the child died soon after, and the Indians ascribed its death to this brutal treatment. Squando was a noted sachem, a leader in the superstitious devotions of the Indians, and pretended to a familiar intercourse with the invisible world. Such an indignity, offered to a man of such distinguished character, was sufficient to make the tribes of Maine and Massachusetts allies of Philip.

Whiton,
p. 26.
Bel-
knap,
p. 71.

F. Bel-
knap.

1675.

His next care was to enlist the Mohawks. This he resolved to do by an artful and cruel stratagem. With his own hand he slew some Mohawks, and left them unburied in the woods. His intention was that their brethren should discover their mangled bodies, and ascribe the deed to the English. But this proved abortive. One of the number, left for dead, unexpectedly recovered and disclosed his cruel perfidy to the tribe. The Mohawks were ever afterwards his implacable enemies. He found no difficulty in bringing into his plans the Ossipees, (in Stratford County,) the Indians at the mouth of the Pascataqua, at Squamscot Falls, and at Newichwannock. The Penacooks were the only

tribe that resisted his solicitations. No arts of persuasion could move them. In vain did he strive to win over the young Wanalonset by artful appeals to his pride and his remembrance of wrongs. In vain, with well-timed eloquence, did he seek to arouse the ambition of the young chieftain for war and glory; and in vain did he try to play upon the superstitious reverence of the Indian for the bones of his dead. The dying advice of Passaconaway, his father, had sunk deep into the heart of the youthful sachem, and he drew off his men to a distant part of their hunting-grounds, that they might escape the infectious influence of Philip.

CHAP.
IV.
1675.

Foiled in his attempts to enlist the Penacooks, Philip now determined to rest his hopes of success on the support of the other tribes. He saw ranged under his banner the warriors of many powerful nations. He put himself at their head and gave the signal for hostilities. His first attack was upon Swansey, in Massachusetts; where several of the inhabitants fell victims to the tomahawk. From this point the flames of war spread rapidly. The eastern and northern Indians, rushing from their coverts in small bands, fell upon the scattered inhabitants at unawares, and killed many. In September they extended their incursions into New Hampshire, and spread destruction through Somersworth and Durham,* and along the road between Exeter and Hampton. They passed on, burning houses and slaying the inhabitants, to the borders of Maine, and came to attack a house in Berwick. In this house were huddled together fifteen women and

June,
1675.

1675.
Whi-
ton, 26.

Sept.

* N. H. Hist. Coll., vol. V., pp. 129—153

CHAP.
IV.

F. Bel-
knap,
p. 72.

children, amongst whom was a girl of eighteen years. Discovering the Indians approaching, she closed the door and stood firmly against it, while the savages chopped it to pieces with their hatchets, and then, rushing in, knocked her down and left her for dead. Meanwhile the other inmates had all escaped to a safe distance, except two of the children, who, being unable to scale the fence, were overtaken and slain. The adventurous heroine recovered from her wounds, but neither history nor tradition has preserved her name.

1675.
Oct. 16.

F. Bel-
knap,
p. 73.

On the sixteenth of October the enemy made an attack upon Berwick. Lieut. Roger Plaisted immediately detached a party of seven from his garrison to search for the Indians. They scoured the woods, finding no trace of them, until they suddenly fell into an ambush. Three were instantly killed, and the remainder retreated. Plaisted now despatched an express to Major Waldron for assistance; which he was not in a situation to afford. Plaisted resolved to do his utmost with the means in his hands. The next day he ventured out with twenty men and a cart drawn by oxen to bring in the dead bodies of the slain. Unhappily, they fell into another ambush. The cattle, affrighted, ran back. At this juncture Plaisted's men deserted him. Being a brave man, and disdaining to yield or fly, he was killed on the spot, with his eldest son and one more, while another son was mortally wounded fighting at his side. The gallant behavior of Plaisted and his sons caused the enemy to retreat to the woods. They next made an assault upon Frost's garrison. This little garrison consisted of Mr. Frost and three boys. But they kept

up a constant fire, and Frost gave orders to load, as if to bodies of men marching and counter-marching. The stratagem completely succeeded, and the house was saved. Emboldened by success, the Indians soon appeared opposite to Portsmouth, and threatened to attack the town; but were easily dispersed by a few cannon shot. They showed themselves at Dover, Lamprey River and Exeter, killing and plundering; and thus passed the autumn, till near the end of November, when the number of slain amounted to more than fifty. The inhabitants began to find the necessity of vigorous action, and resolved upon an expedition against the winter quarters of the Indians around Winnipiseogee and Ossipee lakes. But at this crisis winter set in with uncommon severity, and wrapped the earth in a deep snow. This circumstance inclined the Indians to peace. Pinched by famine, they came to Major Waldron with professions of sorrow and promises of amity. A peace was easily concluded with the eastern Indians and with those of the north. The joyful return of peace brought with it a welcome deliverance to many captives. In the mean time, Philip, at the head of the southern tribes, was spreading death and desolation throughout Massachusetts. He burnt, in rapid succession, the towns of Brookfield, Deerfield, Mendon, Groton, Rehoboth, Providence and Warwick. He laid waste Lancaster, and carried Mrs. Rowlandson captive into the wilderness. At Northfield he defeated Capt. Beers and slew twenty of his men. At Muddy Brook, in Deerfield, he surprised Capt. Lothrop and his company, while gathering grapes, and with him slew more than

CHAP.
IV.
1675.
Oct.

Nov.

Whi-
ton,
p. 27.

1675.

CHAP. seventy young men, the flower of Essex County.
 IV. At Sudbury, Captains Wadsworth and Brockle-
 beauke sustained a disastrous defeat, and fell, with
 fifty of their men, after maintaining the action
 with great gallantry and killing one hundred and
 fifty of the enemy.

These bloody reverses overspread the whole
 country with gloom. It was apparent that, unless
 a speedy check could be given to the career of
 Philip, the utter extermination of the English must
 follow. The colonists aroused themselves to a
 last effort at self-preservation, and the campaign of
 1676. 1676 opened with a plan at once bold, perilous,
 and successful.

1675. Philip had retired, glutted with blood, to the
 heart of a great swamp in Rhode Island. Thither
 he was attended by his warriors, with a multitude
 of old men, women, and children. He had carried
 with him large quantities of provisions, and had
 built more than six hundred wigwams. These he
 placed so that the whole of them formed a camp,
 fortified in a manner far superior to the rude no-
 tions of his tribe. To render them bullet-proof,
 he caused baskets of corn to be piled one above
 the other around the inside of the wigwams. His
 supplies were abundant, and he thought himself
 secure. But the troops of Massachusetts, Ply-
 1675. mouth, and Connecticut, hearing of his position,
 Dec. resolved to attack him in his winter quarters. They
 approached the place, forced an entrance, after a
 fierce conflict, and set the wigwams on fire. A
 thousand Indians perished by the sword and the
 flames. This disaster proved a death-blow to the
 1676. power of the southern Indians. The next spring

they were able to renew the war but feebly. The English scoured the woods in all directions, killing large numbers; and at length brought them to a general battle on the west bank of Connecticut river. Overtaken by surprise, a large number were killed. Others threw themselves into the river to escape their pursuers; and some, rushing panic-struck to their canoes, were unable to seize the paddles, and, when they reached the current of the river, were borne down over the falls. The affairs of Philip had now become desperate. His warriors, accustomed to victory, could not bear defeat. His allies and dependents forsook him, and he was at last surprised, with a few followers, and slain by Captain Church.

Thus perished this savage warrior, whose name had so long filled the colonies with terror. After his fall, his tribes were unable to renew the war, and New England happily found rest. But the joyful return of peace in southern New England, was quickly followed by the renewal of hostilities at the north.

Numbers of the southern Indians, at the death of Philip, fled and took refuge with the Penacooks, the Ossipees and the Pequawkets. It was chiefly by these refugees that the war was fomented. All the inhabitants west of Portland, abandoned their plantations and retired westward. But the settlers of New Hampshire were now prepared to prosecute the war vigorously. They had become accustomed to Indian warfare. Massachusetts, freed from the terror of Philip, could send powerful reinforcements; and, accordingly, two companies marched from Boston to Dover. Here they found a great

1676.

Sept. 6.

CHAP.
IV.

number of Penacooks at Major Waldron's, who had come to confirm a peace. But there were amongst them many known to have been the confederates of Philip. They were disguised in their looks and behavior. But it was not easy for them to escape the discernment of those who had met them in combat. After much deliberation, and some misgivings as to the morality of the proceeding, it was finally resolved to seize all the refugees. Waldron himself, was averse to the measure. But the Boston companies had brought with them orders to seize all the Indians who had been engaged in the war. Eager to avenge the slaughter of their friends, they were desirous to fall upon them at once. Waldron dissuaded them from this, and contrived the following stratagem. He invited the Indians to have a sham-fight and a training, after the fashion of the English. To this they readily assented, and it took place the next day. Waldron's men, with the Boston companies, formed one party, and the Indians the other. While engaged in this diversion, by a dexterous movement, the whole body of Indians were surrounded before they could form a suspicion of what was intended. They were immediately seized and disarmed, without the loss of a man on either side. A separation was then made. Wonolanset and the Penacooks were peaceably dismissed. The "strange Indians" were sent prisoners to Boston. Seven of them were proved to have killed Englishmen, and were hanged. The rest were sent to Africa and sold into slavery. Africa was destined to return the boon with usury. This was an act of deliberate treachery, for which there is no sufficient justifica-

F. Bel-
knap, p.
75.

tion. Had not the Indians come to treat for peace? Were they not entertained for that purpose? To attack them under such circumstances was a wanton breach of good faith, and a violation of the laws of nations. Such the Indians deemed it, and with their accustomed remembrance of injury, they treasured it up against the day of vengeance.

CHAP.
IV.

Does the responsibility of this act rest wholly upon Major Waldron? His judgment was averse to the measure. Did he yield, without reluctance, to the rash counsels of the Boston troops? Did he fail, after every effort, to dissuade them from the attack, and then interfere and substitute a strata-gem only to save the lives of the Indians? If the latter was his position, the whole blame rests upon the companies from Boston. They could plead nothing in extenuation of their conduct, except the general orders of their government. Did the general orders of their government excuse them? These were "to seize all who had been concerned with Philip in the war." But no orders of government imply the necessity of breaking over that immemorial custom and universal law which gives full protection to all individuals of the enemy actually engaged in treating for peace. The laws of war forbid firing upon a flag of truce, and protect every one who goes to an enemy's camp to ask for a suspension of arms. It is true that the cruelty and treachery of a barbarous foe make it impossible to conduct a war with him strictly according to the usages of civilization. As a measure of retaliation, therefore, it must be justified,

CHAP. if at all. Unhappily for the country, as the sequel
 IV. will shew, it cost Waldron his life.*

Having sent to the government at Boston a cargo of slaves, as well fitted for the market of Africa as her own sable sons were for America, the troops
 1676. took eight Indian pilots from Coheco, and proceeded eastward. But they found only deserted settlements. No enemy was to be seen, and the companies returned from their fruitless march, to Pascataqua. They next undertook a winter expedition to lake Ossipee ; for it was reported that the
 Nov. 1. Indians had constructed a strong fort on the western shore. Four days they marched through the wilderness, and crossed several rivers. On arriving at the spot, they found the fort entirely deserted. Not an Indian had been seen in all the march. The weather, in the meantime, had become severe, and the snow was deep. Finding it impracticable to proceed farther, the main body halted and sent forward a select detachment. They proceeded eighteen miles, and saw nothing but frozen ponds and snowy mountains. After an absence of nine days, they returned to Newichwannock, and found that the story of Indians assembling at Ossipee had been invented by a Penobscot. A third incursion into the Indian country was led by Major
 1677. Waldron, the next year. But he returned after a few unimportant skirmishes.

Having been long harrassed by the alarms of war, the people sought for some expedient by which they might effectually guard against them. They remembered the inveterate enmity of the Mohawks to the New England tribes, and that

* N. H. Hist. Coll., II., p. 46.

the Penacooks still trembled at the mention of their formidable enemies. They imagined that if they could incite the Mohawks to make a hostile incursion eastward, it would terrify all the hostile Indians. Agents were about being despatched to further the project, when a doubt arose as to the morality of the proceeding, and it became a subject of debate. It was said that the Mohawks were "heathen." The colonists, however, had an easy way to settle the question. The Bible was strait-way produced, and therein it was found that Abraham had entered into a league with the Amorites to recover his kinsman Lot from a common enemy. This argument was conclusive; the most scrupulous were satisfied; and the Mohawks were brought down to Amoskeag early in the spring. They appeared at the falls, to the son of Wanolanset, and killed several friendly Indians in the neighborhood of Dover. But this incursion of the Mohawks failed of its object. It produced no other effect than to pour suspicion into the minds of the peaceful Penacooks, and irritate the more warlike tribes of the east. The next summer was passed in continual apprehension and alarm. The Indians were hovering about the precincts of the settlements, murdering and carrying into captivity. Early the next year they discovered an inclination for peace, and a treaty was negotiated at Casco.* Three years of ceaseless anxiety had passed over the colonists. The flower of the young men had fallen in battle. But all this was now happily terminated. The captives returned with joy, and gentle peace succeeded the storms of battle.

CHAP.
IV.

1677.

March.

1678.

* Now Portland.

CHAP.
IV.

1678. The omens and prodigies of superstition attended this war. The human mind, ignorant at that time of the most common phenomena of nature, stricken by continual fear, and brooding constantly over horrors, sunk to puerile weakness, and readily resolved every unusual appearance into prodigy and miracle. Many people imagined that they heard guns and drums in the air. Even an eclipse was viewed with serious fears, and long lines of clouds in the evening sky, having their edges illuminated by the setting sun, were converted, by a disordered fancy, into flaming swords and spears, gleaming athwart the heavens, presaging wrath and impending havoc.
1675. In the midst of the difficulties and distresses of this war, Mason again petitioned the king for the restoration of his property. The king referred the petition to his attorney general, Sir William Jones, and his solicitor general, Sir Francis Winnington. These officers reported that Mason "had a good and legal title to said lands." The Massachusetts colony were thereupon summoned to appear and answer the complaints which Mason and the heirs of Gorges had made of usurpation. Accordingly, William Stoughton and Peter Bullerly, two agents, were despatched to make answer for the colony. They arrived, and appeared before the Lords Chief
1677. Justices of the king's bench and Common Pleas. After hearing both parties, the judges decided that "Massachusetts has no right of jurisdiction over New Hampshire." They did not settle the question of the right of soil; but decided that Mason had no right of government within the territory which he claimed. It was likewise determined that the four towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter
1676. March 10.

and Hampton, were out of the bounds of Massachusetts. By this decision, it was evident that no court in England had jurisdiction of the proprietary claims. In order to the establishment of Mason's title, it was necessary to erect a new jurisdiction, with new modes of trial and appeal. This decision paved the way to a separation from Massachusetts. The king himself was in favor of it. Influenced by his displeasure against that growing colony, and by his desire to favor the claim of Mason, he resolved on a separation of the two colonies. Accordingly, things having been prepared beforehand, a commission passed the great seal for the government of New Hampshire; restraining the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and erecting New Hampshire into a distinct province. The government was to consist of a President and Council, to be appointed by the crown, and an assembly of Representatives to be chosen by the people. JOHN CUTTS, an eminent and popular merchant of Portsmouth, was president, and the counsellors were Richard Martin, William Vaughan and Thomas Daniel, of Portsmouth; John Gilman, of Exeter; Christopher Hussey, of Hampton; and RICHARD WALDRON, of Dover. Thus was dissolved the union of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It had subsisted for thirty-eight years. It was beneficial and satisfactory to both. The growth of both had been promoted. The government about to take its place, was instituted at the instance, and with the view to favor the claim, of Mason, the most repugnant to the people.

The system prescribed in this commission was the most simple form of subordinate government in

CHAP.
IV.

1679.
Sept.
13.

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IV.

America. The people were represented, in a body chosen by themselves, and had the right of instructing their representatives. The king could disannul the acts of both bodies at his pleasure. Actuated by his aversion to Parliaments and representative bodies, king Charles, by a clause artfully worded, retained the right to discontinue the representation of the people, whenever it should suit his pleasure to resist their will. Yet into this plan of colonial government there was infused much of the spirit of the British constitution, and there was much more protection given to the rights of the people than in England. There was no third branch between the king and the people. Thus the house of peers, the worst feature of the feudal system, composed of lords, enjoying a sovereignty over their own territory, and ruling powerful bands of vassals, was excluded from New England. The relation of lordship and vassalage was not to perpetuate the dependence of the many on the few. Though the king ruled, yet the yeomanry, the natural defenders of their own rights and property, were the proprietors of the soil.

CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION of the new government—Laws—Crimes—Courts—Militia—Discontent of the people—Death of Cutts—Cranfield—His character—Arbitrary measures—Gove's rebellion—He is sent to the tower of London—Persecution of Moody—Character of Moody—Riot at Exeter—Andros made governor general—Revolution in England—Revolution in the colonies—Andros deposed—Union with Massachusetts—War with the Indians—Death of Waldron—Indian cruelty—Sufferings of the captives.

ON the first day of January, a royal commission was brought to Portsmouth. Bearing the sanction of the great seal, it declared New Hampshire a royal province. Unwelcome tidings to the people! Unwelcome was the messenger who bore them.* Having long enjoyed the advantages of the union with Massachusetts, they yielded with reluctance to the separation. They saw the evil genius of Mason in the change, and viewed it as the triumph of a vested right over rights acquired by purchase of the Indians, and defended at the price of blood. It was difficult for them to see how a piece of parchment, taking precedence of both contract and possession, should give title to the vast tract along the Pascataqua and stretching eastward to the Merrimack. The commission was received with regret, even by the officers whom it clothed with power. The aged and infirm, but upright and popular Cutts accepted of the office of President, only to prevent it from falling upon some instru-

CHAP.
V.
1680.
Jan. 1.

* Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason.

CHAP. V. ment of royalty. The same motive also moved the generous and public-spirited Vaughan, and Daniel Gilman, Hussey,* and Richard Waldron. These men were all favorites of the people; who, though averse to the change, found some alleviation of their discontent in the appointment of their trusty friends. It was, with the king, a matter of policy to smooth the way to an unpopular government, by introducing it through these hands. But no artifice of that kind could make it satisfactory to the people. It struck liberty out of existence, by denying them the choice of their own rulers; and they viewed the loss of liberty as a precursor to an invasion of their prosperity; for this government had kindled new hopes in the breast of Mason. They, however, submitted in silence. Writs were issued for calling a general assembly. An oath of allegiance was administered to each voter. A public fast was then observed, to propitiate the favor of Heaven and the continuance of their "precious and pleasant things."† In March, the assembly met at Portsmouth. They immediately wrote a letter to the general court at Boston,‡ full of gratitude and respect for their former protectors—full of regret for that separation which they had no power to prevent. They signified their wish for a mutual correspondence, and offered their services for defence against the common enemy.

Feb. 26. Their next care was to frame a code of laws. They decreed no less than fifteen capital offences, and put witchcraft and idolatry on their black catalogue.§ The president, council, and assem-

1680. March 16. Crimes. Laws.

* Lewis's Hist. of Lynn, p. 29. † F. Belknap, p. 91. ‡ F. Belknap, p. 92. § Council Records, 1680. F. Belknap, p. 92.

bly, constituted the supreme court, and inferior courts were established in the towns. The militia was organized, and consisted of one company of foot in each of the four towns, one company of artillery at the fort, and one troop of horse; all under the command of the veteran Waldron.

CHAP.
V.
Militia.

The people were now watching, with jealous eyes, for the first infringement of their rights. They soon discovered it in the duties and restrictions imposed by the acts of trade and navigation. The office of collector, surveyor, and searcher of the customs, throughout New England, had been conferred upon Edward Randolph. Having published an advertisement, requiring that all vessels should be entered and cleared with him, he began to obstruct the vessels in passing from harbor to harbor. In the execution of his commission, he seized a ketch belonging to Portsmouth. When brought before the president and council, on the complaint of the master of the ketch, he behaved with haughty insolence. But the affair terminated with a reprimand to himself, and a fine upon his deputy, Barefoot. Randolph and his commission were equally unpopular at Boston. The decisions of the courts there were invariably against him. But the people, acting upon the ground that the royal authority could be exercised only through the president and council,* while they denied the authority of Randolph, passed an order of their own for the observance of the acts of trade, and officers of their own to see it executed. While the people were resisting the assumptions of this royal

March
28.

1681.
April 5.

* Whiton, p. 35. F. Belknap, 93. Council Records, 1680.

CHAP. officer, President Cutts died, lamented, as he had
 V. lived beloved, and was succeeded by his deputy,
 Major Waldron. In a sequestered spot, in a garden, the inhabitants of Portsmouth can now point out his grave. The remembrance of his integrity and benevolence has survived the tomb.

1682. Mason was disappointed in the government he had been so solicitous to procure. He found that President Cutts and a majority of the council were opposed to his wishes. He, therefore, on his return to England directed all his efforts to procure a change. To this end he was assisted by the necessities of the king. Negligent of the interests of his people, and careless of glory, Charles II. lavished their treasures with thoughtless extravagance. He raised immoderate supplies of money, and squandered it with profusion. Consequently, he was oppressed with debts, and straitened in his revenue.* By surrendering one fifth of the quit rents to the king, for the support of a royal governor, Mason procured the appointment of Edward Cranfield.

Jan. 25.

Cranfield.

The ruling passion of Cranfield was avarice. Mason, perceiving this, secured to him the payment of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This made the government of this poor province, numbering scarcely four thousand inhabitants, appear to him a dazzling and inviting object; and he came over less careful for the interests of the people than for the bettering of his fortune. Arbitrary, needy, and rapacious, he made no secret of his object in accepting the office, and openly sought to

* Hume, vol. IV., p. 405.

return the liberality of Mason by a devotion to the proprietary claim. CHAP.
V.

By his commission he was vested with extraordinary powers. He could adjourn, prorogue and dissolve general courts. He had a negative voice on all acts of government. He could suspend any of the council. He appointed judges and all subordinate officers, and executed the powers of vice-admiral. Within six days after the publication of his commission, he suspended the popular leaders, Waldron and Martyn. From this exercise of power, the people plainly saw the dangerous designs formed against them. They perceived that the sole design of these novel and extraordinary powers was to facilitate the entrance of the claimant on the lands.* They had subdued the rough wilderness, and defended their families and estates against a savage enemy. Would they surrender their property to satisfy a doubtful and disputable claim?

May 9.

Meanwhile the assembly was summoned. Cranfield, to make a show of conciliation, restored Waldron and Martyn to the council. The assembly, hoping to detach him from the interest of Mason, voted him two hundred and fifty pounds. This put the rapacious governor in good humor, but it was of short duration. At the next session, the assembly refused to pass a bill for the support of government, and he hastily dissolved them. This kindled the popular discontent to a flame. The public voice against him was loud and violent, and the people, assembling in public meetings, began to act in concert. They demanded redress.

Nov.
14.

1683.
Jan. 20.

* F. Belknap, p. 97.

CHAP.
V.

The more moderate only gave vent to their resentment in murmurs. But the rash and thoughtless proceeded to acts of rebellion and violence. A tumultuous body assembled from Exeter and Hampton, headed by Edward Gove, declaring for liberty and reformation. Marching at the head of his followers, Gove went from town to town, bearing arms in his hands, calling upon the people to rise and overturn the government. But the majority, though disaffected, were not prepared for open revolt. Gove, finding himself but feebly supported, paused from his measures, and peaceably surrendered. He was convicted of high treason, and received sentence of death. All his accomplices were set at liberty by the king, and Gove himself, instead of being led to execution,* was imprisoned in the tower of London—that prison whose gloomy walls have so often echoed the sighs of innocence, genius, and virtue.

1683.
Feb. 14.

On the fourteenth of February the governor called upon the inhabitants to take out leases from Mason. This would be an acknowledgment of his claim, and they with one consent refused.

He threatened to seize the principal estates and beggar the owners. His threats, however, intimidated no one. His position was well understood. He was determined, with the aid of the governor, to enforce his claim to the soil of New Hampshire, and the people were determined not to submit to it.

Cranfield, having assumed the whole legislative power, acted as if the assembly had either no existence, or no rights. He assumed to alter the

* N. H. Hist. Coll., II., p. 44.

value of money, changed the bounds of townships, and established the fees of office. When the acts of trade were not observed in Massachusetts, he prohibited vessels from that colony to enter the harbor of Portsmouth. Notwithstanding these multiplied and extensive powers,* Cranfield was dissatisfied with his position. He discovered, with chagrin, that the path which he had seen leading to fortune, ended in public hatred. It was evident, also, that his hopes of sudden wealth must be protracted to a length of years; for he must apply for money to the people he had so much abused. As he could hope for nothing from their favor, he started a vague rumor of war, trusting that he could turn to his own benefit the measures which the people should adopt for defence. He called an assembly at Great Island and tendered them a bill for supplies. The house debated it awhile, and returned it with their *negative*. At this he was highly incensed, and dissolved them. Suspecting the influence of the Rev. Mr. Moody, of Portsmouth, a strenuous advocate of the popular cause, he from that hour marked Moody as an object for vengeance. Soon after the dissolution of the assembly, he sent an order to Moody, requiring him to administer to himself, with Mason and Hinks, "the Lord's supper," according to the liturgy. This vindictive and arbitrary mandate was contrary to the laws of England. By the statute of 13 and 14 Charles II., it is enacted that no person shall presume to consecrate and administer "the Lord's supper," before he is ordained a priest by "Episcopal ordination." Moody had

CHAP.
V.

1684

Jan. 14.

* N. H. Hist. Coll., I., p. 261.

CHAP.

V.

not been episcopally ordained; and, as Cranfield foresaw, refused to obey the order. This furnished the desired pretext for a criminal prosecution. When brought to the bar, Moody pleaded in his defence the laws of England, and the rights of conscience. Edgarly and Fryer, two of the justices, pleaded strenuously for his acquittal, and were rewarded by removal from office. Moody was condemned, and, to the great joy of Cotton Mather, was committed to prison. At a time when no clergyman could doubt the reality of witchcraft, without danger of a dismissal from his society, Moody exposed it as a delusion, and denounced the Salem magistrates as murderers. It was but natural that such a man should incur the displeasure of Cotton Mather; for, while that fierce and sullen bigot was riding through the country, fanning the excitement and dragging innocent victims to the gallows, Moody visited them in prison, warned them of their danger, planned their rescue, and assisted them to escape. Throughout the whole dark period of the Salem excitement, he was the friend of the unfortunate accused; and while Boston and Salem, the theatre of Mather's influence, were immolating their own citizens on the altar of superstition, Portsmouth, under the pastoral influence of Moody, had learned to despise the delusion, and became the asylum of the accused.

It is thus that a great man sometimes stands out amidst the follies of his time, a solitary monument to the triumph of reason. Escaping, like Galileo, from the narrow prejudices and the conceited learning of his cotemporaries, he seems to pass the

veil which divides the present from the future, and while to mortal eyes the future seems shrouded in darkness, he beholds the dawn of a more enlightened age.

CHAP.
V.

In obedience to an order* from England, Cranfield once more convened the assembly. But they refused to vote anything for the support of government. "They are persons of such a mutinous disposition," said he, in his letter to the Secretary of State, "that it is not safe to let them convene." He, however, called them together once more, to pass acts for the suppression of piracy, and to raise money. They passed the acts, but refused the money, and he called them no more. Vexed at their obstinacy and the failure of his plans, he resolved upon a bold usurpation of power. Having filled the council with creatures of his own, he undertook to impose taxes on the people, by the authority of the governor and council, without the concurrence of the assembly. This was in defiance of the plain letter of the provincial laws. The people were resolved not to submit to such an imposition, and formed combinations for mutual aid and resistance. At Exeter they attacked the sheriff and drove him off with clubs. Most of the constables went over to the people, and refused to levy upon their goods.† Such as persisted, met with insult in every form. When they attempted to enter the houses, the women heated brimming kettles of water, and poured upon their heads.‡ The military were next called to aid the arm of civil power, and a troop of horse were ordered to march

May 27.

July 22.

Dec. 22.

* Orders of Cranfield. N. H. Hist. Coll., II., p. 200.

† N. H. Hist. Coll., III., p. 417.

‡ Bancroft. F. Belknap. Whiton.

CHAP.

V.

1685.

Jan. 9.

out on a certain day, completely mounted and armed. But the military were the people; and when the day came, not a soldier appeared. Thus foiled in every direction, New Hampshire began to wear to the eyes of the governor a cheerless aspect. The voice of complaint reached England, and drew down upon him the royal censure.* The king at length "granted him leave of absence," and Walter Barefoot, his deputy, succeeded to the chair of the chief magistracy.

From the days of Cranfield down to the time of Sir Edward Packenham, English governors and generals, like English writers, have mistaken the character of the American people. It is only by the severest lessons of experience, that American courage and love of liberty have been made known to the English armies. Cranfield believed that menaces and prosecutions would bend the necks of the Congregationalists to the yoke of Episcopal forms; and Packenham, leading on the veterans of Wellington, despised the American rifle in the hands of back-woodsmen. The former sacrificed his power to his error; the latter lost his life. Both found the Americans more resolute in defence of their rights than cautious of danger, or submissive to usurpation.

The rising settlements were now fast gaining upon the wilderness. One after another the hardy pioneers of that day progressed into the forest, until they reached the southern borders of Cheshire county. The hand of oppression was lightly laid upon them. The course of the

* Articles of complaint against Lieut. Gov. Cranfield. N. H. Hist. Coll., I., p. 267.

government was conciliating. The king was preparing them for the introduction of a governor-general. CHAP.
V.
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Three years before his death, Charles II., had declared the charter of Massachusetts forfeited. James II., his successor, inherited the arbitrary disposition of his brother Charles. The colonies could hope for no favors from him. He organized a new government and placed at its head, Joseph Dudley. But the administration of Dudley was short. In December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, with a commission appointing him captain-general and governor-in-chief of New England. He began with fair professions and conciliatory measures; but he soon disclosed his real object in accepting the appointment. It was to enrich himself.\* Finding the council backward in aiding his oppressive exactions, he appointed to that body none but willing instruments. Thus fortified, he pronounced all the land titles forfeited by the surrender of the Massachusetts charter; and, that he might cut off any reliance which the people had upon titles purchased of the Indians, he declared an Indian deed to be no better than the scratch of a bear's paw. His intention was to compel all the landholders to purchase of him new titles. In addition to this, he imposed upon them exorbitant taxes.

1685.  
Feb. 6.  
  
1686.  
May 25.  
  
Dec. 30.

To silence the popular complaint, he restrained the liberty of the press. That the people might not consult upon their grievances, he prohibited town meetings, except one in each year. To prevent complaints from reaching England, he forbade

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., p. 269.

CHAP. any one to leave the colony without permission  
 V.  
 from the governor.

1688. The people had borne with this “rapacious plunderer”\* for two years. Their patience was exhausted. Meanwhile, the strides of King James towards arbitrary power were preparing the way to a revolution in England. His reign had been one continued invasion of civil and religious liberty.† It terminated in his expulsion from the throne; which William III. ascended in 1688.

1688. When the news of this great revolution reached Boston, Andros affected to discredit the rumor, and imprisoned the man who brought it. But the people believed it, and were filled with joy. Their native love of freedom kindled at the prospect of deliverance. Actuated by a kindred spirit with their brethren in England, they determined to act with similar promptitude. Accordingly, on the morning of the eighteenth of April, the drums in Boston beat to arms. Crowds came flocking in from the country, as the day advanced, to the assistance of the Bostonians; and Andros was seized and thrown into prison. A committee of safety was hastily organized, and assumed, for the time, the functions of government. Andros

1689. was afterwards, by order of King William, sent to England, a prisoner of state, and New Hampshire was without a government. For some time the people waited for orders from England. None

Jan. came, and they chose deputies to form a plan of government. They met, and resolved upon a union with Massachusetts. Their petition was readily accepted at Boston, and New Hampshire once more became a part of Massachusetts.

1690. March 12.

\* Whiton.

† Hume, vol. IV., p. 463.

Amidst the oppressions of Andros,\* and the contests with Mason, the colony became involved in an Indian war. The seeds of hatred, long since sown, had begun to spring up. The Indians had brooded over the seizure of their brethren, by Major Waldron, with deep though silent resentment. Thirteen years had not been sufficient to erase from their hearts the remembrance of injury and the thirst for vengeance. Besides this, they alleged other grievances and immediate causes of war. In vain did the government strive to conciliate them with presents, and eagerly sue to them to make a treaty of peace. The Ossipees, the Pequawkets, and even a portion of the Penacooks, united to raise the warwhoop. A grandson of Passaconaway led the dreadful enterprise. It required all the influence of Wonolanset, although the dying charge of his father was often repeated, to persuade a portion of the Penacooks to peace. The Pequawkets were the movers of the war, and were not without provocation. The mansion of the Baron de St. Castine stood at this time at Penobscot. The baron, though of an ancient and proud family of France, chose to lead the life of an Indian trader in the wilds of America. He had adopted Indian customs, and had married a daughter of the sachem Madokewando. Andros, unprovoked, sailed up the Penobscot in the Rose frigate, and plundered his house and fort, scarcely leaving him the ornaments of his chapel. This called on Castine for revenge. Instigated by him, the Indians began to commit depredations at North Yarmouth. Some of them were pursued

CHAP.  
IV.

1688.

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 269.

CHAP  
V.

and seized. Andros, hoping to conciliate those whom he had so wantonly and cruelly offended, commands the captured to be set free. He trusted that the enemy, in return for this mildness, would liberate their prisoners. But this had not the desired effect. The Indians retained their prisoners, and put them to death with the most cruel tortures. Andros now changed his mild policy, and led into their country an army of seven hundred men. They saw not an Indian in their whole march.

1689. June 27. Meanwhile the Indians were preparing for hostilities in New Hampshire. Some of those whom Major Waldron sent to Boston to be sold into slavery, had returned, and would not let their brethren rest unrevenged. It required but little time to concert an attack upon Dover; for Waldron was there. The Penacooks, the Pequawkets, and the Ossipees, are called into the league. And now, all things being ready, the Indians set forward. It is the evening of the twenty-seventh of June. Waldron sleeps in one of the garrisoned houses. Two of the squaws apply at each of the houses and ask leave to lodge by the fire. They are welcomed; as is also the chief, Mesandowit, who went to the Major's house and supped with him in the evening. "Brother Waldron," said the crafty savage, with jocular and usual familiarity, "what would you do, if the strange Indians should come?" "I can assemble an hundred men," replied the veteran, "by lifting up my finger." In this unsuspecting confidence the family retired to rest. The red men have "trapped the lion in his lair."

Night advances. At the moment of deepest sleep, the gates are softly opened by the squaws, and a shrill whistle breaks the silence of night. It is the signal agreed upon for attack. Instantly the Indians rush in to take their long-meditated revenge. Aroused by the noise, Major Waldron starts from his sleep, seizes his sword, and, though bowed with the weight of eighty years, drove the assailants back through two doors. But in doing this, unluckily an Indian darted behind him and stunned him with the blow of a hatchet. The Indians immediately raise him up from the floor, and setting him in a chair on the table, they begin the work of torture. They cut off his nose and ears, and gash his breast with their knives; each one exclaiming, with fiendish mirth, "I cross out my account."\* Faint from the loss of blood, he was falling from the table, when an Indian held his own sword under him and pierced him through. Thus fell this gallant and venerable man. In this closing scene of his existence he displayed the same determined valor which had made him, through life, the terror and admiration of the Indians.

After attacking other houses, and killing many, the Indians effected a speedy retreat, and sold their prisoners in Canada. Aroused by these barbarities, the government sent a party, under Capt. Noyes, to attack the Penacooks. But they could only destroy their corn. Another party, under Capt. Wincol, were sent to Lake Winnipiseogee, but they killed only one or two of the enemy. Instigated by the French, who were now at war with England, the Indians continued

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., II., 46.

CHAP.  
 V.  
 1690.

their depredations. The Count de Frontinac, governor of Canada, eager to distinguish himself in the cause of his royal master, the king of France, detached three parties of French and Indians from Canada. These murderous bands, pursuing different routes, spread devastation along their whole march. Many are the affecting incidents mingled in the history of this war. Women, with babes at their breasts, were carried captive in the depth of winter, and when their infants became burdensome, they were taken from their arms and dashed against the nearest tree. Sometimes, in mid-harvest, the husbandman was shot in the field, and the crops burned on which the subsistence of a desolate family depended. Young children were marched through the dreary winter snows to Canada,\* and in these protracted journeyings suffered a thousand deaths.

Amidst these barbarities, an instance of Indian gratitude now and then occurs, to brighten, by its dim lustre, the gloomy recital. Here and there, among their captives, they would discover some one who had befriended them; and such were invariably set at liberty. In the voice of some feeble woman, crying out under her tortures, the quick ear of the Indian would discover his former benefactress, and he would spare her life. Though gentle pity seemed never to inhabit the breast of the North American Indian, he was proud to remember favors, and never forgot to revenge an injury.

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., V., 199.

## CHAPTER VI.

CONQUEST of Canada attempted—It fails—Governor Allen—Union with Massachusetts dissolved—Sir William Phipps—The small-pox first imported into New Hampshire—Peace with the Indians—The war resumed—Madowkewando—Usher—Durham destroyed—Peace—The return of the captives—The Earl of Bellomont—His character—His death—Death of Allen—War between France and England—Dudley—His conference with the Indians—Indian depredations—Expedition against Port Royal—It fails—Congress of delegates—Second expedition against Port Royal—It is successful—Death of Hilton—Expedition to Quebec—The fleet wrecked in the St. Lawrence—One thousand men perish—Peace—The captives return—Vaughan—John Wentworth—Industry revives—Monopoly resisted—Gov. Shute holds a conference with the Indians on an island in the Kennebec—The Scottish emigrants—Their character.

THE people of New England now regarded Canada as the source of their calamities, and resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. With but feeble resources, they formed the bold design to subject that province to the crown of England. For this object, an army of two thousand men, under the command of Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston for Quebec. Winter met them on their arrival. The troops became dispirited, sickness prevailed in the camp, and this enterprise, which promised so much, and involved the colonies deeply in debt, ended, having effected nothing. Fortunately, however, at this time the Indians ceased hostilities, and remained quiet till the summer of 1691.

CHAP.  
VI.

1691.  
June 9.

An important political revolution conferred the 1692.

CHAP. VI. appointment of governor upon Samuel Allen, of London, and that of lieutenant-governor upon his son-in-law John Usher, of Boston. With unfeigned regret the people saw the dissolution of their second brief union with Massachusetts. Allen had purchased of the heirs of Captain Mason their title to the soil of New Hampshire. It was sufficient to make this announcement received with coldness, that the inhabitants apprehended a  
1692. revival of Mason's claim.

Whiton,  
p. 48.

About the same time a new form of government, under the second charter, was established in Massachusetts. This raised to the governor's chair an obscure boy, born on the banks of the Kennebec. He was of a poor family, and at the age of twenty-two could not read. But he discovered, and drew up from the depths of the sea, the treasures of an old Spanish vessel. This gave him wealth. Wealth commanded influence; and thus was appointed to the post of governor that remarkable child of fortune, Sir William Phipps.

To the calamities of the war, now raging, were superadded the horrors of the small-pox; a disease then little understood, and its treatment imperfect. Its importation in cotton bales from the West Indies to Portsmouth and Greenland, was an event which, from the nature of the disease and its well-known fatality among the Indians, was calculated to fill the colony with alarm. As if the intellect were destined to be affected simultaneously with the body, the public mind at this time was most strongly infected with witchcraft.\*

Some good, however, was now to be mingled

\* See page 65.



with the ills of fortune. Wearied with the contest, and some of their chief men being in captivity, the Indians became, in their turn, advocates for peace. They longed for the time to come when they could remain idle in their wigwams; and they needed a space to recruit. Though their animosity still burned against the English, they came into the fort at Pemaquid, and there entered into a solemn covenant of amity. They acknowledged their subjection to the crown of England—engaged to abandon the French interest—promised perpetual peace—to forbear private revenge—to restore all captives—and they delivered hostages for the performance of their engagements.

CHAP.  
VI.

1693.

To the people of New Hampshire this peace gave a grateful respite. They were dispirited and reduced. The war had broken up their trade and husbandry, and weighed them down with a heavy burden of debt. The earth also was less fruitful than before; as if the kindly skies withheld their gifts at such an exhibition of the follies and cruelties of man. The governor was obliged to impress men to guard the outposts; and sometimes these were dismissed for want of provisions.\* In this situation, they applied to Massachusetts for assistance. Their application found that colony overwhelmed with witchcraft, and rent with feuds about the charter. Superstition and party spirit had usurped the place of reason, and the defence of themselves and their neighbors was neglected for the ghostly orgies of the witch-finder and the quarrels of the old and new chartists.

1693.

\* F. Belknap, p. 136. See also Province Records, Journal House and Assembly for 1692—1716, in the office of the Secretary of State at Concord.

CHAP.  
VI.

The peace, which they had so recently hailed with joy, was destined to be of short continuance. 1694. The spirit of Madokawando was abroad amongst the Indians, for the plundering of Castine yet rankled in the breast of his father. Villieu, at the head of two hundred and fifty Indians, collected from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot, and Norridgwock, marched to Oyster river. Durham\* is the object of attack. It has twelve garrisoned houses; but the inhabitants dream not of danger, and are scattered in their own dwellings. The Indians approach the place undiscovered, and halt at the falls. It is the evening of the seventeenth of July. They are formed in two divisions, and proceed on both sides of the river. These divisions are now subdivided into small parties, and they plant themselves in ambush near every house, that the destruction of the town may be sudden, overwhelming, and complete. They are to be ready for the attack at the rising of the sun. The firing of the first gun is to be the signal. Happily, it was fired too early, and a part of the inhabitants escaped. Five houses were destroyed, and an hundred persons carried captive. The next year, 1695. the enemy remained inactive, but in 1696, a body 1696. of them, coming from the eastward in canoes, made an attack at Portsmouth plain, and took nineteen prisoners. A company of militia, under Captain Shackford, was immediately detached in pursuit. They came upon the Indians at Breakfast Hill,† while they were cooking their morning repast, and, by a sudden onset, retook all the pris-

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., V., pp. 129—153.

† Between Greenland and Rye. Mather's Magnalia, lib. 7., p. 86.

oners. At Dover and Exeter many of the settlers were killed or captured; and before the close of 1697, the widow of President Cutts, was among the number of victims.\* Madokawando was now revenged. He gathered up all the scalps taken in the war, and carried them to Canada—a fit offering to be made to Count Frontenac. Thus the base deeds of Governor Andros were visited upon the innocent and unoffending. The Indian refuses to discriminate. To his mind, the guilt of the race is involved in the crime of each individual offender; and when he imbrues his hands in the blood of a guiltless child, it is because his code of justice visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children.

CHAP.  
VI.  
1697.  
1698.

During the war, Usher† continued to administer the government, and to alienate the affections of the people. He had amassed a fortune by speculation, and, like many others who have been surprised to find themselves suddenly rich, he became bloated to a size corresponding with his fortune. He assumed the airs of authority, and affected a tone of despotic severity.

The airs of such a man as Usher could only excite the contempt of the hardy colonists, who had faced too many real dangers, and grappled with too many real horrors, to be awed by the pomp of ignorance, or terrified at the wrath of a fool. He was profoundly illiterate and weak-minded; and seemed to be decked with authority and crowned with success, only to illustrate to the world that fortune and merit are not inseparable companions.

\* F. Belknap, p. 111.

† Province Records, Journal House and Assembly, 1692—1716.

CHAP. VI.  
 Jan. June.  
 He was soon superseded by the appointment of William Partridge, as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief, in the absence of Allen. The counsellors whom Usher had suspended, resumed their seats, and he returned to Boston.\*

The  
 peace of  
 Rys-  
 wick.  
 1698.

The news of peace, coming at this time, equally surprised and rejoiced the inhabitants. The governor of Canada signified to the Indians that he could no longer aid them in the war. He advised them to bury the hatchet and restore their captives. Many of them, however, had long since despaired of release. The woes of exile did not silence the affections and passions. Some of the young captives learned to love the life they led. They intermarried with the Indians, and preferred to make their homes and their graves in the forest. Even when invited to return, they refused, to the poignant regret of their friends. But in the pathless wilderness through which they travelled to reach Canada, an inhuman massacre took place, as often as the sick and aged became a burden. The infant, whose feeble cry irritated the sullen Indian, was dashed against a rock or a tree, before the eyes of its mother, with a wanton indifference which indicated almost a total want of parental affection and sympathy in the savage breast. Those who were spared were compelled to pass, unclad and almost unfed, over mountains and through swamps and interminable forests, often wading in deep snows. But the pious benevolence of the French missionaries often met them in their dreary marches and soothed the sorrows of exile.

It is difficult, at this day, to estimate fully the

\* Province Records, Journal Council, 1696—1722.

discouraging circumstances under which the fathers carried on this war. They were not fighting on a broad theatre, where their achievements would be the theme of a world's admiration; but with a wily, lurking foe, who never felt the force of that noble maxim of Tacitus, that "victory is most honorable when mercy spares the vanquished.\*" If they should be taken prisoners, their lives would be spared only to protract their tortures; or they must be led at the heels of their captors, until slavery should consummate the rights of the victors over the conquered.

CHAP.  
VI.

Early in the summer, Allen came to America. 1698.  
Six years had elapsed since the date of his appointment. The people knew that the Earl of Bellomont,† a nobleman of accomplished manners and liberal views, a friend of the late revolution, had received the appointment of governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Allen's commission, however, remained in force till the arrival of his successor. His administration lasted a year, and was one continued scene of altercation.‡ At the end of that time, Bellomont arrived, and was received by the people with the greatest cordiality. The counsellors, who had refused to sit at the board with Usher, resumed their places,§ and Partridge, who had been removed to make way for Usher, was restored. From this time onward, through a period of forty-two years, New Hampshire and Massachusetts were placed under the same governor. Each state had its own

1699.  
July 31.

\* Annals of Tacitus, b. 12, s. 19.

† N. H. Hist. Coll., IV., 251.

‡ Prov. Rec., Jour. Council and Assembly, 1692—1716. Jour. Council, 1696—1722.

§ Prov. Rec., J. C. and A., 1692—1716.

- CHAP. VI. council,\* its own assembly of representatives, and its own laws. The council having been constituted in accordance with the popular wishes, the next care of the people was to reorganize the courts. This they did by selecting all the judges from the decided opponents of the Masonian claim. When things had been thus happily arranged, the
1701. Earl of Bellomont died at New York. He was a man of superior talents and of an energetic character. He had always been the defender of popular rights; and when he was removed by death, the people mourned the loss of a nobleman, who, though faithful to the king, never oppressed the people. In his short administration, he had swept from the seas the pirates who had so long harassed the commerce of the colonies. Captain Kidd and his daring followers, whose adroitness had eluded the most vigilant search, were captured by Bellomont, and sent to England in chains. Before the Earl's death, Allen had begun to agitate the Masonian claim. Tired of controversy, the people proposed to him terms of compromise. Allen himself, advanced in age and failing in health, desired to pass the remainder of his days in quiet, and sought an accommodation with the people. A settlement was on the point of being agreed to, when his death presented a result so desirable. His son revived the controversy, but without
1715. success. The death of the son relieved the inhabitants from the fear of being disturbed in their possessions. At the death of Bellomont, Joseph
1702. Dudley was appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Favorably disposed to the
- March 5.

\* P. R., Jour. Council, 1696—1722.

interests of the colonists, and opposed to the Masonian claim, he was received with cordiality. The next year Usher was commissioned Lieut. Governor. His rival, Partridge, being thus superseded, retired from the province.

CHAP.  
VI.

1703.

The peace that followed the treaty of Ryswick, was of short duration. The seeds of war had been sown in Europe; and while England and France were engaged in hostilities at home, it was natural for them to make their American possessions the theatre of warlike operations. The English claimed the territory as far as the St. Croix. French ships of war had driven the English fishermen from the banks of Nova Scotia, and France had attempted to prevent the English from settling east of the Kennebunk.

Such was the posture of affairs, when Dudley\* entered upon his administration. Fearful of an outbreak, he immediately sought a conference with the Indians. They had solemnly agreed to be at peace. He was met by delegates from the Norridgewocks, the Penobscots, the Pequawkets, the Penacooks and Ameriscogins. They presented him with a belt of wampum in token of their sincerity, and led him to two heaps of stones that stood in the valley. These had been raised years before, and, as a pledge of peace, were named the Two Brothers. To these they now added other stones, in token of ratifying ancient friendship. "High as the sun is above the earth," exclaimed the savages, in the plenitude of their professions, "so far distant from us is the least design to break the peace." Yet, in less than six weeks, a

1702.  
July 13.

1703.  
June 20.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. C. and A., 1692—1716.

CHAP. VI.  
August 10.

body of French and Indians laid waste all the settlements from Casco to Wells, killing and carrying captive one hundred and thirty persons. Scarcely had another week elapsed, when they attacked Hampton village and killed five.

The whole frontier, from Deerfield on the west, to Casco on the east, was now thrown into confusion and alarm. The women and children retired to the garrisons—the men went armed into the fields. Few of the lurking foe were taken, though the government offered a bounty of forty pounds for scalps.

1705. With the return of spring, hostilities were resumed afresh, and Indian vengeance fell heavily upon the settlements on Oyster and Lamprey rivers. They were pursued to Haverhill, in Coos, and one or two were killed. Early the next year, Col. Hilton led two hundred and seventy men on snow-shoes to Norridgwock, to attack them in their winter quarters. It was a fruitless march. But an exploit was performed the next year, which made up in some degree for the failure of that expedition. It was the defence of a house in Durham\* by a few women. These heroines, in the absence of their husbands, heard the war-whoop, and saw the Indians approaching to attack the house. What was to be done? It was impossible to retreat. Should they surrender? Without a moment's hesitation, they resolved to defend the house. Throwing on their husbands' hats, and disguising themselves as much as possible, they assumed the resolute action of men, and commenced a smart fire. The deception was com-

\* F. Belknap. N. H. Hist. Coll., V., pp. 129—153.



plete. The Indians, supposing the house to be defended by a strong garrison, fled. Thus did these women, with a quickness of invention, courage, and decision of character, worthy of the most distinguished heroism of ancient or modern times, successfully devise a plan, with the utmost presence of mind, in the midst of danger, which saved their lives and those of their husbands and families.

CHAP.  
VI.

After killing twenty Indians at the eastward, the colonists resolved to attack Port Royal, the capital of the French settlements.\* New Hampshire united with the other colonies and sent thither a considerable army. Under convoy of two men-of-war, the forces approached the place. At their landing, they were received into the midst of an ambuscade. The Indians were hidden amongst the sedge. Walton and Chesley,† at the head of the New Hampshire troops, who were already on shore, pushed up the beach, and attacked the enemy in flank. The Indians fled. But the advantages of victory could not be reaped, for there were operating here, on a smaller scale, the same jealousies and bickerings amongst officers, which have ruined the prospects of the most splendid military enterprises. A quarrel broke out between the military and naval officers. Nothing could reconcile differences, or inspire union. The army was finally put under the direction of three supervisors, and the whole affair came to a wretched end.‡ The army returned, sickly, disheartened,

1707.

May 13  
—26.

August.

\* Pennhollow—Charlevoix.

† F. Belknap, p. 174.

‡ F. Belknap, p. 175. P. R., J. C. and A., 1692—1716.

CHAP. and ashamed. They had lost sixteen killed, and  
 VI. as many wounded.

The colony at this time was in a dismal state. The best warriors were abroad in pursuit of the enemy. Those at home were harassed more than ever by the cruel foe. Not an acre of land could be tilled, except within sight of the garrisoned houses. Their lumber trade and fisheries were declining, taxes increasing, and there was no prospect of an end to the war. Besides, the Indians had killed one hundred and thirty, between Casco and Wells—five at Hampton, twenty-four at Oyster River, five at Exeter, two at Dover, one between Exeter and Kingston.

Under these discouragements, great and overwhelming as they were, the people had preserved their fortitude. They maintained all their garrisons, so that not one of them was cut off in New Hampshire during the war.\*

1709. In autumn, a congress of delegates, of all the colonies, met at Rhode Island, and determined upon an expedition against Canada. The British ministry approved of the proposal, and the immediate reduction of Port Royal was agreed upon.

1710. Accordingly, an English force came over in five  
 Aug. 1. frigates, and a bomb-ketch. They were joined by the colonial troops, and sailed from Boston on the

Sept. eighteenth of September. On the twenty-fourth  
 18. they arrived at the place. The governor, despairing to hold out against so formidable a force, sur-

Oct. 5. rendered, after the firing of a few shots.

At the moment of organizing this expedition, and before the appointment of officers, the people

\* F. Belknap, p. 175.

of New Hampshire were called upon to mourn the loss of their favorite son, and bravest defender, Col. Winthrop Hilton. He fell into an ambush, and was slain by the Indians. They had long thirsted for his blood, and waited patiently to take him. At length they saw him go out with a party of men to peel the bark from some trees which had been felled. While engaged in the work, they rushed upon them, and killed two; one of whom was Hilton. Their guns were wet, and they could make no defence. Thus died Col. Hilton, universally lamented. On the west bank of Lamprey river, in his own field, by the side of his American ancestors, where the descendants of four generations have since been gathered around him, the remains of the gallant man repose. He was buried with honors due to his rank and character. The inscription upon his moss-covered monument shows where the remains of a man, who sincerely loved and faithfully served "both God and his country," have long since mouldered into dust.\*

CHAP.  
VI.

July 22.

After the death of Hilton, Capt. Walton, with one hundred and seventy men, traversed the eastern shores in pursuit of the Indians. They encamped on an island, and by the smoke of their first fire some Indians, mistaking them for some of their own tribe, were decoyed to the camp and made prisoners. Among these was the sachem of Norridgwock. He had been an active and fierce warrior. When he found himself in the hands of his enemies, he surveyed them with haughty disdain. When required to disclose the lurking-places of his

\* N. H. Hist. Coll.

CHAP.  
VI.

warriors, he refused; when they threatened him with death, and made before his eyes the preparations to execute him, he laughed scornfully. His wife, being an eye-witness of the scene, was so intimidated as to make the discoveries which the captors had tried in vain to extort from the sachem.\* They followed to the place pointed out by her, and returned with seven scalps. This success, inconsiderable as it may appear, kept up the spirits of the people, and added to the loss of the enemy, who were now daily diminishing by sickness and famine.

The success of the second expedition against  
1711. Port Royal, encouraged an attempt, the next year,  
on Quebec; and an agent was despatched to Eng-  
1711. land to solicit aid. To the surprise of all, the min-  
isters of Queen Anne acceded to the proposal, and  
a fleet came over, under the command of Admiral  
Walker, consisting of fifteen ships of war, fifty  
transports, and six store-ships. The troops which  
they brought, had been selected from the veteran  
legions of the Duke of Marlborough, the flower  
of English valor. Never had New England seen  
upon her waters a fleet or an army so formidable.  
When joined by the colonial troops, they amounted  
to six thousand five hundred men—a force con-  
sidered at that day fully equal to the reduction of  
Quebec.† Their bright anticipations of conquest  
were blasted in a single night. No sooner had  
they entered the St. Lawrence, than the admiral  
obstinately refused to direct his course by the ad-  
vice of the pilots. He had proceeded but ten  
leagues up the river, when, on the night of the

\* F. Belknap, p. 179

† Whiton. F. Belknap.

twenty-third of August, the weather being thick, eight transports were wrecked upon an island, and a thousand men perished. Of the whole number only one was a New-Englander. The fleet put back, and with great difficulty beat down the St. Lawrence, and rendezvoused at the mouth of Spanish river. There the officers held a consultation, and finally resolved to abandon the enterprise.

CHAP.  
VI.  
August  
23.

The Indians took courage from these misfortunes, and fell upon Exeter, Dover, and Oyster River. Such was the posture of affairs, when, to the great joy of the inhabitants, the news of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America. As soon as the Indians were informed of this, they came into Casco with a flag of truce, and desired to make a treaty. An unusual despondency was perceptible in their demeanor. Thoughtful of past misfortunes, they now saw that all further hostility would be useless, and asked for peace. A suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth, and, on the eleventh of July, the chiefs and deputies of the several tribes solemnly ratified the treaty of peace. Most joyfully did the inhabitants leave the garrisoned houses, where they had suffered so much, to resume once more the peaceful pursuits of industry. The fields again looked gay with the harvest—the wilderness and the solitary place began “to bud and blossom like the rose.”

1712.

Oct. 29.

Oct. 29.

1713.  
July 11.

Immediately after the peace, a ship was despatched to Quebec, to bring home the captives. The scene, on their arrival, is not to be described. Hundreds thronged the beach to meet them.

1714.

CHAP.  
VI.

Mothers were eagerly searching through the crowd for their sons, and watching, with trembling solicitude, each person that stepped upon the shore. Wives were there agitated with uncertain hopes, and fearing to interrogate the strange company of the ransomed; for they were indeed strange. Some could only make signs of recognition. They stood locked in the embraces of their friends, and wept tears of joy in silence. They had forgotten their native language. Some came not. Captivity had not quenched the feelings. They had intermarried with the Indians, and refused the call that bade them return. They had grown out of the habits and the memory of home. A new love had been grafted, where the old had been broken. They preferred the hut of the wilderness to the home once so dear to them.

1715. During the war, Dudley, as governor, and Usher,\* as lieutenant-governor, had administered the government, as faithful servants of the crown, and to the satisfaction of the people. Affairs in England had now changed, by the accession of George I. Many valuable officers, who had served the English government in the late wars, were wasting away by the rust of peace. They must be provided for in America. Accordingly, George Vaughan was made lieutenant-governor, and Samuel Shute commander-in-chief of the province of New Hampshire. Dudley, expecting soon to be superseded, went to pass the evening of his days in retirement, and left the helm of state in the hands of Vaughan.

1716.  
Oct. 13.

Vaughan's first act offended the people. It was

\* P. R., Journ. Council and Assembly, 1692—1716.

an attempt to establish a perpetual revenue to the crown, by bringing into New England the land-tax of Great Britain. The assembly declined to lay any imposts until the arrival of a governor. Shute, however, soon came to the chair. He abandoned the land-tax, but displaced six of the old counselors, and filled their seats with six more, all of Portsmouth. This gave the trading interest a preponderance in the assembly. The yeomanry feared that the burdens of government would be laid wholly upon their shoulders. Disputes and bickerings\* arose between the governor and the house of representatives, and between the governor and lieutenant-governor. The rash and precipitate, hasty and imperious temper which brought on the contest,† disqualified Vaughan for managing it with success. He disgusted the council and assembly, and did not conciliate the crown.‡ Venturing to disobey some of the instructions of Shute, he was complained of to the king, and superseded by John Wentworth. The same hand that penned the immortal soliloquy of Cato, and traced the finest harmonies of the Spectator, countersigned the commission of Wentworth. It was the hand of Addison.

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Oct. 17.

1717.  
Dec. 7.

During the last, long, and distressing war with the Indians, the resources and improvement of the colony had been at a stand. But on the return of peace, Industry ventured once more to ply her busy hand, and the staple productions of the colony rose into view and became objects of attention. The royal navy needed masts, and, by

\* P. R., J. C. and A., 1716—1728. House, 1711—1724.

† F. Belknap, p. 187. ‡ P. R., J. C. and A., 1715—1728. House, 1711—1724.

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Mass.  
Laws  
of 1688.  
N. H.  
Laws of  
1703.

law, all pine trees of a certain diameter were reserved for the king. To encourage the colonists, and for the benefit of Great Britain, lumber was imported into England free of duty. In the eastern waters the fisheries had been successful, and a considerable profit began to be derived from the manufacture of tar and turpentine from pitch-pine trees. A company of merchants soon attempted to monopolize the manufacture of these articles. But when many thousand trees had been prepared for use, they were destroyed by unseen hands. Thus did the fathers resist the first stride of the giant Monopoly.

Something was done at this time towards the culture of hemp. But it was soon found that the people could till no more land than was requisite for raising corn, and they turned their attention at once to the means of subsistence. Their peaceful pursuits were soon to be interrupted. The eastern  
1717. Indians at this time discovered symptoms of uneasiness. With sullen discontent they saw the rapid progress of English settlements—the erection of mill-dams and forts, and the increasing activity and power of the colonists. Governor Shute resolved upon an effort to produce reconciliation. Assembling their chiefs on an island in the Kennebec, he promised them trading-houses, supplies of arms, and smiths to keep their guns in repair. Their prejudices had been strongly excited against the English. “Why are you so strongly attached to the French?”\* demanded a stranger of an Indian sachem. “Because,” replied the savage, “the French have taught us to

\* Whiton.



pray to God, which the English never did." The Indians found encroachments daily made upon their lands, and desired the English to fix a boundary, beyond which their settlements should not extend. This desire Governor Shute never complied with. Nor were the promised supplies ever furnished.

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While an Indian war hung in suspense over the colonists, they received an important accession to their numbers. Early in 1719 came the Scottish families, sixteen in number, to Londonderry. Near the beginning of the seventeenth century, their ancestors had emigrated from Argylshire, in the west of Scotland, to the counties of Londonderry and Antrim, in the north of Ireland.\* There they trusted that their posterity might dwell, beyond the reach of tyrants. But the hand of persecution, which fell so heavily upon all Protestants during the reigns of Charles I. and James II., reached Ireland, and was laid upon the Scots. There, while burdened with tithes and thirsting for a larger liberty, they heard that there was a delightful region in the New World, yet unmarred by the foot-print of an oppressor. Cheered by the most flattering hopes, one hundred and twenty families embarked for America. Their voyage was prosperous. They arrived, some at Boston, others at Portland, and there passed the autumn and winter. The next year M'Gregore, with sixteen families, selected for their residence Londonderry; and there he preached his first sermon, under the shade of a spreading oak. Large accessions of their countrymen were soon added to

1719.  
Arrival  
of the  
Scottish  
em-  
igrants.

\* Whiston, p. 60.

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the original company; and in a few years the church numbered two hundred and thirty members. They were Presbyterians. They lived in that age of enthusiasm when the adherents of old and new creeds gloried in the name of martyrs, and dissenters demanded, (what they were seldom willing to grant,) unlimited freedom of religious opinion. These emigrants were proud to enjoy, and gloried in vindicating, the Presbyterian faith. They were descended from men by whom that doctrine had been maintained with a spirit of independence unequalled in any state in Europe, and hardly surpassed by the firmness and valor with which their more remote ancestors, unawed by the terror of the Roman name, defended their moors and marshes against the conquering arms of Agricola.

It is not strange that they should have been ardently attached to their faith. They knew that it was Christianity that changed the savage manners of their remote ancestors, and brought to the depths of the morasses and woods the dignity and happiness of civilized social life. It was no wonder, then, that they should hold strong opinions. It was no wonder that they should worship, with fervent devotion, that Sun of Righteousness which had shed such a reviving light over the highlands and into all the glens of Caledonia. It is no wonder that they should deem it a sacred duty to serve the cause of Heaven by making the fiercest opposition to what they deemed a false faith; nor, when they had found what they esteemed *true* Christianity, that they should be willing to sacrifice for it the last and best joys and possessions of





GEN<sup>l</sup> JOHN M<sup>c</sup> NIEL.

*John McNeil*

man—even to forsaking their country and laying down their lives.

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Next to their piety, the most striking characteristic of the Scottish settlers was their national pride and high sense of honor. They held life in mean regard, compared with the slightest stain upon their honor. They felt the blood of the ancient Scots swelling their veins ; and though far removed from them by time, and far distant from home, they still remembered Scotland, and cherished as household words the local names of Moray and Caithness, Galloway and Strath Clyde. It was natural for men to feel some pride of country, whose ancestors had been led to battle by such heroes as Wallace and Bruce. It was still more natural for those to feel it who had been taught that other generations of Scottish heroes had rendered memorable the fields of Harlow, Sterling, and Ancram-Moor. The earliest annals prove the Scots to have been a gallant people. The ancient Caledonians, preferring death to slavery, met the Romans in the forests of Lochleven and Loch Ore, and maintained their native independence, in spite of the universal conquerors ; compelling them to feel and acknowledge how great must be the patriotism and valor which move a people to defend such wild districts of mountain, moor, and marsh, against the victors of the world. In process of time the descendants of the Londonderry settlers spread over Windham, Chester, Litchfield, Manchester, Bedford, Goffstown, New Boston, Antrim, Peterborough, and Acworth, in New Hampshire, and Barnet, in Vermont. They were the first settlers of many towns in Massa-

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chusetts, Maine, and Nova Scotia. They are now, to the number of more than twenty thousand,\* scattered over all the states of the Union. But wherever located, and however situated, these ancestral recollections seem to have been cherished by the posterity of the Scottish emigrants. To this it is to be ascribed, in part at least, that Stark, Reid, M'Clary, M'Niel, and Miller, have displayed, in later days, much of the same pride and patriotism which swelled the dauntless hearts of Wallace and Bruce. Inheriting the same great traits of character, the American heroes of Scottish descent have made the achievements of Bunker Hill, Bennington, and Bridgewater, not unworthy to be associated in history with those of Flodden, Melrose, Dundalk, and Bannockburn.

In the character of the Scots of Londonderry industry was another and a prominent trait. It is said of them that they were "a well-principled people; frugal, hardy, and industrious."† It is certain that they made rapid advances towards wealth and importance; and that the excellence of their manufactures and the products of their industry procured for them an extensive demand. It is easy for the physiologist to discover, even now, in the countenances of the people of Derry, the same traits of character which led the ancient Scots to encounter such formidable odds, and cling with such tenacity to the defence of hills clad in perpetual snow, and wintry shores washed by the Northern Ocean. It is easy to see, in the

\* Whiton estimates the descendants of the Londonderry settlers at between twenty and thirty thousand—p. 67.

† Whiton, p. 66.

faces that assemble on a Sabbath day at Derry, indications of the same deep feeling and high resolve, which moved the Scots of olden time to resist the fierce tyranny of the English church.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE Aurora Borealis seen for the first time in New England in 1721—Inoculation first used as an antidote to the small-pox—War with the Indians—The Jesuit missionaries—Father Rasle—his labors—his death and character—War with the Indians—The family of Hanson—Captain Lovewell—Last battle with the Indians at Lovewell's Pond—Defeat and death of Lovewell—Description of the battle-ground and the scenery in the valley of the Saco—Departure of the Penacooks—Boundary dispute—Settlement of Concord—Triennial act—Burnet—Belcher—Death of Wentworth—his character—Dunbar—Contest between the friends of the Union with Massachusetts and the advocates of a separate government—Boundary dispute—continues—decided in favor of New Hampshire—Benning Wentworth appointed governor—Sickness in New Hampshire—Intelligence—Morals—Schools—George Whitefield—comes to New Hampshire—his eloquence—his character.

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1721.  
Dec. 17.

THE Aurora Borealis, the beauty of the northern sky, which is now gazed upon with so much delight, was seen for the first time in New England in 1721, and filled the inhabitants with alarm. Superstition beheld with terror its scarlet hues, and transformed its waving folds of light, moving like banners along the sky, into harbingers of coming judgment, and omens of impending havoc. Under its brilliant reflections, the snow, the trees, and every object, seemed to be dyed with blood, and glowed like fire.

Shortly after the appearance of this beautiful and still mysterious phenomenon of the northern heavens, it was for the first time proposed in New England to make use of inoculation as an antidote to the small-pox. It had long been known as a



remedy in Turkey, and was now introduced into the colonies, under the auspices of Cotton Mather. It required all his influence to gain for it the countenance of the clergy; but the prejudices of the people were inflamed against it to such a degree, that when Dr. Boylston, who was the first individual to use it, offered to test its harmlessness or fatality by applying it to his own family, they raised a tumult and threatened his life.

But the attention of the people was soon absorbed by another and more fearful subject. The Indians were preparing for hostilities. The English must make ready for defence. In the long interval of peace, causes of war had been silently operating. The royal governors at the north did not strive, as did Oglethorpe and William Penn, to secure the attachment of the tribes by frankness and strict fidelity. The natives never regarded the northern governor as their father, nor did they confide in him, and appeal to him in every emergency of their internal disputes. Seldom or never did he enter the large square of the council place, or distribute presents to his "red friends," or drink with the warriors "the sacred sakey," or smoke with the nations the pipe of peace. They gave them few presents, and purposely avoided explaining to them the terms of treaties and conveyances of land. If they did not openly break their engagements with them, they pursued towards them a selfish and unscrupulous policy. They erected dams and mills, careless of the injury they did to the Indian fisheries. The Indians more than once complained that they were cheated in trade. Avarice often led the English to obtain deeds of land by deceit; and

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Ban-  
croft,  
III.,  
431-5.

CHAP. VII. when the Indian had been taught to get drunk, his best possessions could be taken from him in a fit of intoxication, without an equivalent. They did not foresee that the erection of forts and mills was to drive away their game and fish; and it was not till they found their means of subsistence cut off, that they repented of their unguarded confidence, and sought to dispossess those whom they had welcomed as friends. When they found that agriculture was destroying their interests, they determined, as a measure of self-preservation, to drive away the new settlers, and bring back the already half-reclaimed wilderness to its primitive state. Having no records, the memory of bargains was soon lost; and then many of the land titles which they had given came to be of doubtful validity. The lands which had been sold on the banks of the St. George and Kennebec at an early period, the Indians had no memory of; and when the sales were proved to them, they declared that the sachems had exceeded their authority.

From the first landing of the English, they treated the natives as subjects of the crown. They declared war against them as rebels, and in treaties they styled them British subjects. When they were conquered, they were compelled to acknowledge their submission to the English government. The French, on the contrary, did not declare the Indians to be subjects of France. They left to all the tribes their native independence. Although their traders often travelled and resided amongst the Indians, they seldom or never sought to obtain their lands. The French sent to them missionaries, who gained access to their hearts, and inspired them with reverence and love.

The Jesuits planted the cross at an early day among the tribes of the Abenakis. But of the missionaries whom they sent there, no one endured or accomplished so much to christianize the Indians as father Sebastian Rasle. In early youth he left the endearments of home and civilized life, plunged into the depths of wilds unexplored, and shared with the Indians the privations of the wilderness. In the Indian village of Norridgewock, by a graceful curve of the Kennebec, on a beautiful prairie, stood his abode. All around lay a pathless wilderness. It was here that the missionary, then young, resolved to devote the remainder of his days to the spiritual services whereto he had been appointed. A church was erected, and supplied with those splendid decorations by which the Catholics seek to engage the imagination, and through that to reach the heart. Above the village stood one consecrated chapel, and below it another was erected, and bore on its walls the image of the holy virgin. By the assistance of women, the church was embellished with tasteful ornaments, and illumined by "brilliant lights from the wax of the bayberries, gathered from the islands of the sea." A bell was transported from Canada, through the wilderness, which, at morning and evening hour, called the hunters and warriors to prayer. Around the village the primeval forest yet stood in its grandeur and glory. Islands, like gems, studded the clear expanse of the Kennebec, and a range of lofty mountains skirted the distant horizon. The matin song began to be chanted in these romantic solitudes, and with the unceasing music of the waterfall mingled the vesper hymn.

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Maine  
Hist.  
Coll.

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The Indians were taught to sing and recite in their native tongue, and were charmed with the same ceremonies which captivated the cultured minds of Fenelon and Cheverus. By the charming conversation of Father Rasle, and by the fervor and pathos of his preaching, the Indians were profoundly impressed with the truth of his religion, and yielded almost implicit obedience to his will. He was master of all their languages, shared in their privations, and adopted the customs of the tribe. In times of scarcity he supplied them with food, secured their affections by his gentle deportment, and finally gained over them an ascendancy superior to the influence of the native chiefs.

When he had grown gray in poverty and abstinence, he was suspected by the English of instigating the Indians to war; and a party under Col. 1721. Westbrook was sent to Norridgewock to seize him. But a courier had preceded them to give him notice of their approach, and he escaped into the woods. The government soon resolved upon another expedition to Norridgewock; and accordingly Captains Moulton and Harmon invested that 1724. village, each of them at the head of an hundred men. When Father Rasle heard the tumult of their approach, he knew the danger to which himself and his people were exposed. Nothing intimidated, he went forth, with fifty warriors, to meet the assailants, hoping to hold them in check till the women and children should have time to escape. As soon as he was discovered, a volley of musketry was directed towards him, and he fell dead at the foot of the cross which he had planted. The Indians mourned for him as for a chief and a

Aug.  
12.

father. He was buried near the place where his altar stood, and where he had so often celebrated the rites of his faith. More than a century after his death, gratitude and reverence reared an humble monument to his memory on the spot where he fell. It was consecrated by Bishop Fenwick, with the solemn and imposing ceremonies of the Catholic worship. No one could deny that it marked the spot where a good man was stricken down; and when it was destroyed by the unseen hand of violence, Charity could but mourn that enough of intolerant fanaticism should be found in the present enlightened age, to invade the precincts of the dead, in order to trample upon a monument which the most savage conqueror would respect and spare.

It was impossible for the Indians to overlook such an outrage upon their spiritual father, as that which was committed in the first attempt to seize Rasle. They regarded him with a reverence approaching almost to worship. They determined to retaliate, and sought eagerly for revenge. The next summer they made an attack at Merry-meeting-Bay, and carried captive nine families. At the fort of St. George's they were repulsed; but destroyed Brunswick. This determined the government upon hostilities, and accordingly a formal declaration of war was published at Boston and Portsmouth. Walton, Westbrook and Penhollow led the New Hampshire forces. Thus, after an interval of ten years of peace, the colony was again involved in a war with the Indians. The enemy was expected on every part of the frontier, and again the people fled to their garrisoned houses.

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1722.  
June 13.

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June 1.  
1723.

The growing unpopularity of Shute admonished him, at this time, to return to England. Although the people of New Hampshire were quiet under his administration, yet there was rising in Massachusetts a violent and increasing opposition. Having been a soldier in his youth, and accustomed to military command and obedience, he was poorly prepared to brook the crosses and perplexities of political life. He did not possess that evenness of temper and calmness, which are so necessary for the management of difficult affairs. It was in the midst of an Indian war, when difficulties surrounded the government, that he left for England, and Lieutenant Governor Wentworth succeeded to the chair. It was resolved to prosecute the war vigorously. Wentworth, in the absence of Shute, took the field as commander-in-chief, and displayed the prudence and energy of an able leader. He was careful to supply the garrisons with stores and to visit them in person, to see that the duties of all were strictly performed.

August  
29.

May  
24.

May  
16.

The Indians approached the settlements by way of the Winnipiseogee. Their first appearance was at Dover; their next at Lamprey River; and they attacked, in quick succession, the settlements at Oyster River, Kingston and Chester. A company marched to protect Oyster River, under the command of Abraham Benwick. At Dover some families of Quakers, scrupulously opposed to war, could not be persuaded to defend themselves. A party of French and Mohawks marked the family of John Hanson for their prey. They waited in ambush till the eldest daughter had gone and the two oldest sons. They then entered the house,

killed and scalped two of the small children, and took prisoners Mrs. Hanson with her infant. The first person to discover this disaster was the absent daughter; who, on her return, seeing the two children dead at the door, gave a shriek of despair, which was heard at the same moment by her mother in the hands of the enemy, and by her brothers in the meadow. The people were quickly alarmed, and went in pursuit; but the Indians, avoiding all the travelled paths, bore off their captives beyond their reach. After this catastrophe, Mr. Hanson removed to the house of his brother; who, though a Quaker, accustomed his family to the use of arms, and defended himself. Thus do scruples of conscience sometimes yield to the supreme necessity of self-preservation.

1721.

The captive lady, though tender and delicate, possessed a vigorous mind, and bore the hardships of the march with surprising fortitude. On arriving in Canada, the prisoners were all sold to the French. With ceaseless effort the sad father gathered gold and silver for their ransom; and when a sufficient sum had been accumulated, he traversed the woods to Canada, in search of his lost family. Long and hopelessly he sought for them through all the French settlements, and was about to abandon the search, when, by the benevolence of a French lady, he was directed to the house where they were kept as slaves. Overwhelmed with joy, he paid the ransom, and received his wife, the three younger children, and the nurse. It was impossible to obtain the eldest daughter, though he saw and conversed with her; and he returned, leaving her in captivity. But he remained not long

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 1727. at home. The loss of his daughter continued to prey upon his mind, and it was impossible to solace his grief. In a short time he set out to tread again his lonely path to Canada. But the troubles of his mind and the exposure and fatigues of the first journey, had undermined his health, and before he reached Crown Point his strength failed him. Parental affection urged him on till the last sands of life had run, and seemed to grow stronger as his end drew near, until death extinguished life and love together, and the father was laid in a grave equally distant from his home and his daughter.
1724. The enemy now ranged the whole extent of the  
 Sept. 5. frontiers, plundering and laying waste ; and killing  
 Sept. 7. several at Dunstable and Kingston. One after another, the Indian villages were visited ; but they were found deserted. The fate of Norridgewock was still fresh in their thoughts, and they could not be found in their former abodes. Scouting parties visited their principal villages, generally with little effect. But there was one of these parties, distinguished at first by success, and afterwards no less distinguished by misfortune. Commanded by Captain John Lovewell, they set out on their first excursion, north of Lake Winnipiseogee, killed  
 1725. one Indian and brought another home to Boston.  
 Feb. 20. This trifling good luck augmented his company to seventy. Ten Indian scalps were the trophies of the second excursion. Encouraged by repeated success, Lovewell marched a third time to attack the villages of the once formidable Pequawkets, on the upper branches of the Saco. The company, at this time, numbered forty-six, including a chaplain and  
 March 9.



surgeon. Two of them afterwards returned; another fell sick. Partly for the accommodation of the sick man, and partly for a place of retreat in case of disaster, they halted and built a stockade fort on the west side of Great Ossipee pond. Here they left the sick man with the surgeon and eight of the company for a guard. The number was thus reduced to thirty-four. They had not proceeded far northward, when they came to a pond, on the margin of which they encamped for the night. Early the next morning, they heard the report of a gun, and saw a solitary Indian standing, more than a mile distant from them, on the point of a promontory projecting out into the water. Suspecting that he had been placed there to decoy them, and that a body of the enemy was in front, they held a consultation and determined to march forward, encompass the pond, and endeavor to gain the place where the Indian stood. That they might be ready for action, they laid aside their packs, containing all their provisions. It happened that two parties of Indians, commanded by Paugus\* and Wahwa, were returning from a scout down the Saco, to the lower village of the Pequawkets. Falling on Lovewell's track, they followed it till they came to the packs. By counting these they discovered at once the weakness of their enemy. The number of men was less than their own. They then placed themselves in ambush near the spot, and quietly waited the return of the men to their packs. The single Indian, who had stood on the point of land projecting into the pond, the party of Lovewell killed and scalped. Seeing

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F. Bel-  
knap.

\* Charles James Fox's account of Lovewell's fight—MS.

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no other enemy, they returned towards their packs, and while they were looking about for them, the Indians rose and rushed upon them with a horrid war-whoop. Captain Lovewell and eight men fell dead at the first fire; Lieutenant Farwell and two others were wounded. By this time several of the Indians had fallen; but being superior in number, they were able to keep up a brisk fire, which was as briskly returned. Perceiving that the Indians were endeavoring to surround them, they retreated a short distance, and chose a more advantageous position.

Here they were partially sheltered by a point of rocks extending out into the pond, and by a few pine trees standing on the sandy beach. Here they made a stand. On their right was the mouth of a stream; on their left the rocky point; their front partly covered by a deep bog, partly exposed, and the pond in their rear. Thus they were hemmed in, and the enemy pressing upon them and galling them in front and flank. The fall of their commander and more than one quarter of their number, at the first onset, was disheartening. But they knew that their distance from the frontier cut off all hope of safety by flight. Prudence as well as valor dictated a continuance of the engagement. They were now without a mouthful of sustenance. They had fought till past noonday, and their chaplain and ensign Robbins were mortally wounded. Under these discouraging circumstances, the Indians invited them to surrender, but they declined, and under the conduct of Lieut. Wyman, on whom the command had devolved, they kept up their fire. As night approached, the war-whoop

grew fainter. The number of the Indians was greatly diminished; Paugus was slain;\* and before sunset they retired, carrying with them their dead and wounded. Such was the fortune of this bloody day. The field was left to the colonists. The enemy, awed by their brave resistance and weakened by their own loss, thought it prudent to yield them the honor of the field. The shattered remnants of the brave company now assembled together, and found but nine of their number who had received no hurt. Of the wounded, eleven were able to march. To dispose of those who were unable to move was now the sad duty of the survivors. To remain with them would be certain destruction to all; to remove them was impossible; and yet to leave their dying companions behind, to fall into the hands of those who felt not pity, was little less than death to the generous soldier. There seemed, however, to be no alternative, and, after struggling with their feelings, they tore themselves from the spot. Ensign Robbins desired them to lay his gun by him loaded, that before his death he might kill one more Indian. By the light of the rising moon they quitted the fatal field and directed their march to the stockade fort, where they had left the sick man with a guard, on their way to Ossipee pond. To their surprise they found it deserted. In the beginning of the action one man had fled from the field, and had gone and told them of the defeat of the company. They now abandoned the fort and set out to return home. On their way, Lieut. Farwell and two others died of their wounds. One by one the sur-

\* Charles James Fox's account, in MS.

CHAP. VII. vivors reached home, and were received with joy, as men restored from the dead. A company from Dunstable, headed by Col. Tyng, went out to bury the bodies of Capt. Lovewell and his companions. They found twelve of them, and burying them, carved their names on the trees around the battle ground. The village of Fryeburg, in Maine, built in one of the most delightful valleys in America, stands near the sheet of water which has been made to commemorate this battle, by taking the name of Lovewell's Pond. The inhabitants are able to point out the spot where he fell. The pond is a beautiful sheet of water, three miles long.

It is thought that the surrounding scenery has been changed but slightly, although more than a century has elapsed since the battle was fought. The inhabitants of the town suppose that they can designate the spot, now called Indian Point, near the mouth of a small stream, where stood "the decoy Indian." The waters are encircled by a wide sandy beach, which rises with a gentle slope, and is bordered with a growth of pines, which surround it like a belt. Loon island rises like a green spec, near the centre, and at a little distance from this is Pine island, crowned with trees. The Saco sweeps within twenty rods of the pond, as if coming to receive the waters, which flow into it through a narrow channel. The village of Fryeburg stands on a level plain, elevated a few feet above the broad intervals of the Saco. In the midst of this plain rises a single stupendous rock, two hundred feet high; its top capped with small pines, its sides clad in dark brown moss. When standing under its

overhanging cliffs, man appears to be an insignificant object. It rises like an observatory in the midst of the unrivalled charms of a landscape, over which the eye ranges for miles. From the south comes the Saco, flowing in graceful meanderings, its banks fringed with the various trees that adorn the meadows, and loses itself at last towards the north, amidst the hills which range themselves on either side. Northward are the Pequawket mountains, and westward is Chocorua peak, the monarch of the Sandwich range; altogether, forming a semi-circular group of mountains of surpassing grandeur. Anciently, within this town, scarcely six miles in extent, the winding course of the Saco measured thirty-four miles in length. The frightful freshets of the river often compelled the inhabitants to retreat, with their flocks and herds, to the highlands. They have now, by a canal running across the narrowest neck of land, led the river from its bed and dried it up for a distance of thirty miles. In early times the Pequawket Indians could float with their canoes, by making the circuit of Lovewell's pond near the shores, and passing through its outlet into the Saco, for more than a hundred miles, all within the town of Fryeburg. The features of this valley are hardly equalled in New England. From an observatory, raised by the hand of nature in its midst, the eye of the beholder ranges from Lovewell's pond on the southeast, eastward over an almost unbroken forest, until the view is bounded by Pleasant mountain. He sees, almost at a glance, the silver thread of the Saco winding in the distance—the bright waters of the pond, and the plains and meadows—the clouds resting on the

CHAP. VII. summits of the mountains, or hanging wreathed around their rugged sides, sometimes illumined by the sun's rays like fluid gold, sometimes kindling with the first fires of morning. Never did nobler mountains fling their broad shadows, at sunset, over more beautiful plains and meadows than those which surround the village of Fryeburg. Nor is it the least interesting of the traveller's reflections, while gazing here, that he treads upon the favorite hunting-grounds of the once formidable Pequawkets.

The battle with Lovewell was the last expiring effort of the Indians in New Hampshire. They never took the field again. They seemed to be aware of their destiny. The prophecy of their great father, Passaconaway, made more than a century before, had been fulfilled.\* The pale faces were indeed tenants of all the pleasant places of their fathers. Copying the vices without the virtues of the white man, the Indian gained from civilization no advantages equal to the ills he suffered; and while impelled by instinct to self-defence every effort which he made did but accelerate his doom.

The battle of Lovewell's pond was the most obstinate and destructive encounter in the war. Commissioners were now despatched, on the part of New England, to Vaudruil, governor of Canada, to complain of the countenance he had given to the Indians. This procured the ransom of some captives, and exerted an influence favorable to peace. After a few months, a treaty was ratified at Falmouth.† Never were the people of New Hampshire so well trained to war as at this period.

1725.  
Jan. 20.

Dec. 15.

\* See page —.

† Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1724—1743.

Ranging parties constantly traversed the woods, as far north as the White Mountains. Every man of forty years had seen twenty years of war. They had been taught to handle arms from the cradle, and, by long practice, had become expert marksmen. They were hardy and intrepid, and knew the lurking-places of the foe. Accustomed to fatigue and familiar with danger, they bore with composure the greatest privations, and surmounted with alacrity the most formidable difficulties.

The Penacooks\* had now gone from Concord and from all the valley of the Merrimack. Some of them, more warlike than the others, had gone to the Abenakis. The residue of them emigrated to the confines of Canada, and mingled with the tribes of the St. Francis. All obstacles being removed, and there being no vicinity of hostile neighbors, the settlement of Concord was commenced in 1727; † the same year that was distinguished by the second great earthquake which had shaken New England. ‡ Not long after, scattering settlers planted themselves along the Merrimack, from Dunstable to Boscawen, and sometime afterwards, at Hollis, Amherst, Winchester, Keene and Swansey. Of the emigrants on the Merrimack and its western tributaries, the greater part were from Massachusetts. Another class was at the same time added to the population. They came from Connecticut, and planted themselves on the east bank of Connecticut river. For years these different classes of settlers exhibited characteristics so peculiar as to be distinguished from each other like four na-

1727.

Oct. 29.

\* Farmer's note on the Penacook Indians. N. H. Hist. Coll., I., p. 218.

† N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 158.

‡ N. H. Hist. Coll., IV., p. 92.

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VII.

tions ; and time has not wholly obliterated the peculiarities which once so strikingly distinguished from each other the inhabitants of the Pascataqua, Londonderry, Merrimack and Connecticut River settlements.

1726.

Whi-  
ton, 74.  
F. Bel-  
knap,  
Chap.  
XV.

While the cloud of war overhung the colonies, the boundary dispute had slept in silence. The return of peace brought with it leisure, and the contest revived afresh. Massachusetts asserted her charter claim to all the lands lying beyond a certain line. This line began at a point three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack. From thence it ran west and north, at the same distance of three miles from the river to a point in the present township of Sanbornton—three miles beyond the parallel of the junction of the Winnipiseogee and the Pemigewasset—thence due west to the Connecticut. This claim covered the whole of the county of Cheshire and the greater part of Hillsboro', Merrimack and Sullivan. Aware that their claim to jurisdiction might be overruled by the king, Massachusetts was desirous to acquire in these lands the right of property. To further this object, Massachusetts proposed the appointment of commissioners to establish the line. The New Hampshire assembly refused to concur,\* alleging that they had already submitted the case to the king. Both parties waxed warm in the dispute ; a survey was ordered, and each state strove to plant settlements within the confines of this disputed territory. Every pretence was sought, and every encouragement given to entitle persons to become

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1724—1743. Jour. Council and Assembly, 1716—1728.



grantees of the lands. A claim was soon discovered, founded in feelings of gratitude to the country's defenders. The descendants of those who had fought in the wars of the preceding century were yet unrewarded. Nine townships were readily granted by Massachusetts to the heirs of these soldiers. Those nine were called the Canada townships, and six of them were within the space claimed by New Hampshire. To the survivors of brave Lovewell's defeat, and to the descendants of those who fell, a select tract was granted at Suncook. New Hampshire, also, granted the townships of Epsom, Chichester, Barnstead, Canterbury, Gilmanton and Bow. None of these were within the disputed tract, except Bow; which interfered with grants already made by Massachusetts in Suncook and Penacook. This brought the parties directly into a contest; for it was a practical assertion, on the part of New Hampshire, of her claim to the territory in dispute. A litigation arose, which survived through the changes of forty years.

1727.  
May 19  
—20.

The deserted homes of the peaceful Penacooks now invited the current of emigration to the banks of the Merrimack, and a settlement was commenced in 1727. In 1733 it was called Rumford,\* and did not take the name of Concord till 1765. Attracted by the level and pleasant lands on this river, settlers planted themselves along its whole course, and all along its western tributaries. They followed up the Ashuelot, and planted themselves at Keene, in one of the most beautiful vales in New England. These settlers were from Massachu-

1727.  
1733.

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., I., p. 153—Ibid. 218.

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 1727.

setts, and were distinctly marked as the third division of the inhabitants of New Hampshire. They exhibited peculiarities, intellectual, moral, social and political. The Connecticut, Pascataqua, and Londonderry divisions have all likewise been distinguished by peculiar traits of character; and long continued to display, in their manners, customs and modes of thinking, the peculiar characteristics of former generations. The settlers carried with them, into their new abodes, the habits, feelings and principles deeply impressed on their minds, when young, which long continued to display their peculiar influences on their descendants. Thus these settlers continued to exhibit almost the national peculiarities of four distinct nations. During the absorbing excitement of the boundary contest, little progress was made in the improvement and settlement of the country. Projects for colonies were continually formed—meetings of proprietors were held, and an avaricious spirit of speculation in landed property prevailed everywhere; but the best lands remained uncultivated and the real wealth of the country was diminished. Its improvement was retarded. But in the midst of these speculations and schemes of settlement, the death of King George I. dissolved the assembly, and writs were issued for the election of a new one, in the name of George the second. This assembly had subsisted for five years, which had been deemed a grievance. By so long a continuance in office, the representatives became too independent of the people. Basking so long in the rays of royal favor, they became alienated from their constituents, and corrupted by long inti

Nov.  
 21.

macy with a royal governor and his council, and popular opinion lost its just weight in government. The death of the king furnished a fit occasion, and the democratic principle, which quickens the natural progress of power from the few hands to the many, now manifested itself in a general desire expressed by the people to limit the duration of assemblies. Immediately after the organization of the new assembly, a move was made for a triennial act.\* The lieutenant governor, Wentworth, favored the proposal, and both houses agreed in framing an act by which the present assembly was limited to three years, unless sooner dissolved by the governor. This act afforded additional security to the rights of the people, and was hailed as a popular triumph. Having taken the first step, the house were disposed to proceed to other alterations and reforms. They had already resolved upon remodelling the courts.

But the council resisted. A contest arose between the two branches, which Wentworth suddenly terminated, by dissolving the assembly;† an act which embittered the people against him and his administration. Most of the old assembly were re-elected, and the same speaker, Nathaniel Weare, was again chosen. Wentworth, however, negatived the choice, thus assuming the power of a royal governor. After several days' suspension of business, the house reluctantly chose another speaker. The public business now proceeded with ill humor. The chair and the house assumed hostile attitudes. Continual reproaches passed

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1727.

1728.

\* Prev. Rec., Jour. Council and Assembly, 1716—1728. Jour. House, 1724—1743.

† P. R., J. H. and A. 1717—1728. J. H. 1724—1742.

CHAP.  
VII.

between them, and the house carried their opposition so far as to resolve upon petitioning the king to annex the province to Massachusetts. But in the midst of this controversy, William Burnet, son of the famous Bishop of Sarum, arrived at Boston, commissioned as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was an elegant scholar, and an enemy to ostentation and parade. He had been governor of New York and New Jersey. His fame had reached New England, and the people had formed high anticipations of favor and benefit from his appointment. Shortly after his arrival at Portsmouth he died of a violent fever, and was succeeded by Jonathan Belcher,\* a man of a character widely different from his predecessor. He was a merchant, of an ample fortune, had passed six years in Europe, and had been twice at the court of Hanover, before the Protestant succession in the house of Brunswick. In his person he was graceful; his manners elegant and polite, and of a lofty and aspiring disposition. He was frank and sincere, a generous friend, a vindictive, but not implacable, enemy; proud of his office, and fond of splendor. When he found the emoluments of his office inadequate to support the luxuries in which he chose to live, he determined to support the dignity of his station at the expense of his private fortune. Shortly after his appointment, occurred the death of Lieutenant Governor Wentworth. Until the unfortunate controversy between him and the assembly, near the close of his administration, he had possessed the confidence of the people, and he carried with him their respect to the grave.

1730.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 224.

1730.

1730.  
Dec. 12.

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., IV., p. 97.

Wisdom and moderation marked the whole of his public career. For nearly thirteen years he had conducted the affairs of the province, through the perplexities of high party excitement and the difficulties of an Indian war. In every station he secured the general confidence and esteem. In his youth he had followed the seas. From being the commander of a ship, he became a merchant. He was charitable to the poor, courteous and affable. As a merchant, he sustained the reputation of a fair and generous dealer. As a citizen, he was distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and public spirit. At his death, David Dunbar, a native of Ireland, and a reduced colonel in the British service, succeeded him in the lieutenancy.

CHAP.  
VII.

1731.  
June 24.

No sooner did Dunbar arrive in New Hampshire, than he joined the party opposed to Governor Belcher.\* To the exertions of this party New Hampshire is indebted for a large extent of territory. Had it never sprung into existence, the boundary line would have been yielded to Massachusetts; and New Hampshire, curtailed in territory and without a separate governor, would have finally been annexed, as a mere appendage, to her more wealthy and flourishing neighbor. The rise of this party began before the death of Wentworth, and received a powerful accession of numbers from his influence. After the death of Burnet, it was uncertain whether Belcher would be appointed, or whether Governor Shute, who had been long absent, would return and resume the chair. Wentworth wrote letters of compliment to both. Belcher was not apprized of the letter to Shute until

Bel-  
knap, p.  
224.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1724—1743.

CHAP.  
VII.

after his arrival in America. He was then informed that Shute had received a letter from the lieutenant-governor, of the same tenor as his own. This was deemed an act of duplicity, and excited his displeasure. He withdrew all civilities from Wentworth; and having control over the emoluments of his office, he cut down his salary to the smallest possible limits. At this, Wentworth's friends were disappointed and disgusted. He did not long survive. But his son, Benning Wentworth, and his son-in-law, Theodore Atkinson, resented the affront, and having turned all their influence against Belcher, they became leaders of the opposition. Dunbar seconded their enmity with great zeal, and the current of popular feeling began to set strongly in their favor. The positions and views of the two parties at this time may be distinctly seen. Belcher and his friends had projected the union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts. To effect this, it was necessary to induce the people unanimously to petition the crown. This project was unpopular, and was found to be impracticable. They therefore kept their plan out of sight, and awaited a favorable opportunity to accomplish it.

On the other hand, the opposition warmly advocated the continuance of a separate government, and demanded a distinct governor, who should reside in the province. The greatest obstacle to this was the poverty and smallness of the province. The population of New Hampshire, at this time, numbered not above ten thousand; three or four thousand of whom resided within the territory claimed by Massachusetts. There were little

more than nineteen hundred dwelling-houses, and the amount of shipping did not exceed five hundred tons. The number of seamen was but forty. The exports were small, and consisted chiefly of fish and lumber. The customs and excise brought only a revenue of four hundred pounds, while the annual expenses of government rose to over fifteen hundred pounds; and the deficiency was supplied by a tax. In this state of things, the opposition saw the necessity of enlarging the territory and fixing its limits.

They easily persuaded the people that great advantages would flow to them from establishing the line—that the expenses of it would be but trifling and that the lands, when once acquired, would be granted to them and their children. Both parties had become greatly embittered in their animosities, and the spirit of intrigue marks the whole course of their negotiations.\* The governor and his party found strong aid in the powerful neighbor at their side, who, covetous of territory, was no idle spectator of the contest. Massachusetts stoutly asserted her chartered claims, and affected to look with contempt on the ambitious plans of the small province which she had once governed. On the other hand, New Hampshire, aspiring to the rank of an independent state, contested boldly every inch of ground with her proud rival, and when baffled in her efforts, made interest with the servants of the crown and sought refuge in royal favor. Such was the state of parties, when, in the autumn of 1731, a committee of both provinces met at Newbury, to settle this pro-

CHAP.  
VII.

Whi-  
ton,  
p. 78.

1731.  
Sept.  
21.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1724—1743.

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VII.

tracted dispute. The influence of Massachusetts prevented an accommodation, and this proved to be a fruitless conference. The representatives of New Hampshire now determined to treat no longer with Massachusetts; but represent the matter to the king, and petition the crown to decide the controversy. Accordingly, without the concurrence of the council,\* they commissioned John Rindge, a merchant of Portsmouth, to present their petition to the king. On its reception, it was referred to the lords of trade, and Rindge, on his departure from London, left his business in the hands of John Tomlinson, of London, and Mr. Parris, the solicitor. These shrewd and persevering men supported the petition of New Hampshire with great ability and success. In due time they obtained a royal order referring the question to a board of commissioners, to be selected from the councilors of the neighboring province. In August, 1737, this board convened at Hampton, and simultaneously with them the assemblies of the two contending provinces met in the same neighborhood; that of Massachusetts at Salisbury, and that of New Hampshire at Hampton Falls. Thus arrayed, each jealous of the other, watching to circumvent, and eager to catch at the most trivial mistake, the parties, with their commissioners, entered upon the difficult business before them. Massachusetts contended for a line to be drawn three miles from the left bank of the Merrimack, up to the confluence of its two main branches, and asserted her right to all the lands south and west of this limit. She also contended that the eastern

1732.

1737.  
Aug.

Whiton,  
p. 81.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1724—1743.



boundary of New Hampshire should be a line drawn from the mouth of the Pascataqua to the source of the Salmon Falls branch, and from thence due north-west. This would have cut off small portions of Grafton, and almost the whole of Coos county. On the other hand, New Hampshire claimed for her southern boundary a line drawn due west from a point three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimac; and for her eastern, a line passing up the Pascataqua, to the source of Salmon Falls river, and thence north one or two degrees west. After a long and angry discussion between the parties, the commissioners fixed upon the present eastern boundary. The southern they were unable to determine. An appeal to the king was the only mode of adjustment. Tired of the controversy, both parties finally agreed to submit the whole subject to the royal decision.\* Three years afterwards, George II. terminated the dispute in favor of New Hampshire. In regard to the eastern boundary, he confirmed the judgment of the commissioners. His decision upon the southern line was not anticipated by either party. He substituted the present line for one running due west from a point three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimac; thus giving New Hampshire a territory of fifty miles in length, by fourteen in breadth, more than she had claimed.

This enlargement of territory, population and wealth gave to New Hampshire a new political importance; and it was determined in England to gratify her wishes as to a separate government. Accordingly, Benning Wentworth, the favorite of

CHAP.  
VII.

Whitton,  
p. 81.

Whitton,  
p. 81.

1740.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House. 1721—1713.

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 1741. the people, and the warmest opponent of Belcher, received the appointment of governor and commander-in-chief of New Hampshire. After a long absence, he had at length returned to Portsmouth in triumph, invested with the honors of his office.

While this controversy was pending, the advance of New Hampshire in wealth and importance had been slow. A severe check had been given to her population, in 1735, by a malignant throat distemper, which spread from Maine to Carolina. In New Hampshire alone more than a thousand persons, mostly children, fell victims to its ravages. But the intelligence and morals of the colony were in advance of her wealth. Schools had been well established and sustained.\* No public execution had ever taken place since the first settlement, a period of one hundred and twenty years. Freed from the grasping claims of Massachusetts, possessing solid resources, her boundaries enlarged and established, and with a separate government of her own, she started afresh in her career, and gave evidence of a capacity for improvement hitherto unknown even to herself. The population of New Hampshire at this period began to increase rapidly from emigration; for there were in England many who "rather chose to spend themselves in seeking a new world, than servilely to be hired as slaughterers in the quarrels of strangers."

Gorges' Hist. of N. Eng. p. 3.

1744. An unusual religious excitement brought to America, at this period, one of the most remarkable men of the age. With the exception of

† Rev. N. Bouton's Address, N. H. Hist. Coll., IV., p. 5.

Patrick Henry, it may be safely said that no voice was ever heard on the western continent so eloquent as that of George Whitefield; nor is there a name so sacredly embalmed in the religious remembrances of the American people. He was of humble origin, and there is no genealogy of his family relations to swell the bulk of history. In his youth he discovered a predilection for the stage, and acted some plays at school. Yet a graceful delivery was so natural to him that he may be said to have imparted it to the stage rather than to have borrowed it there.\* Like many of the great orators of ancient and modern times, he has left few memorials of his genius and excellence behind him. Yet it would be impossible to write the annals of eloquence and not insert the name of him who was regarded as the great model of excellence in his time. The lightning flashes of his eloquence were never written, and never could be reported. His printed sermons discover but faint traces of that masterly power which held multitudes fast bound, as by an almost supernatural spell. The free and hearty appeal, which stirs and enchants the multitude, if ever so correctly transcribed, will leave on the mind of the reader a feeling of disappointment. Such were the sermons of Whitefield. They were made up principally of those extempore effusions and bursts of passion, caught from the transient impulse of present feeling, or inspired by the presence of a vast assembly, which lose much of their force when the man and the occasion disappear. He was indifferent to worldly gain, and sought to

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\* Memoirs of Whitefield, p. 11.

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VII.

build an orphan asylum, as the best legacy he could leave to the world.

Gifted with a daring fancy, full of pathos and enthusiasm, he dealt familiarly with all the passions of the human heart, and moved his hearers, at will, with every emotion of which human nature is susceptible. If he melted them to tears, it was only that he might pour upon them a flash of joy, and make it still brighter by the contrast, when he unveiled the face of a merciful Savior, and pointed them to the mansions of eternal purity and bliss. Whitefield preached many times in New Hampshire and in Massachusetts. So charmed were the people by his eloquence, that they shut up their shops,\* forgot their secular pursuits, and laid aside their schemes for the world. Crowds followed him from place to place, and the oftener he preached, the more eager were they to hear him again. Nor is it at all to the disparagement of this eloquent and truly wonderful man, that he was opposed and vilified by the professors of Harvard College. While they are forgotten, and while the names even of the brightest of his cotemporaries have passed away, like the transitory meteors of a lower sky, the fame of Whitefield shines from the upper heavens with a fixed and unalterable glory.

\* Memoirs of Whitefield, p. 252.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITION to Cape Breton—William Pepperell—Siege and fall of Louisburg—Vaughan—War with the Indians—Settlement with the Masonian proprietors—Defence of Number-Four by Capt. Stevens—Contest concerning the Vermont lands—Stark—France resolves to connect Canada with Louisiana—Union of the colonies for defence—Congress of delegates meet at Albany—Campaign of 1755—Defeat of Braddock—Washington—The Rangers—Expedition to Crown Point—Massacre at Fort William Henry—Montcalm—Pitt—Attack upon the fortress of Ticonderoga—The English repulsed—Quebec—Expedition against the St. Francis Indians—Destruction of their village—Disasters of the Rangers—Conquest of Canada completed—The Rangers—Unsuccessful attempt of the Indians to exterminate the English—N. H. Gazette—Progress of settlement—Contest between New York and New Hampshire for the lands of Vermont—The Revolution dawning.

FIFTEEN leagues from Cape Ray, the southwestern extremity of Newfoundland, lies the cold and rocky island of Cape Breton. Wrapped in a perpetual fog, which is impervious to the sun's rays, summer brings no vegetation to perfection on its sterile shores. It is visited by the long and fierce winters which reign between the forty-fifth and forty-seventh degrees of north latitude. The face of the isle is either rough and mountainous or sinks into wet bogs. On the north and west sides it is steep and inaccessible, sometimes rising into mountains. On the south-eastern side it is level, and indented with fine bays and noble harbors. It invites no tiller to the soil. Its only productions are pitcoal and plaster. Fields of floating ice environ its shores long after spring

CHAP.  
VIII.  
1744.

CHAP. reigns triumphant over all the neighboring lands.

VIII.

It acquired its name from the hardy mariners of Brittany, and Normandy, "from their remembrance of home."\* It has no good fishing stations, and derives all its importance from its central position and the convenience of its forts.

By the treaty of Utrecht, England had ceded this barren isle to France; and received from the French crown the neighboring possessions of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. On a neck of land, south of one of the finest harbors on the island, the French had built the city of Louisburg, two miles and a quarter in circumference, surrounded by a wall of stone thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. The entrance to the town by land was at the west gate, over a draw-bridge, defended by a circular battery mounting sixteen guns.

Within this strong enclosure the town was regularly laid out in squares; the streets were broad, the houses of wood or stone. On a high cliff, opposite the battery, stood the lighthouse; a spacious citadel arose on the west side; and under the ramparts were casements to receive the women and children in case of a siege. A space of about two hundred yards on the side next the sea was enclosed by a simple dike and a line of pickets. The side fire from the bastions swept this space, and secured it from attack. There were six bastions, and three batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon.

By the labors of twenty-five years, these mag-

\* Bancroft, Vol. I., p. 15.

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VIII.

nificent works had been constructed; and they had cost the crown not less than thirty millions of livres. In peace, the fine harbors on the southeastern side formed a safe retreat for the ships of France, on their homeward course from the West Indies; in war, they could harbor a swarm of privateers, to ruin the English fisheries and interrupt her coasting trade.

France was at this time warmly attached to the interests of Spain, by the tie of relationship between the royal families. Ever since the flame of war had been kindled between Britain and Spain, it had been expected that France would be involved in the quarrel, and it was foreseen by all, that when war should break out between France and England, their American colonies would be the scene of hostilities. These anticipations were realized by a declaration of war on the part of England against France, in 1744. Duquesnel, the French governor of Louisburg, who had received intelligence of this before it reached New England, immediately led a body of French and surprised the little English garrison at Canseau. He destroyed the fishery, the fort, and the other buildings; and after menacing the English posts in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, returned with sixty prisoners of war to Louisburg.

1744.

1744.  
March.Ban-  
croft,  
III.,  
457.

This early disaster drew the attention of the colonists to the importance of Louisburg, and inspired a strong wish for its reduction. The prisoners of Canseau, after passing the summer in captivity, were sent to Boston on parole. From them Governor Shirley obtained an accurate account of that fortress, and, with his characteristic

May.

CHAP.  
VIII.

Bancroft,  
III.,  
457.

Prov.  
Rec.  
Jour.  
House,  
1742—  
1747.  
Jour.  
Coun.  
&  
Assem.  
1742—  
1750.

Dun-  
lap's  
Hist.  
N.  
York,  
Vol. I.,  
p. 354.

energy and decision, resolved at once upon an enterprise against it. The fishermen of Marblehead, interrupted in their pursuits, "disdained an idle summer, and entered readily into the design." Massachusetts, by a majority of one vote in her legislature, resolved upon the expedition, and poured forth a force of three thousand volunteers. New Hampshire raised a detachment of five hundred,\* bearing upon their banners the pious motto of Whitefield, "NIL DESPERANDUM CHRISTO DUCE."† Connecticut sent five hundred and sixteen men, and three hundred sailed from Rhode Island too late to share the glory of the enterprise. Nor did the generous supply of provisions sent by Pennsylvania arrive till after the surrender of the city. The cannon contributed by New York, more fortunate in their destination, came safely and seasonably to their hands.

The merit of originating this expedition is supposed by many to belong to William Vaughan, of Portsmouth. He had learned from fishermen the strength and situation of the place, and conceived the design of taking the city by surprise. He was in Boston when the final vote was taken in the legislature of Massachusetts. On the passage of the resolution, circular letters were immediately despatched to all the colonies. With one of these

\* Bancroft estimates the number at three hundred and four; but it is not to be forgotten that one hundred and fifty from New Hampshire had previously joined one of the Massachusetts regiments, and forty-six more manned one of the armed sloops which served as a cruiser. This accession of New Hampshire men swelled the Massachusetts force to upwards of three thousand one hundred; but I have chosen to put down the number actually raised in each state, giving to Massachusetts about three thousand, and to New Hampshire the number actually raised, which was five hundred, one eighth of the land forces.

† Nothing is to be despaired of, Christ being the leader.



Vaughan rode express to Portsmouth. The assembly was in session when his errand was announced. The house of representatives caught the enthusiasm of Vaughan, and desired an immediate conference of the two houses. It was immediately held, and the proposition of Governor Shirley instantly agreed to; and almost in a day a committee was raised—their report made, favorable to the expedition—a proclamation issued for enlisting men, and for providing military stores and transports. Such, at that day, was the enthusiasm of New England men. Nothing checked the rush of legislators and people but the emission of bills of credit; a measure made indispensable by the poverty of the exchequer. This was contrary to the letter of royal instructions. But, by the united ingenuity of Shirley and Wentworth, a way was devised to surmount this obstacle, and the governor consented to a bill for the emission of ten thousand pounds.

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Feb. 13.

The most important arrangements being thus made by the united colonies, it now remained to appoint a commander-in-chief. There was not a man in New England qualified, by professional skill and experience, to take the command. But there were many possessing fidelity, courage, and popularity, the best *substitute* for military talents, and even *with* them, a necessary requisite to the commander of a volunteer army. Of these individuals, William Pepperell, of Kittery, was one—a militia colonel—a merchant of unblemished reputation—well known to the men, beloved and admired by them all. On him the appointment fell. It was in the midst of Whitefield's revival

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that the expedition was resolved upon; and the famous preacher was consulted. He favored the expedition—his newly converted followers enlisted—and in some parts of the camp it assumed somewhat the air of a crusade. The officers shrewdly excited the ardor of the men with the hope of destroying the images which, they had been told, adorned the French churches of the island. One of the chaplains even carried on his shoulder a hatchet, to cut them down. Enthusiastic ardor and religious zeal threw aside the cooler maxims of prudence, toleration and justice; and confidence and fortitude raised the minds of all above the dread of danger.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 277.

In the beginning of January, orders from England had been despatched to Commodore Warren, to come from the Leeward Islands, with such ships as he could spare from his fleet, and co-operate with the land forces of the colonists. All fortunate circumstances concurred to favor, and Heaven seemed to smile upon the enterprise. Fierce Winter, tyrant of the north, relaxed his severity in the year in which this expedition was planned; and the month of February resembled the mildness of November. The harbors and rivers were open. The abundant products of the preceding fruitful season made it easy to provide plentiful stores; and no intelligence of these preparations had reached Nova Scotia. The Indians, indeed, had carried the news of the Cape Breton Expedition to Canada, but the guardian angel of the colonies seemed to interpose, for the French gave no credit to the report. A wonderful good fortune brought together, at this time, every ship of war from the

American ports and islands, until Commodore Warren, an experienced and judicious officer, had at his disposal, for the assistance of the colonies, a formidable squadron, consisting of four ships of the line and six frigates.

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Bel-  
knap,  
p. 273.

An equally remarkable concurrence of unfortunate incidents, at this time, attended the French. Discontent and mutiny prevailed within the walls of Louisburg. The troops of the garrison were starving and unpaid. The ships that brought supplies for them from France, when they came upon the coast, and while vainly struggling to cut their way through the fields of ice which environed the shore, were taken by our cruisers. Yet all this was unknown to the garrison. In fancied security, but with murmurs and complaints, the French passed their days of privation, unconscious of the design formed against them. No knowledge of the expedition to Louisburg had reached their ears.

In the small vessels of New England, the troops of Massachusetts embarked at Boston, and arrived at Canseau. Ardent for action, and impatient of delay, the New Hampshire forces, at their own request, were permitted to sail in advance of the others, and had arrived two days before them. Met by the ice drifting in heaps, they were obliged to stop. While thus delaying at Canseau, they were gladdened by the welcome arrival of Commodore Warren's squadron, and the next day, by the arrival of the Connecticut forces, in a fleet of nine vessels. Three weeks they waited for the ice of Cape Breton to dissolve, and during all this time remained undiscovered within sight of the

March  
31.

March  
29.

April  
23.  
April  
24.

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VIII.

enemy. An ample supply of provisions was obtained from the prizes which fell a prey to their vigilant cruisers. The armed sloop of New Hampshire took one ship from Martinico, and retook a transport which had been taken the day before, and had made its escape. By the command of Pepperell the same warlike sloop covered a detachment which destroyed the little secluded village of St. Peters. When the town had been laid waste and the inhabitants scattered, the whole fleet set sail.

Many were the schemes which the inventive genius of New England suggested, at this early day, to supply the place of warlike art. One man produced the model of a flying bridge to scale the walls. It was to be so light that twenty men could carry it on their shoulders to the wall and raise it in a minute. Four blocks and two hundred fathoms of rope were the apparatus for raising it, and it was to be floored with boards wide enough for eight men to march on it abreast. A covering of raw hides was to guard it from the enemy's fire. This bridge, it was said, might be erected against any part of the wall, even before a breach had been effected, and it was "calculated" by the inventor that a thousand men could pass over it in four minutes. An ingenious clergyman, burning perhaps with honest hatred of the Catholics, presented to the general a plan for encamping the army, opening trenches and placing batteries. He also proposed a caution against subterranean mines. This was, that "two confidential persons, attended by a guard, should, during the night, approach the walls; that one should, with a beetle,

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 274.

Bel-  
knap.

strike the ground, while the other should lay his ear to it, and observe whether the sound was hollow, and that a mark should be set on all places suspected." Vaughan, when he first conceived the design of taking Louisburg, had proposed to go over the walls on the drifted snow.\* Shirley's plan was, that the whole fleet should make Chapeau-rouge point just at the shutting in of day—from thence to push into the bay undiscovered—the men to be landed in the dark and before midnight—to cut their way through the surf to the shore, then through thicket and bog, three miles, to the city, and some of them a mile beyond it, to the royal battery—to pull down the pickets with grappling-irons, and scale the fortification with ladders; all this in the space of twelve hours from their first making the land, and nine hours from their debarkation. Such a scheme could occur only to one unskilled in navigation, unmindful of the tempestuous season, and unacquainted with the dangerous and inhospitable coast. It was concealed from the troops and never attempted.

The forces proceeded from Canseau with pleasant weather and favoring winds. Finally, on the last day of April, at the dawn of morning, the armament of New England, in a hundred vessels, bearing only eighteen cannon and three mortars, entered the bay of Chapeau-rouge, and came in sight of Louisburg. They beheld the walls armed with an hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels, and six mortars. Upwards of sixteen hundred men composed the garrison. But so

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1745.

April  
30.

\* In that wintry region the depth of snow is immense, and the winds sometimes raise it in drifts to the height of fifty or sixty feet.

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complete were the fortifications, and so decided were the advantages of locality, that three hundred men were considered sufficient to defend it against five thousand besiegers. The New England troops were composed of mechanics, husbandmen and lumberers. But though unskilled in war, they were inured to danger. The mechanics had been bred with arms in their hands. The husbandmen had gone armed to their work in the field; and the lumberer knew the hardships of a winter encampment. Many of them were skilful marksmen, and had trailed the Indians.

They had now come to the reduction of a regularly constructed fortress, which none of them, not even their commander, had ever seen. But they were resolute, and animated by an ardent patriotism, though they knew better how to confront, than to measure the difficulties and dangers before them. At the sight of Louisburg, they lowered their boats and flew to the shore.

Although the plan of a surprisal had failed, by the fleet failing to reach Chapeau-rouge point in the evening, and the French had seen their white sails on the bay, yet they could hardly believe the extent of the design formed against the place. The first detachments, who came down to oppose the besiegers on the shore, were panic-struck, and fled to the woods. The troops being landed, it was now resolved to invest the city; and Vaughan, ever ready for the most daring adventure, volunteered to conduct the first column through the woods and lead on the attack. At the head of four hundred men, chiefly from New Hampshire,

May 1.

at the dead of night, he marched by the city,

saluting it with three cheers, and took post near the northeast harbor. There he set fire to the warehouses containing the naval stores. The flames and smoke, which were driven by the wind upon the French who had charge of the royal battery, annoyed them to such a degree that they abandoned it, and, having spiked their guns and cut the halliards off the flag-staff, retired to the city. The next morning Vaughan observed from the hill which overlooked the battery, that the fires of the barracks were out, and the staff without a flag. For a trifling reward he induced an Indian to enter at an embrasure and open the gate. Then he wrote to the general these words: "May it please your honor to be informed, that by the grace of God and the courage of thirteen men I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag."

CHAP  
VIII.  
1745.

May 2.

The city had now become alarmed, and a hundred men were despatched in boats to retake the battery. But Vaughan, with his thirteen men, resolutely confronted them on the beach, and, in the face of a galling fire from the city and the boats, kept them from landing till a reinforcement arrived. The siege was now prosecuted with enthusiastic ardor. For fourteen nights successively the New Hampshire troops were employed in dragging the cannon over boggy morasses; and when the wheels sunk in the mire, Meserve, a New Hampshire colonel and a ship carpenter, constructed sledges, on which the cannon were placed, and the men, with straps on their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, drew them safely over from the landing place to the camp, within cannon-shot of the enemy's walls.

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1745.

In the reduction of Louisburg, although courage and fortitude were often displayed, yet the movements of the assailants resembled the irregular and crazy ardor of a mob, rather than the systematic operations of an army. The whole siege was a scene of confusion and tumult. The men laughed at discipline; and such were the irregularities and want of system, that the soldiers themselves, when they looked back upon the dangers they had passed, regarded their preservation as scarcely less than miraculous. Though the consultations of the officers preserved all the formalities of a council of war, though the orders of the general were formally issued, and returns made at the several posts, yet the camp was wholly without discipline. While the front of the army presented a formidable array to the enemy, the rear was a scene of confusion and frolic. The men, when not on duty in the trenches, were fishing, racing, wrestling, and running after shot from the enemy's guns. For these they received a bounty, and then sent them back to the enemy. Had the mutinous spirit of the garrison been so far subdued that the officers could have trusted the men to make a sortie, the camp of the besiegers might have been surprised and the whole army destroyed.

The garrison numbered at least six hundred regular troops and a thousand Breton militia. But this force was too feeble to admit of making sallies. Hunting parties of the assailants were ever on the watch to prevent surprise by land, and the fleet of Admiral Warren, ever vigilant, guarded the approaches by sea. Still, however, the siege proceeded slowly. Four or five unsuccessful at-



tempts had been made to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance to the harbor. The troops were chagrined by the failure, and the more it was talked of amongst them, the more their pride and obstinacy revolted against abandoning the undertaking. At length a party of four hundred men volunteered, from the different regiments, to go, under a chief of their own selection, and attack the battery by night. But this attempt, like the others, was signally defeated. Their approach was discovered;—a murderous fire struck the boats before they could effect a landing;—only a part of the forces reached the shore—and these, after a severe contest of nearly an hour, were glad to escape to the boats, leaving behind sixty killed and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners.

After this failure, it was evident that the expedition must be abandoned or the walls of the city scaled; for, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the garrison, the French were daily making the fortifications stronger, and no breach had as yet been effected. It was now resolved in council of war to make preparations for a general assault. The naval officers agreed to sail into the harbor and bombard the city, while the land forces were to attempt to enter the fortress by storm. To annoy the island battery, the Americans, under command of Gridley, of Boston, erected a battery on the Lighthouse Cliff; while, within two hundred yards of the city, trenches were thrown up, and the guns of the royal battery began to play upon the northwest gate of the city. Yet no breach had been effected. The works were of immense

CHAP.  
VIII.

1745.

May 26.

Ban-  
croft,  
III.,  
462.  
F. Bel-  
knap,  
278.

CHAP. strength, and able to resist a much greater force,  
 VIII. had Duchambon been acquainted with his duties.  
 1745. But in the midst of these hostile demonstrations,  
 May 19. the garrison received intelligence that the Vigilant,  
 a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with mili-  
 tary stores for the garrison, had been decoyed into  
 the midst of the English fleet, and, after an en-  
 June 15. gagement of some hours, had been taken, within  
 sight of Louisburg. When they heard of the loss  
 16. of their supplies, the garrison became discouraged ;  
 the desponding and irresolute Duchambon sent  
 out a flag of truce ; terms of capitulation were  
 17. agreed upon ; and, on the seventeenth of June, the  
 city, with the fort and all the batteries, were sur-  
 rendered to the English. When they entered,  
 and beheld the extent and variety of the means of  
 defence, the stoutest hearts were appalled at the  
 vast strength of the place, and the utter impracti-  
 cability of carrying it by assault. They shud-  
 dered at the dangers they had passed, and thought  
 the taking of the city to be a special providence  
 of God.

No sooner was the city taken, and the victorious  
 F. Bel- besiegers sheltered within its walls, than the  
 knap, weather, which had been remarkably dry, changed,  
 230. and an incessant rain of ten days succeeded. Had  
 this happened during the siege, it would have been  
 fatal to many of the troops. They had no tents  
 thick enough to keep off the fogs, and slept upon  
 the earth in turf and brush houses. But the  
 weather was only in accordance with the general  
 Doug- good fortune. The whole siege was a succession  
 lass, of lucky accidents on the part of the English, and  
 336. of equally unlucky ones on the part of the French.

“If any one circumstance,” says Douglass, “had taken a wrong turn on our side, and if any one circumstance had not taken a wrong turn on the French side, the expedition must have miscarried.”

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VIII.  
1747.

Soon after the surrender, the triumphant army held a council of war within the walls, and it was determined to maintain the place, and repair the breaches. The French flag was still kept flying upon the ramparts, and served to decoy many a rich prize into the harbor. With the exception of Quebec, Louisburg was the strongest fortress on the continent. The fall of it, at such a time, could not but fill America with joy, and Europe with astonishment. It was the greatest achievement of the war. Pepperell and Warren each of them received the title of a baronet; the latter was promoted to the rank of admiral, and the former was commissioned as a colonel in the British service. Vaughan sailed for England, and urged his claims to similar distinctions, which, after a year of delay, were coldly rejected, shortly before his death.

Thus, while the successful commanders of the expedition were distinguished by the honors of knighthood, Vaughan, the originator of the enterprise, and the most gallant spirit of the crusade, remained more than a year in England, in the vain expectation of receiving some token of recognition from the sovereign, whom he had so signally served, and finally died in an obscure street in the metropolis, a disappointed man. Warren claimed the victory to himself, and the English government awarded it to him. The ministry suppressed the facts which were urged upon them in support of Vaughan's claims. Warren entered the high

Dunlap's  
Hist. of  
N. York,  
vol. I.,  
p. 354,  
who  
quotes  
Walsh's  
Eng-  
land  
and A-  
merica.

CHAP.

VIII.

1747.

Sept.

29.

court of Admiralty in England, and deposed on oath that, with the assistance of his majesty's ships, *he*, the deponent, "did subdue the whole island of Cape Breton." But it is time to declare that not Admiral Warren, nor yet *Sir* William Pepperell, was the real hero of Louisburg; but that what was wanting in the good fortune of the besiegers and the inefficiency of the garrison, was supplied by the fiery valor of Vaughan, the cool intrepidity of Wolcott, and the hardy courage of Gridley, Meserve and Fernald.

1746.  
April 6.

The active mind of Shirley had contemplated, not merely the capture of Cape Breton, but the conquest of all the French dominions on the western hemisphere. Immediately after the fall of Louisburg, he repaired thither, and consulted with Warren and Pepperell on the practicability of such a design. From the captured city he wrote to the British ministry, enforcing his solicitations by the brilliant success at Louisburg. In the following spring the Duke of Newcastle wrote to all the American governors, as far south as Virginia, calling upon them to form companies of one hundred men each, and hold themselves in readiness to march. The plan was, that a squadron of ships of war, and land forces from England, should be joined by the New England forces, at Louisburg, and proceed together up the river St. Lawrence. The troops of New York, and the other provinces at the southward, were to rendezvous at Albany, and march against Crown Point and Montreal.

Besides the conquest of Canada, there were other reasons for this expedition. The Indians, as I shall hereafter relate, were at this time ravaging

the fields, and carrying the torch and the scalping-knife along the whole extent of the frontiers. Was it not an inefficient, as well as a disgraceful mode of warfare, to act entirely on the defensive, especially after the success which had attended the arms of the colonists at Louisburg? Were scouts and garrisons sufficient to dispirit the enemy and secure the frontiers from depredations? Little argument was needed. The design was popular, and the colonies readily furnished their quotas.

1741.

June.

The assembly of New Hampshire was immediately convened, and voted\* to enlist a thousand men. They were also to keep in pay two armed vessels. The same difficulty occurred about the emission of bills of credit, as on occasion of the Louisburg expedition—and was as easily remedied.† The command of the troops was given to Colonel Atkinson; and so promptly did the men enlist, that at the beginning of July eight hundred were ready for embarkation. Transports and provisions were also prepared; but neither orders, nor general, nor fleet arrived from England. Seven times did they leave Spithead, and seven times returned again. Only two regiments ever reached Louisburg. All summer long, the men of the colonies lingered in suspense, waiting for employment.

But the whole country is now thrown into consternation. France has planned the recovery of Louisburg and the desolation of all the English colonies. Report flies, that a large French fleet and army have arrived at Nova Scotia, under command of the Duke D'Anville. The troops des-

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. Council and Assembly, 1742—1750. Jour. House, 1742—1747.  
† P. R., J. C. and A., 1742—50. J. H., 1742—47.

CHAP. VIII.            tined for Canada are detained at home. The militia are collected to join them. Old forts on the sea-coast are repaired—new ones are erected. Another battery of sixteen guns, throwing thirty-two and twenty-four pounds shot, is added to fort William and Mary, at the entrance of Piscataqua harbor; another, of nine thirty-two pounders, is placed at the point of Little Harbor. Military guards are appointed, and for six weeks the people are kept in a state of fear and anxiety. At length some released prisoners bring the most affecting accounts of distress on board the French fleet. A pestilence has broken out amongst the men. Eleven hundred were buried at Halifax, and hundreds more of the dead were buried in the deep sea.

1746. The officers were divided in their councils, and this, added to the disasters of continued storms and shipwrecks, so dejected the commander-in-chief that he put an end to his life by poison. The second in command, in a fit of delirium, rushed upon his sword and ended his life. By these melancholy events the first plan was disconcerted. They were next to attack Annapolis. But in sailing from Chebuctoo, they were overtaken by a violent storm, off Cape Sable, and the ships which escaped destruction returned singly to France. Thus the French armada had been vanquished without even the sight of an enemy.

F. Belknap,  
p. 234.

When the alarm of the French fleet had passed, Atkinson marched with his regiment to cover the lower part of the frontiers, and encamped on the shores of Lake Winnipiseogee. Here they passed an idle winter, with plenty of provisions, without

exercise, discipline, courts martial, or the punishment of offences. The men grew tired of the service; but not being permitted to engage in other business, they were employed in scouting, hunting and fishing. Some deserted. The ensuing summer was passed in listless indolence. They reposed in the expectation of peace, until autumn of the next year, when, by direction of the Duke of Newcastle, the provincial army was disbanded. It appeared to many that England had not desired to drive the French from Canada. It was even suspected that England, from motives of policy, deemed it necessary to stimulate the love of the colonies for the mother country, by keeping this dangerous enemy on the frontier. It was supposed that the presence of the French was the only force that could urge the colonies to submission. They were forbidden to establish manufactures. They were obliged to ship to England all the silver and gold which they took from the earth. They were not allowed any commerce of their own\* with foreign countries, except those under the dominion of England. These, and similar restrictions, cooled their ardor towards the fatherland. Old England counted on long years of colonial dependence; but a Swedish traveller,† even then, discovered in the rising colonies the germ of freedom.

CHAP.  
VIII.

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1747.  
Oct.

During the progress of the Cape Breton expedition and the meditated attack upon Canada, the frontiers were infested by the Indians. While the colonial troops wore away the summer in idly waiting for the armament from England, the In-

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 323.

† Peter Kalin. Bancroft, III., 464.

- CHAP. dians were at leisure to infest the frontiers. This  
 VIII. inactivity was fatal to many a settler. No longer  
 1745. awed, but rather invited by the repose of an army  
 able to fight, and prepared for the field, yet doing  
 nothing, the Indians took courage and commenced  
 a series of depredations. They first appeared at  
 July 5. Great-Meadow,\* and next at the Upper Ashuelot,†  
 July 10. killing William Philips at the former place and  
 Josiah Fisher at the latter. They approached the  
 fort at Great-Meadow and carried captive the fa-  
 ther‡ of a family. As they were leading him along  
 the river-side, they met his son, before whose eyes  
 the father was hurried away, and died in one of the  
 prisons of Quebec. Many were the heart-rending  
 incidents like this, which marked the war—child-  
 ren carried captive before the eyes of their pa-  
 rents—husbands slain while defending their wives  
 —and brothers and sisters falling, while fighting  
 at each others' side.
1746. The next spring the enemy appeared at Number  
 Four,§ carried away three captives, cut out the  
 tongues of their cattle, and in April laid a plan to  
 surprise the fort at Upper Ashuelot. On the  
 April twenty-third of April, when night came on, a par-  
 23. ty of fifty silently approached and hid themselves  
 in a swamp. Here they lay concealed till morn-  
 ing, intending to rush into the fort. But they  
 were discovered as day dawned, and the alarm was  
 given. One man, who bravely defended himself  
 against two Indians in close combat, one of whom  
 he stripped of his blanket and gun, was over-  
 1746. powered at last and fell. Another man and one

\* Now Westmoreland.

‡ Penhallow. N. H. Hist. Coll., I.

† Now Keene.

§ Now Charlestown.



woman were slain, and one man carried captive to Canada. At New Hopkinton\* eight persons, five of them children, and one a woman, were carried captive; one of the men and three of the children were all that ever returned from captivity, and these were sent with a flag of truce to Boston. As usual, the enemy scattered themselves in small parties. At Number Four, and Contoocook, and the Lower and Upper Ashuelot, they fell upon the inhabitants, and killed or carried them captive to Canada. As the danger increased, Massachusetts determined to send reinforcements of troops to relieve the distressed towns; and accordingly Captain Paine, with a troop, came to Number Four. Twenty of them fell into an ambush at the spot where Mr. Putnam had been killed, and a skirmish ensued, in which five men were killed on each side, and one Englishman taken prisoner. This engagement was succeeded, in less than a month, by another at the same place. The Indians were discovered in ambush by dogs, which gave the alarm to the men, and enabled them to give the first fire. After a sharp encounter the Indians retreated to a swamp, carrying with them the dead, and leaving on the ground a considerable booty of blankets, hatchets, spears and guns. All business was suspended, even the tillage of the fields. Every place was full of danger. If the people wanted bread, they were obliged to go to the mills with a guard. At Bridgman's fort, near fort Dummer, at Number Four, and at Winchester, the inhabitants were fired upon, the houses burned, and the roads ambushed.

CHAP.

VIII.

April  
27.

May 2.

May 6.

May 24.

1746.

June 19.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 290.  
July 3.June  
21.

Aug. 3.

Aug. 6.

\* Now Hopkinton.

CHAP.  
VIII.

June 27.

Such were the sufferings of the upper settlements. Nor did the lower towns escape. At Rochester the enemy fired upon five men, who were at work in a field, expecting an attack, with their arms near them. After the first fire they rushed upon the men, before they could reload their guns. They retreated to a small deserted house. The Indians tore off the roof, and with their guns and tomahawks despatched four of the men, and wounded and took captive the other. Both Penacook and Contoocook they attacked, killing some of the people, and carrying others into captivity. In the midst of alarm and apprehension, slaughter and dread of attack, the summer was passed, until August,

Aug. 20.

when a body of French and Indians attacked fort Massachusetts, at Hoosuck. For want of ammunition it could not be defended, and fell into their hands. This success seemed to satisfy the enemy, and during that summer they made no other attack.

1746.

Amid the ravages of this war, early in 1746, a sale, by Mason's heir, of his whole claim on the soil of New Hampshire, to a company of gentlemen in Portsmouth, terminated the tedious controversy between the people and the proprietor. They prudently quit-claimed all the towns granted previously by New Hampshire and Massachusetts. This concession quieted the inhabitants, and prevented any opposition to the titles to ungranted lands which the purchase gave. They were judicious in making grants, and took care to promote the settlement of their lands. The public mind gradually became reconciled to them, and the public interests were identified with the interest of the Masonian proprietors.

In March of the next year, Capt. Phineas Stevens came with a company of thirty rangers and took possession of the fort at Number Four. Scarcely had he entered, when he was attacked by a party of French and Indians. They had come undiscovered, and lay in wait, watching a favorable moment to begin the attack. But the faithful dogs of the garrison gave notice of their concealment. Finding that they were discovered, the Indians rose and commenced a fire from all sides at the fort. They now determined to set fire to the fences and log houses. The wind rose, and the fort was surrounded with the flames. Stevens immediately ordered trenches to be dug under the walls. Through these the men crept, and extinguished the fires that caught outside the walls. The flaming arrows, which the Indians shot incessantly at the fort, took no effect; and at length, after two days of firing, accompanied with hideous shouts and yells, finding no effect had been produced, they prepared a wheel carriage loaded with combustibles. This was to be pushed before them against the walls, and then to be set on fire. Before putting it in motion, they demanded a cessation of arms, till the rising of the sun. This was granted.

In the morning, Debeline, their commander, came forward with fifty men and a flag of truce. A French officer, with a soldier and an Indian, then advanced and proposed terms of capitulation— which were, that the garrison should lay down their arms and be conducted prisoners to Montreal. It was agreed that the two commanders should meet, and Stevens' answer should then be given.

CHAP.  
VIII.Bel-  
knap,  
292.1747.  
April 4.

CHAP.  
VIII.

When they met, the Frenchman, without waiting for an answer, began to enforce his first proposal, by threatening to storm the fort and put every man to the sword. Stevens replied that he had been entrusted with the defence of the fort, and should maintain it to the last. "Go then," replied the Frenchman, "and see if your men dare to fight any longer." Stevens returned and put to his men the question, "Will you fight or surrender?" With one voice they replied, "We will fight!" This response was immediately made known to the enemy, and both parties resumed their arms. On the morning of the third day they requested another cessation of two hours. Two Indians came up with a flag, and proposed new conditions of surrender. These were promptly refused. The Indians again resumed their arms, fired a few guns, and then sullenly retired.

Such was the defence of the rangers. No lives were lost in the fort, and only two were wounded. But the cool intrepidity of the rangers entitled them, in the estimation of their countrymen, to all the applause of victory. The news of their success was received in Boston with public demonstrations of joy. Commodore Sir Charles Knowles, struck with the gallantry of Stevens, presented him with a sword; and from this Number Four took the name of Charlestown.

Through the summer and autumn, the Indians continued their ravages, hovering about the settlements, and lying in ambush for the men at work in the fields. At Rochester, at Penacook and Winchester, at Hinsdale, Suncook and Notting-

ham, they appeared, and again at Number Four in the winter. CHAP. VIII.

The next year, depredations were committed at Rochester, on West River, and between fort Hinsdale and fort Dummer. The year 1749 was not entirely exempt from Indian hostilities. But throughout this whole scene of devastation, the Indians had forbore to exercise those arts of torture and cruelty which in former years had redoubled the horrors of captivity. Roasting their prisoners by a slow fire, cutting out their tongues, and maiming and disfiguring them, had all been discontinued. Even the custom of making them run the gauntlet had been omitted. The returning captives exhibited in their appearance the good treatment they had received, and bore unusual testimony in favor of the humanity of their captors. When feeble, they had been assisted to travel. When sick, they had been allowed to halt. When famine overtook them on the slow steps of their dreary marches, the Indians had shared their provisions with them in equal proportion, even to the last morsel which remained to the captors themselves, in the most pinching scarcity. 174S.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, peace had been re-established between England and France. This was quickly followed by a treaty with the Indians, concluded at Portland. Cape Breton, "won by Americans, was given up by England."\* Prisoners were restored without ransom. Conquests made during the war were given up, and all the warriors of the eastern tribes solemnly promised to be at peace. Though not susceptible of 174S.  
Oct.

\* Dunlap's Hist. New York, vol. I., p. 364.

CHAP.  
VIII.

the finer feelings of humanity, and averse to the more humane maxims of civilized warfare, yet, while in the service of France, the blood-thirsty savage had been forbidden to flay his prisoner alive, and was often compelled to surrender the victim whom he was preparing to bind for torture.

Thus ended, in 1749, another Indian war. The promise of the natives not to resume the hatchet, so often renewed and so frequently disregarded, was kept but five years. But even that interval seemed long to the class of military men, who had grown up to a considerable number, by the necessities of the colony. The industry of peace was burdensome, and to them this short interval seemed long.

1749. The population of New Hampshire had doubled within eighteen years, and now amounted to thirty thousand. The tide of emigration rolled rapidly northward; and among those who were projecting new settlements, many turned their eyes to the rich lands on the west bank of the Connecticut, in the present state of Vermont. It was not then foreseen that on these lands there would rise, at no distant day, a vigorous and powerful state.

These lands were claimed by New York; and she contended that her eastern boundary extended to the Connecticut. It was true that she had permitted the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut to extend to a line drawn twenty miles eastward of the Hudson. But this she viewed in the light of a voluntary concession to those provinces, which they had no right to claim; and if they had no right, neither had New Hampshire; so that nothing but a voluntary concession could

give New Hampshire a right to the lands westward, beyond the Connecticut; and that, as no such concession had been made, there was no reason why the territory of New York should not extend to the limit prescribed by the charter. On the other hand, New Hampshire contended that “the king allowed her southern line to extend to the west, till it met his majesty’s other provinces; and that there was no reason for permitting Massachusetts and Connecticut to pass westward to within twenty miles of the Hudson, which did not apply with equal force to the claims of New Hampshire.”

CHAP.  
VIII.

Whitton  
p. 94.

The profits of granting lands were grateful to the unbounded appetite of Wentworth for wealth and splendor, and he accordingly made a practical assertion of the claim of New Hampshire to the Vermont lands by granting the township of Bennington. Other grants followed, at short intervals, for three years; until the French war, breaking out, interrupted the progress of new settlements, and drew the attention and resources of the colonies to the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French.

The war, which closed in 1749, had absorbed all other contests; and internal dissensions had either been checked or wholly silenced during its continuance. There were, however, existing controversies between the governor and the people, which only awaited the return of peace to break out with new virulence and accumulated fury. The governor had resolved upon the maintenance of fort Dummer;\* and to ensure a majority in the house in favor of the measure, he had issued writs to towns

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 143—145.

CHAP.  
VIII.

known to be friendly to the project, leaving other towns of equal or greater population unrepresented. When the new members appeared, the house refused them their seats;\* and, though Wentworth had once yielded the point to the house, when pressed by the exigencies of the war, and the new members were excluded, yet now, being supported by fresh instructions from the king, and finding that a yielding policy did not meet royal approbation, he resolved to contest it with the house. This led to an open rupture; the house refused to recede, and the governor was equally obstinate. Each side was strongly supported by precedent. It appeared that all additions to the house had been made by authority of their own. On the other hand, the right of sending representatives was founded on the royal commission and instructions. But the people were already, at this early day, jealous of strengthening the prerogatives of the crown. On the other hand, the governor represented the king, and inclined to abridge rather than enlarge the privileges of the people. The governor and house contented themselves for three years with writing violent messages to each other, and meanwhile wholly neglected the public business. The treasurer's accounts were unsettled—the soldiers unpaid—the recorder's office closed. Confusion and clamor were the consequence, and the voice of complaint came loudly from the people. The neglected soldiers gained sympathy everywhere when they told their tale of service unrequited and hardships endured.

1749.

The opponents of the governor, eager to com-

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. Council and Assembly, 1742—1750. J. H., 1747—1755.



pass his removal and raise William Pepperell to his place, seeing his popularity severely shaken, at once transmitted a complaint against him to England. But so decided was the opposition which it met from the English ministry, that it was not presented to the king, and was never renewed.

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VIII.

A new assembly\* was called in 1752. Moderation prevailed—the new members were admitted to their seats, by mutual concession. Meshack Weare, whose rising popularity commended him equally to the governor and the house, was elected speaker. A liberal distribution of offices and military commissions softened the resentment of the governor's opponents, and the public business once more claimed the attention of the assembly. In the course of this controversy, the governor had negatived the choice of Richard Waldron as speaker of the house; nor could the peremptory and severe messages of Wentworth compel them to choose a new speaker. These altercations between two co-ordinate branches of a colonial government, aside from the disastrous consequences to public business,† would be of little consequence to the history of the state, were it not that the governor represented the king; and therefore the determined resistance of the house was in fact but the manifestation of a growing jealousy of the royal prerogative—a growing desire for self-rule—the germ of a republic—the dawning hope of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE.

1752.

The war being over, the scattered settlers returned to their homes. Some came bringing

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. Council and Assembly, 1750—1765. J. II., 1747—1755.

† P. R., J. II., 1747—1755. C. and A., 1750—1765.

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accessions to their numbers—others with increased families; and so the wilderness began to bloom once more. It was feared that the French were about to encroach upon the rich meadows of Haverhill and Newbury, and a few persons resolved to plant a settlement as a barrier against them. In pursuance of this resolution, a party passed northward in the spring, to view the intervals and lay out the proposed townships. The tribes of the St. Francis observed them with jealousy, and suspected their design. An embassy, composed of warriors, soon appeared at Number Four, with a flag of truce, and complained of the encroachment. They averred that they had not heard of the late treaty, reproached the English for craving more land than they could cultivate, and threatened hostilities. The warlike remains of the tribes once planted in New Hampshire were united to the Aresaguntacooks,\* and the fugitives from western Maine had planted revenge and resentment in the bosoms of the Canada warriors. Besides, they knew the value of their lands, they felt themselves the rightful lords of the soil, and they still clung, with the pride of Indians, to the hunting-grounds of their fathers. Captain Stevens gave them little satisfaction. With their jealousy aroused, and the remembrance of ancient injuries rankling in their breasts, they crossed the mountains and pursued their way eastward into the present township of Rumney. Four hunters, in quest of game, had wandered northward along the course of Baker's river, and were met by the warriors of the St. Francis. Immediately, on per-

\* Another name for the St. Francis Indians.

ceiving the hunters, they rushed upon them with their tomahawks. One escaped\* by flight—one was killed—and the remaining two taken prisoners. CHAP.  
VIII.

The Indians, returning, proceeded up the Connecticut, and down Lake Memphremagog, to the head-quarters of their tribe. When they arrived at St. Francis, the captives perceived, from the signs and motions of the captors, that they were to run the gauntlet, according to savage custom. This consists in passing through two parallel files of warriors, each of whom is privileged to give the prisoners a blow. The elder of the prisoners passed through first, and suffered little less than death. The younger and remaining one was a lad of sixteen years. When his turn came, he marched forward with a bold air, snatched a club from the nearest Indian, and attacked the warriors as he advanced along the lines, dealing the blows right and left with a merciless and almost deadly force. Nothing in the conduct of a prisoner so charms the savage mind as a haughty demeanor and contempt of death. The old men were amused and delighted, the young warriors were struck with admiration, at the gallant bearing of the youthful captive. They next ordered him to hoe corn. He cut it up by the roots, declaring that such work was fit for squaws, but unworthy of warriors. From that moment he became their favorite. They adopted him as a son, and gave him the title of Young Chief. They dressed him in the highest style of Indian splendor, and decorated him with wampum and silver. It was not long after, that Captain Stevens was despatched on an embassy to

Me-  
moirs  
of Gen.  
Stark,  
p. 175.

\* A brother of the youngest of the prisoners.

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VIII.

Canada, to redeem the English captives. The first one offered him was their favorite Young Chief. Captain Stevens received him at their hands with delight. But no one of the rude warriors recognised, in the young chief of their adoption, the future American general, JOHN STARK.

1753. Another event soon occurred, which furnished aliment to the already sharpened resentment of this hostile tribe. Two of their warriors, Sabatis and Plausawa, came to Contoocook, and lodged at the house of a man who killed them the next day. By the road-side, on the bank of the Merrimac river, Bowen, the murderer, on the morning after these two Indians had lodged at his house, plunged a tomahawk into the head of Sabatis, and, drawing it out, went back to meet Plausawa, who, seeing the fate of his companion, pointed his gun at Bowen's breast; but it flashed. Plausawa now fell on his knees and begged for his life. He pleaded his innocence, and his former friendship for the English; but in vain. Bowen buried in his skull the tomahawk still reeking with the blood of Sabatis, and hid them both under a bridge. Their bodies were dragged forth by the wild beasts of the woods, and the bones scattered on the ground.

F. Bel-  
knap,  
p. 307,  
note.

By the treaty of peace it had been stipulated that each party should punish its own offenders. The murderer of Sabatis and Plausawa was apprehended and brought to Portsmouth. But on the night preceding the day for his trial, an armed mob, with axes and crow-bars, entered the prison and bore him off in triumph. Rewards for his discovery were of no avail. Public opinion

pronounced the rescue meritorious. The murders committed by the Indians were remembered—the treaty was forgotten. Thus the plighted faith of the treaty was broken. But what could the feeble tribes of the St. Francis do? They received a handsome present, and made answer, that “the blood was wiped away”—then ratified the treaty of 1749. But the desire for revenge grew from reflection; and afterwards, when a conference was held with several tribes at Portland, the St. Francis refused to be present, and sent a message purporting that the blood was *not* wiped away.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the island of Cape Breton was restored to France, and all things were placed “on the footing they were before the war.” But the limits of the French and English territories on the continent were still undetermined. The avarice and ambition of two mighty nations were still left to make the colonial territories the theatre of a war for conquest—the game of kings. Both parties agreed to submit their pretensions to a board of commissioners, mutually chosen. The commissioners met at Paris, but determined nothing. France resolved to connect her distant settlements of Canada and Louisiana. These colonies, so widely separated, could be joined by a chain of forts stretching from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. To command navigation in the winter, it was also necessary to extend the limits of Canada eastward, far south of the great river St. Lawrence. These claims of territory encroached upon the English colonies of Nova Scotia, New York, and Virginia. When it was foreseen that no arbiter but the sword could

CHAP. VIII. decide the controversy, the Earl of Holderness, secretary of state, recommended to the colonies a union. The first object was their mutual protection and defence—the second, extending the British settlements in North America. Delegates\* of the several colonies accordingly met in 1754. general congress, at Albany; and on the fourth day of July, twenty-two years before the declaration of American independence, a plan of union was agreed to. It provided for a general government, consisting of a grand council of delegates from the several colonial legislatures, subject to the control of a president-general, to be appointed by the crown, with a negative voice. The delegates of Connecticut immediately entered their dissent to the plan, on account of the negative voice of the president-general. It was viewed in America with disapprobation, and rejected, because it gave too much power to the king; and with distrust in England, because it left too much power with the colonies.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 309.

At the first alarm of expected hostilities, the Indian tribes in the French interest resumed the hatchet, and fell upon the frontier settlements of New Hampshire. Though careful to preserve the lives of their prisoners, now made valuable on 1754. account of the high price paid for them in Montreal, yet, in the heat of actual contest, they still slaughtered women† without pity.

1755. The campaign of 1755 opened, on the part of the English, by three expeditions destined to attack

\* Province Records, Journal House, 1747—1755. Council and Assembly, 1750—1765.

† Penhallow—N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 13—132.

the French forts; one against fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio, led by General Braddock—another against Niagara, by Governor Shirley—and a third against Crown Point, by General Johnson. For this expedition New Hampshire raised five hundred men; and Colonel Blanchard, of Dunstable, distinguished as a land surveyor, was appointed to the command. Johnson reached the shores of lake George, and encamped, posting the New Hampshire regiment at fort Edward. Early in September, on the eighth, Johnson was attacked in his camp, by the Baron Dieskau, at the head of a formidable body of French Canadians and Indians. On the morning of that day a scouting party from fort Edward discovered some wagons burning in the road. Col. Blanchard immediately detached Captain Nathaniel Folsom with eighty of the New Hampshire regiment, and forty of the New York, under Captain M'Gennis. They came to the place, and found the wagoners dead, but no enemy was there. Hearing the report of guns in the direction of the lake, they directed their march thither, and when within two miles of the shore, they came upon the baggage of the French army, under a guard. They attacked and dispersed the guard, but had scarcely seized the booty, when the army of Dieskau came in sight, retreating. Folsom posted his men behind trees, and commenced a galling fire. The enemy retired with great loss, and Folsom returned to his camp. In this well-timed engagement, but six men were lost on the side of the English, and all the ammunition and baggage of the French fell into their hands. After this, the New Hampshire regiment joined the

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Sept. 8.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 313.

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VHI.

army, and were employed as scouts. After this battle, when it became necessary to reinforce the army, another regiment was raised in New Hampshire, commanded by Colonel Peter Gilman; and they also acted as scouts. Alert, indefatigable, accustomed to savage warfare, inured to danger and fatigue, acquainted with the enemy's hiding-places, they continued to render essential services till the army was disbanded and returned home, late in autumn.

These three expeditions against the French all signally failed. Braddock was overwhelmed with defeat, and slain on the banks of the Monongahela. Washington, calm and collected amidst the consternation and uproar of this dreadful rout, rallied the faithful "Virginia Blues,"\* when the English gave way, led them on to the charge, killed numbers of the enemy, who were rushing on with tomahawks, checked their pursuit, and brought off the shattered remains of the British army. "Providence," it was said, even at that early day,— "Providence has preserved that heroic youth for some great service to his country."

Davis'  
Sermon  
on  
Brad-  
dock's  
defeat.

Shirley accomplished nothing; and the expedition of Johnson against Crown Point served only to provoke the fury of the Indians against the frontiers of New Hampshire, now wholly exposed and unprotected. The tribes of the St. Francis, not yet revenged, having established an easy communication between the Connecticut valley and the head-quarters of their nation, made frequent incursions eastward, up the Ashuelot, and into Walpole, Hinsdale, and Number Four. The next year,

\* Trumbull's Indian Wars, p. 120.



Shirley, who rose to the post of commander-in-chief, on the death of Braddock, planned another expedition against Crown Point. New Hampshire, that never failed in her quota of men, sent a regiment into the field, led by Colonel Meserve. But, in the midst of the campaign, Shirley was superseded by the Earl of Loudon. From that moment the war languished. The summer passed in fruitless marches and labor. The French besieged and took the English fort at Oswego, and sent the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell prisoners to France.

Then were formed from the New Hampshire troops, by the express desire of Lord Loudon, those famous companies of Rangers, who proved to be the most terrible band of partisan warriors in America. They were commanded by Rogers, and by the two brothers, John and William Stark. They were accustomed to the signs of the forest, and could read the slightest indications of approaching danger. To scour the woods; to procure intelligence; to skirmish with detached parties of the enemy; to hang on the wings of a retiring army and harass them; to issue suddenly from their lurking-places, fall upon foraging parties, and retreat into inaccessible places—these were some of the duties of the rangers. On the most difficult, hazardous and dangerous enterprises they were sent. When it became necessary for General Amherst to send orders from Albany to General Murray, at Quebec, Rogers was commanded to select four of his rangers, “who could be relied upon, and were used to scouting in an enemy’s wilderness,” to carry the orders. They were all,

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to a man, fit for the crisis, and there was no difficulty in finding the four men. Shute, and three others, were commissioned, and undertook the perilous enterprise. They were landed at Missisqui Bay, and directed their course to the river St. Francis, by a route previously known to them. This river, after some days and nights of suffering, they crossed on rafts; but not without losing two of the party, who were carried over the rapids. The remaining two pursued their route, procured supplies by robbing the French planters on the way, until they reached an English encampment on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Here they were received as friends, and forwarded to Quebec, where they arrived in a few days, and delivered their despatches to General Amherst.

Dun-  
lap's  
N. Y.,  
vol. I.,  
p. 404,  
note.

1757. For the reduction of the strong fortress of Crown Point another expedition was planned by Lord Loudon, the next year. Another regiment was raised in New Hampshire, commanded by Colonel Meserve; who, with three companies of rangers and a body of one hundred carpenters, marched to Halifax, while the remainder of his regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Goffe, was posted at fort William Henry, under the command of Colonel Munroe, of the thirty-fifth British regiment. On the third of August, the Marquis de Montcalm, at the head of a strong force of Canadians and Indians, invested that fort. For five days the garrison withstood the siege; but on the sixth, finding their ammunition exhausted, they capitulated. They were allowed the honors of war, and were to be escorted by the French troops to fort Edward, on the shores of lake George.

Aug. 3.

Accordingly, on the morning after the surrender, the signal of departure was given, and the garrison, to the number of three thousand, marched out of the fort. The New Hampshire regiment, happening to be in the rear, was the last to depart. The Indians of the French army were enraged at the terms of surrender, as they afforded to them no opportunity for plunder. As the English issued from the fort they were observed to hover near, with evident signs of discontent, a few of them mingling from time to time among the conquered columns. The French soldiers, placed at a respectful distance to the right, offered no insult to the vanquished. As the English army proceeded slowly across the plain, accumulated numbers of the Indians pressed into their lines and began to plunder. While no opposition was made, they proceeded quietly in the work. But as soon as resistance was offered, the fatal war-whoop was sounded, and the Indians rushed with fiendlike fury upon the defenceless troops. They butchered and scalped their victims, mingling their triumphant yells with the groans of the dying, whom they were permitted to murder without restraint. Although it had been expressly stipulated that the prisoners should be protected from the savages by a guard, and the sick and wounded treated with humanity, yet no guard was provided. Monroe rushed through the French ranks to Montcalm, at the risk of his life, and implored him to fulfil this stipulation for a guard. All his entreaties were ineffectual. The French were passive spectators of the work of death, and no movement was made for protection, although they were near enough to

CHAP.  
VIII.  
Aug. 9.

CHAP. VIII.  
 1757. hear the shrieks of the wounded and to see the sick shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk. The blood-thirsty savages seemed to be heated and maddened beyond their usual ferocity. Out of the New Hampshire regiment alone eighty were killed or taken; and hundreds more were left dead upon the shores of "The Holy Lake"—their bodies unburied and mangled with all the wantonness of Indian barbarity. History may well be in some doubt what station to assign to Montcalm—whether to rank him with those at once brave and humane, or with those whose deeds of cruelty and blood tarnish the lustre of victory.

Thus closed the third campaign in America. It had been a series of disasters, originating in mismanagement and folly. The people of England were indignant, and demanded a new ministry, at the head of whom was placed the celebrated William Pitt, who rose from the post of ensign in the guards to control the destinies of England. In nothing was his genius more conspicuous than in his selection of men to fill important stations. He immediately presented to his majesty "a long and melancholy list of lieutenant-generals and major-generals" to be removed; and he promoted to important posts of command a crowd of meritorious young officers, among whom were Amherst, Wolfe, Monckton,\* Murray and Townsend. A new vigor was immediately apparent, and the English fleets and arms seemed once more inspired with their ancient love of glory. A powerful force took  
 1758. Louisburg from the French, with its garrison of five thousand men, and one hundred and twenty

\* Horatio Gates, afterwards the conqueror of Burgoyne, was aid to Monckton.

pieces of cannon. But among the slain was Col. Meserve, of Portsmouth, a gallant officer, and lamented throughout the province. Gen. Forbes gained possession of fort Du Quesne, and General Abercrombie advanced at the head of a third army, which included eight hundred New Hampshire men, to attack the strong fortress of Ticonderoga. He passed down the lake in a fleet of a thousand boats. After landing, Rogers' rangers were not long in engaging the enemy in a skirmish. The next day the whole army moved to attack the French lines. But a murderous fire of artillery and small arms compelled them to retreat, after four hours of desperate fighting, with the loss of two thousand killed and wounded. The English lamented the loss of Lord Howe among the killed; and the whole country was clad in mourning for so many sons slain. Notwithstanding the bloody defeat at Ticonderoga, the British government determined to act with decision; and the minister, Pitt, marked out a plan for the next campaign, indicative of the energy and boldness of his genius. Three armies were to be led simultaneously against the three strongest posts of the French in America—Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec.

Wolfe, though young, yet already considered a hero, with a fleet and eight thousand soldiers, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec. Amherst, with twelve thousand men, was to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and having subdued the fortresses of lake Champlain, he was to enter the St. Lawrence by the Sorel and form a junction with the army below, under Wolfe. A third force, principally provincials, under General

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Whi-  
ton,  
p. 103.

Hale's  
Hist.  
U. S.,  
vol. I.,  
p. 213.

Dun-  
lap's  
History  
of New  
York,  
p. 397,  
vol. I.

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Prideaux, accompanied by the warlike Iroquois, was to take fort Niagara, descend the St. Lawrence, and make themselves masters of Montreal. Whether this plan was well designed to distract the enemy and accomplish the great object of conquest, or depended for success upon the fortune of Wolfe, against probabilities, it is difficult to conjecture.

After a short siege, Niagara surrendered to General Prideaux. In the army of General Amherst were a thousand men of New Hampshire, led by a brother of the lamented Captain Lovewell. On the approach of Amherst, late in July, Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned by the French. Amherst pressed forward to take Crown Point, which he found deserted, and immediately pursued the retiring French to Isle aux Noix. After a series of efforts against the storms of lake Champlain, he became convinced that it was impossible to take this place, and led back his army to Crown Point. The expedition against Quebec was more daring than the others, and its success more splendid. The danger of the enterprise seemed to elevate the British soldiers to a level with the difficulties to be encountered; and the battle which sealed the fate of the two gallant commanders, Wolfe and Montcalm, gave success to England, but equal glory to the French arms. The city of Quebec, the strong capital of Canada, the Gibraltar of America, and hitherto deemed an impregnable fortress, fell before the daring young generals whom Pitt promoted over their imbecile predecessors; but both of the contending armies had much to regret, since the one mourned for Wolfe, the other for Montcalm.

1759.

The French being conquered, leisure was given to chastise the Indians of the St. Francis. During the war, while the fighting men had been absent against the French, these Indians seized the opportunity for devastation, and murdered without restraint. But the dreaded rangers were now at liberty. Two hundred of these trained warriors, armed with tomahawks and knives, besides their usual equipments, led by Major Rogers, left Crown Point in September, and directed their course to St. Francis. After a fatiguing march of twenty-one days through the wilderness, they came within sight of the village of St. Francis, and viewed it at the distance of three miles. Major Rogers halted with his men, and in the evening entered the village in disguise, accompanied by two officers. He found the Indians engaged in a grand dance. Late in the night, as they all fell asleep, Rogers returned to his men, formed them into parties, which he posted to advantage, and, just before day, marched to a general assault. The Indians were completely surprised. They were wakened from sleep to meet the same weapons which they had so often plunged into the bosoms of unoffending women and children of the frontiers. Some were killed in their houses, and those who attempted to flee were tomahawked by parties who had been stationed to guard all the paths that led to the village.

The dawn of day disclosed to the victorious assailants the sight of several hundred scalps of their countrymen, which the Indians had brought home and elevated upon poles. They found the village filled with the plunder of the frontiers, and enriched

CHAP.  
VIII.  
1759.

Sept.

1759.

CHAP. VIII. by the sale of captives. The houses of the French, who had mingled with the Indians, were well furnished—the church adorned with plate. The rangers loaded themselves with pillage, and, having set fire to the village, directed their retreat up the river St. Francis, intending to rendezvous at the upper Cöos. Only one had been killed and six wounded in the attack; but their retreat was attended with distressing reverses. They directed their march, passing on the eastern side of Lake Memphremagog, towards the mouth of the Ammonoosuck. They had not proceeded far, before their provisions were entirely exhausted. Their situation was such as might daunt the stoutest hearts. They were in the midst of a trackless wilderness, many miles from any human habitation, with a blood-thirsty, savage foe pressing upon their rear. That they might procure subsistence with less difficulty, by hunting, they separated into small parties. Two of these parties were soon overtaken by the Indians and slain, or made prisoners. The commander, with the main body, famished and march-worn, finally arrived at the mouth of the Ammonoosuck, where they expected to find an abundant supply of provisions. But they were cruelly disappointed. The party entrusted with the provisions had departed but a few hours before they arrived, leaving their fires still burning. Guns were fired to recall them, which they distinctly heard; but supposing them to be fired by an enemy, they kept on their march down the river. The rangers were now reduced to the last extreme of suffering. They were entirely destitute of provisions, and seventy miles from

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 320.

Whiton,  
p. 105.

Whiton,  
p. 105.

1759.



Number Four,\* the nearest place of relief. Ground-nuts and beechnuts were the only provisions of the forest. To such extremities were they reduced, that they boiled their powder-horns and all their leathern accoutrements, that they might taste something ever so slightly tinctured with animal matter. As a last expedient, Rogers, with two others, by the slow process of burning down trees, constructed a raft, with which they floated down Connecticut river to Charlestown, and despatched canoes up the river, laden with provisions. But ere they could reach the starving rangers, fifty had fallen by the hands of the enemy, or perished in the woods, of hunger, exhaustion and despair. One man† left the main body to seek out his father's house on the banks of the Merrimac, by a nearer route. The hunters afterwards found his skeleton in the wilderness of the White Mountains.

Early in the ensuing spring, the French, having concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they retired to Montreal. But this year witnessed the completion of the conquest of Canada. Three British armies, penetrating the wilderness by different routes, arrived almost simultaneously at Montreal. Eight hundred troops, under Colonel Goffe, marched from New Hampshire, and formed part of the forces concentrated round Montreal. The French found it impossible to resist the newly-awakened energy of the British ministry and their armies. Montreal surrendered, and the other French posts, in rapid succession, fell into the power of the English. The tragic scenes

CHAP.  
VIII.  
Whiton,  
p. 105.

Whiton,  
p. 106.

1760.  
Hale,  
I., p.  
218.

\* Charlestown.

† Benj. Bradley, of Concord.

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of Indian warfare ended with the reduction of Canada, and the terrific war-whoop of the savage, which had been heard for so many years, ceased to resound through the forests and the settlements. The Indians passed under the dominion of Britain. Her brave armies had encircled her name with glory, and added extensive territories to her dominions. But, in doing this, three hundred and twenty millions of dollars had been added to the national debt, already overwhelming. A definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris in 1763, closed this long and tremendous struggle. France had lost all her North American colonies. For this splendid success, England was indebted to the energy of the government, the blood and treasure of her own people, and the powerful aid of the American colonists. Some of her bravest officers had fallen.

Hale,  
1., p.  
219.  
1763.

From the time of the conquest of Canada may be dated the more rapid progress of New Hampshire in wealth, and a greater increase of population. While exposed to continual danger from the savage tribes of the St. Francis, the growth of the settlements had been stunted and circumscribed.

1756.  
August  
1.

During the war, other affairs of the colony had been overlooked in the absorbing pursuit of arms. Yet the colony had advanced in morals and intelligence. A printing-press, the first in New England, had been established in Portsmouth, and the New Hampshire Gazette\* had been issued in the October following. The conquest of Canada was the signal for the speedy downfall of the Indians.

\* The Portsmouth Journal, at Portsmouth, was established in 1789; the Keene Sentinel in March, 1799, and the Farmer's Cabinet, at Amherst, Nov. 11, 1802.

Neither the degenerate Iroquois, who had fought as allies of Britain in the conquest of Canada, nor the western savages, who had followed the fortunes of France, saw that peace would be fatal to them. Yet this was inevitable. When the white men ceased from the work of destroying each other, they would naturally turn to exterminating the red race, who now sought, fortunately too late, for the means of staying the irresistible progress of a superior people. Scarcely had the red warriors raised a shout of barbarous triumph, when they were called upon to resist the aggression of those for whom they had bled in the recent wars. It would have been the same in the event of French conquest. Contention between two rival nations, claiming the soil of Canada, put a stop to that colonization which drove the red men away; but the strife being ended, the victorious party, who had dispossessed its rival, would turn to the only remaining obstacle, and pursue with a double zeal the work of exterminating the native inhabitants of the wilderness. The Indians awoke suddenly to a perception of the danger impending, and formed, with astonishing rapidity, a combination for exterminating the whites. There was a simultaneous rush of the Indians from all quarters upon the outposts, which in some instances were carried; but hostilities were finally terminated by compelling the Indian to submit to the power of the white man.

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VIII.

1760.

While the wars continued with the French and Indians, numerous bodies of troops passed and repassed through the green and fertile country now known as the state of Vermont. The soldiers

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VIII.

perceived the fertility of the soil, and immediately upon the cessation of hostilities a great crowd of adventurers and speculators made application for these lands. Applications increased, and the surveys were extended so rapidly, that, during the year 1761, not less than sixty townships were granted on the west, and eighteen on the east side of the river. The governor's coffers were filled by the fees ; and scarcely had two years more elapsed before the number of townships on the west side of the river amounted to one hundred and thirty-eight. A stream of emigration poured northward from Charlestown to Lancaster and Northumberland ; and settlements were soon extended to Claremont and Plainfield, Lebanon, Hanover, Lyme, Orford, Newport, Lempster, Alstead, and Marlow. At the same time new settlements stretched along the Merrimac, and up the Pemigewasset, over the western parts of Hillsborough and Merrimac counties, the eastern sections of Cheshire and Sullivan, and the northern part of Strafford. The passion for occupying new lands seemed hardly exceeded by the passion for granting them. The soldiers, to whom they had been promised as a reward for their meritorious services in conquering the country from France, were forgotten in the hasty covetousness of an avaricious governor. Wentworth retained five hundred acres of land in each town to himself. The grants on the western side of the Connecticut alarmed the government of New York, who claimed the soil, under the grant of King Charles to the Duke of York, as far eastward as Connecticut river. The emoluments of granting lands were coveted by the governor of

Whitton, p.  
109.

New York. The grasping selfishness of these two royal governors produced a disaffection, which portended civil war, and would soon have led to it, if the stamp act had not absorbed every other consideration, and called the "Sons of Liberty" to consider the general defence and welfare, rather than conflicting rights founded upon royal grants.

On the application of New York, an order was passed by the king in council, declaring "the western banks of Connecticut river, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to be the boundary line between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York." The settlers now found themselves involved in a controversy with the government of New York. The grantees of the lands understood the words TO BE in the future tense, (their obvious meaning,) and consequently believed that their grants, derived from the crown through one of its governors, were valid. The government of New York referred these words to the time past, and construed them as a declaration that the banks of the Connecticut always had been the eastern limit of New York; consequently, that the grants made by New Hampshire were invalid, and might be granted again. These opposite opinions proved a cause of litigation, enmity, and frequently of open fight, which lasted for ten years. It was but natural that the settlers, threatened by New York with having their lands wrested from them, should think of independence and self-protection. Such the sequel will prove. They were at this time a hardy and intrepid, but uncultivated race of men. Without the advan-

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Dunlap,  
vol. I.,  
p. 431.  
F. Bel-  
knap,  
325.

1764.  
July 20.

F. Bel-  
knap, p.  
326.

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 Williams' Hist. of Vermont, p. 218.

Hist. of Vermont, Williams, p. 226.

tages of education, destitute of the conveniences and elegancies of life, with nothing to soften their manners, and strongly provoked by injustice, rashness, excess and violence naturally marked their proceedings. An equal extreme of ferocity, though graced with the name of law, marked the doings of the New York government, when they proceeded to brand the Vermonters as felons, traitors, and rebels, and offered rewards for their discovery and apprehension. Posterity will easily decide which was most blamable, the greedy governor of New York, who gave a forced construction to plain words, in order to make laws to dispossess honest settlers, or the settlers, who, when pursued and hunted as criminals for acting in open and avowed opposition to the wrong with which they were threatened, declared, "We will kill and destroy any person or persons whomsoever that shall presume to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any of us." Both parties remained in this state of exasperation until the drama of the Revolution opened at Lexington, and the attention of all orders of men was immediately engaged, and all local and provincial contests absorbed, by the novelty, the grandeur and importance of the contest between Britain and America.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

ADMINISTRATION of Pitt—Taxation—Stamp act—Duties—Debates in Parliament—Excitement occasioned by the stamp act—Stamp distributor at Portsmouth compelled to resign—Riots in other colonies—Threatened destruction of tea at Portsmouth—Removal of Gov. Wentworth, and appointment of John Wentworth—Assault upon fort William and Mary, led by Langdon and Sullivan—Ammunition and cannon removed by the provincials—Battle of Concord and Lexington—A convention called at Exeter—Governor Wentworth recommends reconciliation—Royal government dissolved in New Hampshire—Boston besieged by the provincials—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Death of Warren and McClary—Whigs and tories—Formation of a state government in New Hampshire—Adoption of a constitution—Meshech Ware, president—New Hampshire fits out a ship of war—Land forces—Expedition to Canada—Sullivan meets the army retreating—New Hampshire resolves on a declaration of independence—Public sentiment—Burgoyne advances into Vermont—Battles of Bennington and Stillwater—General Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island—Surrender of Cornwallis—Great Britain acknowledges the independence of the United Colonies—Washington retires to Mount Vernon.

THE administration of William Pitt shed an undying glory upon the name of England. In every quarter of the world the British flag was triumphant. Nor was it the least of those splendid events, which gave eclat to the administration of Pitt, that the French had been defeated and driven from their possessions in America. All the colonies had passed under the dominion of Great Britain. Such was the success and the glory of England, under the guidance of Pitt. Rising from an island in the midst of the sea, she had

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grown to a nation able to threaten the repose and liberty of Europe. Space seemed to set no limits to her ambition. Resting upon her American colonies in the West, and her East India possessions in the East, she seemed to touch the extremities of the globe, and to grasp at universal dominion. By the treaty of Paris, of 1763, she became mistress of the vast continent of North America, from the banks of the Mississippi to the shores of Greenland. She also gained many islands in the West Indies. In the East her empire was greatly extended; and so vast was her power, and so solid the foundations on which it rested, that her commerce and her arms reigned without a rival and without control. Aspiring to rule the sea, she became to all the powers of Europe, and especially to the maritime states, the object of universal umbrage and distrust. All nations desired to see her humbled. Holland, and the other maritime states, whose commerce she had harassed, ardently wished to see her power reduced. Above all, France, martial France, stung with her recent discomfiture—burning to avenge her defeated legions—ardently desired to humble her great adversary, and waited, with impatient longing, for an opportunity to repair her losses and reconquer her lost glory.

The powers of Europe could not injure England more effectually than by separating from her the American colonies. The Americans could therefore hope, in case of a rupture, for at least an alliance with France. It is not strange that they began to reflect upon what they were capable of achieving, and to consider themselves no longer in



a state of infancy, but a nation strong and formidable of itself, and to ask by what right a distant island should assume to rule an immense and populous continent. To the most sagacious minds it was already apparent that America must, in the natural order of events, be free; and that it depended on the policy of the British ministry to hasten or stay the progress of freedom. Although a conciliatory policy on the part of the British ministry might retard the march of independence, yet, in any event, the Americans could not fail to accomplish their destiny. But though the colonies felt their importance and their power, there was, as yet, no appearance of discontent or disloyalty. By avoiding all irritating measures,\* the mother country might still have hoped to keep the Americans attached to the same government under which they had been conducted to their present prosperous and flourishing condition.

They had submitted to a system of commercial monopoly, directly calculated to benefit England, ever since the year 1660.† They had been prohibited from purchasing the manufactures of any other part of the world. They had been obliged to carry to England all the products of their lands—even the fleeces of their flocks. They were forbidden to buy the productions or manufactures of any European nation, until these commodities had first been carried into an English port. At all this the colonies discovered no resentment. They were willing to contribute to the prosperity of the mother country, in return for her protection and the

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\* New Hampshire Gazette of Nov. 10, 1769.

† Botta's History of the War of Independence, I., p. 21.

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succors of troops and ships she had sent them to defend against the attacks of savage tribes, and against the encroachments of foreign powers. Yet it was not without a silent dissatisfaction that they submitted to laws,\* which, though not imposing taxes, yet in a thousand ways restricted their commerce, impeded their manufactures,† and wounded their self-love. Some of the acts of parliament seemed to point directly towards vassalage and degradation. Hatters were forbidden to have, at one time, more than two apprentices. An act of parliament had prohibited the felling of pitch and white pine trees. Hats and woollens of domestic manufacture could not be exported from the colonies, nor introduced from one colony to another. At the instance of the English sugar colonies, sugar, rum, and molasses could not be imported from the French and Dutch settlements in North America, without paying a duty so exorbitant that it amounted almost to a prohibition. Finally, by an act of parliament of 1750, the manufacture of steel and of certain iron works was forbidden to be executed in the American colonies. From these laws arose the first murmurs of discontent‡ on the part of the colonists. But to these they submitted, yet, not without repugnance. They were regarded as regulations of commerce. They passed under the name of regulations of commerce, and excited no open opposition. But during all this time, and until the year 1764, the subject of taxing the colonies by author-

\* Botta, I., p. 25.

† Portsmouth Town Records, vol. II.

‡ N. H. Gazette, Nov. 27, 1767—Dec. 11 and 24, 1767—Jan. 15, 22, 29—Feb. 12, 19, 26—March 11, 18, 1768.

ity of parliament, slept in silence. But England was now in want of a revenue. Under the splendid administration of Pitt, she had gained, by a series of brilliant successes, both by land and sea, an enormous increase of territory and strength.

It is here to be observed, that, in gaining this greatness, in which England exulted, and which made her the envy and fear of Europe, she had contracted a vast national debt; and it was to discharge the debt incurred by her aggrandizement, that gave rise to the project of taxing the colonies. In this debt the expense incurred by the conquest of Canada was an important item. The expenses of this war had added more than three hundred millions to the national debt. The colonists were mainly benefited by this, although it was mainly the work of their own hands; and it seemed but reasonable to England, that the colonists should share some portion of the burden of indebtedness which bore so heavily upon the mother country.

It was asked in England, "Are they not a rich, happy and enterprising people? Is not their prosperity known and envied by the whole world? Assuredly, if there is any part of the globe where man enjoys a sweet and pleasant life, it is especially in English America. Is not this a striking proof of the indulgence of England towards her colonies? Let the Americans compare their condition with that of foreign colonists, and they would soon confess, not without gratitude to the mother country, both their real felicity and the futility of their complaints."\*

\* Eotta, I., p. 28.

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England, at this time, became jealous of the colonies, and began to suspect, by degrees, that they were shaking off the authority of the crown. It is not improbable, too, that some far-seeing men among the Americans, aspiring to loftier things, had formed in the secret of their hearts the idea of independence, and as they watched the storm gathering at a distance, were preparing for the emergency. Such was the state of England and America—the one claiming that she was justly possessed of a power which the other considered mere tyrannical usurpation, and to which they could not submit without degrading themselves to a state of slavery. Such being the condition of things, it was not difficult to predict that, without a change of opinion on the one side or the other, a contest must arise; and if the power of the one party could not force submission from the other, a separation must ensue.

Meanwhile, the enormous duties on molasses\* and sugar introduced an almost universal contraband in these articles. The increase of smuggling was in proportion to that of commerce. To put a stop to this, the courts in the colonies were authorized to grant writs of assistance. These were a general search-warrant given by the courts to the custom-house officers, empowering them to search for and seize these articles, wherever they supposed them to be concealed. In Boston, opposition to these became violent; and it was maintaining this opposition which called out the impetuous eloquence of James Otis. His genius

\* N. H. Gazette, May 6, 1778. Also through March, April, May and June of the same year.

had manifested itself before, and its light afforded a hope on which America dwelt in silence, till the moment of action should arrive. On this occasion his eloquence burst out like a flame of fire. Crowded audiences thronged to hear him, and "every man," says John Adams, "went away ready to take arms. Then and there was the first scene of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born."

Exasperated at the enormous duties imposed,\* the inhabitants, with one accord, resolved to renounce the use of every article produced from the manufactories or from the soil of England. English cloths were supplanted by those of domestic manufacture.† English gloves ceased to be worn—and even funerals began to be celebrated without the habiliments of mourning. The richest inhabitants promptly abstained from every article of luxury, and returned to the simplicity of early times. Indeed, so generally did the inhabitants concur in this,‡ that in the town of Boston alone, in the year 1764, the consumption of British merchandise was diminished upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling. The resolutions taken against British manufactures were now becoming general. Combinations to this effect were entered into in all the principal cities in America, and were observed with astonishing fidelity. Such an interruption to commerce was extremely prejudicial to England ;

Botta,  
p. 34.

1764.

\* N. H. Gazette, 1768, April 8, 15, 22, 29—May 6. Ibid. Nov. 27, 1767,

† Botta, I., p. 34.

‡ The N. H. Gazette urges the people to dispense with superfluities, and practise economy, for the sake of liberty and their country. See N. H. Gaz. Dec. 29, 1769, article signed "Consideration."

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for the colonies had annually purchased to the value of three millions sterling. This trade was lost, and the public revenues suffered materially.

This result greatly annoyed and irritated the British ministry. They now revolved in their minds a design far more lucrative to England and more prejudicial to the colonies. This was to impose taxes or excises by acts of parliament. The power of England was so vast at this time, that it was thought impossible for America or the world to resist her will; and there were some plausible arguments in favor of taxation. The public debt at this time amounted to the prodigious sum of one hundred and forty-eight millions sterling. It was, therefore, necessary to draw as much as possible from every possible source of revenue. The people of England were grievously burdened with taxes! "And shall our colonies," said they, "enjoy the magnificence of princes, while we must drudge and consume ourselves with efforts to procure a scanty subsistence?" American affluence had been painted in vivid colors, and the ministry no longer doubted that it was expedient and necessary to tax the colonies. Accordingly, on the 10th of March, 1764,\* the celebrated Stamp Act was introduced into parliament in the form of a resolution. The effect of this act was to require all notes, bonds, marriage contracts, and all legal instruments in the colonies, to be executed upon stamped paper, on which a duty was to be paid. For more than a year this resolution remained a mere proposition, unaccompanied by any act to carry it into effect. No sooner did

1764.  
Botta,  
I., 39.

\* Parliamentary Debates of 1765. Commons, p. 21.

the news of this intended tax reach America, than it spread everywhere through the country and occasioned the most violent fermentation. All were of one mind in asserting that parliament had no right to tax the colonies. On what ground did this asserted right rest? Was it because England had expended money in the French war? Why should the colonies pay the expenses of that war? It was not brought on by America. It was a quarrel between England and France, in which the colonies had no share. Their country furnished a theatre for it—their blood and treasure flowed freely to assist the mother country. Was it because England had sent men and ships to protect the Americans against savage tribes? She had been more than repaid for that by the profits of American commerce. Was it because parliament possessed authority to raise money for the crown? The Americans were not represented in parliament. “Taxation and representation,” said they—adopting the language of Pitt—“are inseparable.” The more they reasoned, the more they became exasperated. Attachment and loyalty rapidly turned to hatred and distrust. Every day widened the breach between the two countries. Every hour diminished the affection of the Americans, and rendered more apparent the inconsistency that they should be governed by a nation more than three thousand miles off, from whom they were separated by a wide ocean, and in whose legislative enactments they had neither a vote nor a voice.

But the ministry were not to be intimidated. In defiance of the most solemn warnings, and the

CHAP. visible signs of an approaching retribution, they  
 IX. obstinately persisted, and accordingly the question  
 of the stamp act came up on its final passage in  
 1765. parliament, early in the session of 1765. It was  
 but natural that a period of delusive splendor, like  
 that which England had just passed through, should  
 be followed by one of corresponding disaster and  
 gloom. It will be readily anticipated that the dis-  
 cussion of this subject caused a violent shock of  
 opinions in parliament. Indeed, the eyes of all  
 Europe were turned to watch the progress and  
 decision of this question; and it would be difficult  
 to find, either in the history of times past or present,  
 that there has been displayed more vigor of intel-  
 lect, more love of country, more violence of party  
 spirit, or more splendor of eloquence, than in these  
 debates. The cause of America was not without  
 advocates in parliament. The first men of the  
 age were ready to espouse the American side.  
 While the cause of the government was ably vin-  
 dicated by the skilful eloquence of Weddeburne,  
 the majestic sense of Thurlow, and the masterly  
 dexterity of Lord North, the cause of the Ameri-  
 cans employed the lively declamation of Barre,  
 and the philosophic fancy of Burke. Dunning,  
 famous for legal acuteness, and Fox, for argumen-  
 tative vehemence, were on the American side.  
 Above all these rose the venerable form of Pitt,\*  
 his tones solemn and sincere, as was befitting a  
 great man about to leave the world.

Botta,  
I. 42-3.

Botta,  
163-5.

“These Americans—our own children,” ex-  
 claimed the minister Grenville, “planted by our  
 cares, nourished by our indulgence, protected by

\* Earl of Chatham.



our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of skill and opulence—will they now turn their backs upon us, and grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load which overwhelms us?"

Col. Barre caught the words, and boldly rejoined—"Planted by your cares! No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country—a people the most subtle, and I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible, of any people that ever inhabited any part of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

"*They nourished by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect; as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men, whose behavior, on many occasions, had caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape the vengeance of the laws in their own.

"*They protected by your arms!* They have

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nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded for your enlargement the little savings of their frugality and the fruits of their toils. And *believe me, remember*, I this day told you so, that the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from motives of party heat; what I assert proceeds from the sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen, and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated."

This bold speech left the house petrified with astonishment. A dead silence ensued, in which all continued to gaze on the speaker, without uttering a word. The right of parliament to tax the colonies called in question! This was sufficient to make them act from jealousy of their contested authority, and the bill passed on the 7th of February. There were two hundred and fifty yeas, while the nays did not exceed fifty. The house of lords approved the bill on the 8th of March following, and on the 22d of the same month, it was sanctioned by the king. The night on which the bill passed, Dr. Franklin, then in London, wrote to Charles Thompson:—"The sun of liberty is

set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy." To which Mr. Thompson answered, "Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort."

It is impossible to describe the ferment in the colonies\* on the first report that the stamp act had become a law. On its arrival in America there was a general burst of indignation throughout the colonies.† The house of burgesses of Virginia was then in session, and there the first opposition was made. The young and eloquent Patrick Henry was there. He pronounced it tyranny in the king to have sanctioned such an act; and, alluding to the fate of other tyrants, he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III."—here he was interrupted by the cry of treason; pausing for a moment, he added—"may profit by the example. If that be treason, make the most of it." These were bold words—such as had not then been heard even from the boldest. The irresistible eloquence of Henry prevailed. Resolutions condemning the act were passed by a majority of a single voice. Simultaneously with these proceedings, and before they were known in Massachusetts, the General Court of that colony had adopted measures of opposition, and proposed a Congress of States. This proposition was generally agreed to, though it met with so much opposition, that no delegates were elected from New Hampshire and Virginia, nor from North Carolina

1765.

\* New Hampshire Gazette, 1765—1766.

† Prov. Rec., Jour. C. and A., 1765—1774. H., 1759—1765. Portsmouth Town Records, vol. II. New Hampshire Gazette, 1765.

CHAP.  
IX.

and Georgia; and on the first Tuesday of October delegates assembled at New York, from the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina. They drew up an address to the king and petitions to parliament, asking for redress of grievances. Meanwhile the day approached when the stamp act was to take effect; and it was to be seen whether America would resist, or whether she would submit to a law by which no debt could be collected, no ship put to sea, no apprentice indented, no marriage solemnized, without payment of stamp duty. The popular feeling against it had greatly increased, and had spread everywhere. Indeed, the opposition to it had become strong and systematic. The women, animated by a zeal for liberty, united their exertions with the men. They cheerfully gave up the use of British goods, and even relinquished every species of ornament manufactured in England.\* Everywhere the stamp act was treated with derision by the people. In New York it was carried about, attached to a death's-head, labelled, "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." At Providence, in Rhode Island, the effigies of stamp officers were dragged, with halters about their necks, through the streets, hung to gibbets, and afterwards burnt. In Connecticut, also, effigies were carried through the ceremony of a mock trial and condemned in due form to be burnt. The stamp officers in Connecticut and in New York promptly resigned their offices. In Boston, the mob demolished the houses intended for stamp

\* Emma Willard's American Republic, p. 149.

officers, and hung up the effigies of government officers on the branches of an old elm on the common, which took the name of "the Tree of Liberty." In Maryland the principal stamp distributor was menaced, and fled for refuge to New York.

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In New Hampshire George Meserve had been appointed stamp distributor. He received his appointment when in England, and soon after arrived in Boston. The people requested him to resign his office before he landed. This he readily did.\* They then welcomed him on shore. The news of his coming had preceded him to Portsmouth, and an exhibition of effigies had prepared the minds of the people to receive him. At his coming they assembled, and he was compelled to make a more formal resignation, on the parade, before going to his house.† The stamp act was to commence its operation on the first day of November. On the last day of October the New Hampshire Gazette appeared with a mourning border, and the next day was ushered in by the tolling of bells, and a mock funeral was made for the Goddess of Liberty. She is carried to the grave; but on depositing her there, some signs of life are discovered, and she is borne off in triumph, amid the acclamations of the multitude. Thus did the populace propagate the spirit of independence, while the more moderate and even the most eminent citizens testified their resistance by more discreet but not less decided demonstrations. Governor Wentworth alone remained silent. With failing health and an ample fortune, and now

Sept. 9.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 331.

Sept. 12.

1765.  
Sep. 18.

Nov. 1.

Oct. 31.

\* New Hampshire Gazette, Sept., 1765.

† Ibid.

CHAP.  
IX.

far in the decline of life, he felt equally averse to putting himself forward in the support of popular measures, or of contradicting openly the voice of the people. During these commotions, and while it was considered doubtful whether courts of law could enforce their decrees without the use of stamped paper, a few licentious persons endeavored to excite a general opposition to the payment of debts. No sooner did this disorderly spirit manifest itself, than associations were formed at 1765. Portsmouth, Exeter, and all the principal towns, to support the magistrates in compelling obedience to the courts and enforcing the obligations of contracts. This spirit of disorder was soon quelled. Thus did the people show that, though resisting oppression, they had within themselves the elements of virtue and order.

It was soon suspected, notwithstanding the resignation of Meserve, that he intended to distribute stamped paper. Instantly the drums beat, and the Sons of Liberty were assembled. They 1776. then compelled him to deliver up his commission, Jan. 9. which was put on board a ship, then ready to sail, and sent to England. It happened to arrive just at the time when the parliament had heard of the commotions in America, and when a strong effort was making by the friends of America to repeal the stamp act. A change had taken place in the British ministry, and the new ministers, among whom were the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and General Conway, were more favorable to the Americans. The petition of congress and other papers were before them. Dr. Franklin had been examined before the house of

Commons, and had given it as his opinion that America would never submit to the stamp duty unless compelled by force of arms. "My position," said William Pitt, "is this—I repeat it: I will maintain it to my last hour:—*Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more—it is in itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own: no man has a right to take it from him, without his consent; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery.* I 1766  
am of opinion that the stamp act ought to be repealed, totally, absolutely, and immediately." The repeal passed the Commons, and the cause of America having found an advocate in the person of Lord Camden, it prevailed in the house of Lords, and was finally repealed.\*

But the law requiring the colonies to maintain, at their own expense, the troops quartered amongst them, still remained; and as this was considered an indirect mode of taxation, the same opposition was made to it. In July, another change of ministry took place, and a cabinet was formed under the direction of Pitt. In May, 1767, a second plan was devised for taxation, by imposing duties on all tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors, imported into the colonies. All the bitter feelings engendered by the stamp act, now revived. Petitions and remonstrances poured into parliament. Meanwhile, an affray had taken place with the British troops in the streets of Boston, in which

July,  
1767.

\* There were great rejoicings at the repeal of the stamp act. See N. H. Gazette, January 2, 1767.

CHAP. four of the inhabitants were killed. This served  
 IX. to fan the flame of war, now rapidly rising. Not-  
 1776. withstanding the duties on importations were all  
 March soon repealed, with the exception of the duty on  
 5. tea, still, while that remained, the right of parlia-  
 ment to tax the colonies was not relinquished.

Committees of correspondence, those nurseries of liberty, were now organized in all the principal towns throughout the colonies, and produced a complete concert of action. The ships of the East India Company, laden with tea, were now arriving in the American ports. If it landed, the duties must be paid; and it was determined not to permit it to land. Accordingly, in Boston, resolutions were adopted that it should be sent back to England in the same vessels in which it came. Similar resolves were passed in Philadelphia and New York. But the merchants, to whom the tea had been consigned in Boston, refused to grant the necessary discharges, and the ships tarried in the harbor. Apprehensive that the obnoxious article would be landed, the people resolved to destroy it, and in the night a band of citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships, broke open their chests, and emptied their contents into the sea.

1767. In New Hampshire, Governor Wentworth had been removed by the British ministry, on charges of neglect of duty, and his nephew, John Wentworth, appointed governor. He was a favorite of the people, had been active in procuring a repeal of the stamp act, and was appointed by the ministry through whom it was repealed. Through the influence of his principal friends, he prevented the

Aug.  
11.



adoption of a non-importation agreement in Portsmouth. "We cannot depend on the countenance of many persons of the first rank here," said the Sons of Liberty; "for royal commissions and family connexions influence the principal gentlemen among us at least to *keep silence* in these evil times." But the support which the cause of England gained in New Hampshire fell far short of the sanguine hopes of the governor and his friends. It was evident that he was fast losing his popularity. The majority were on the side of liberty. As the crisis approached, the union became more general. Those who felt disposed to advocate the cause of England, from fear of the popular hatred and derision, either became silent, or were forced by the strong current of public opinion to espouse the popular cause; so that when the first cargo of tea arrived in Portsmouth, it required all the prudence of Governor Wentworth, all the vigilance of the magistrates, all the firmness of the friends of order, to send away the hateful commodity without a tumult.\* A town meeting was called, and it was proposed to Mr. Parry, the consignee, to reship it. To this he consented, and it was peaceably sent to Halifax.

1774.

June 25.

Not long afterwards, a second cargo† came, consigned to the same person. The popular ferment could not be allayed. His house was attacked and the windows broken. He applied to the governor for protection. The governor summoned the council and magistrates. But, in the meantime, the town committee prevailed on Mr.

Sept.  
8.

\* Portsmouth Town Records, II., pp. 295, 297, 299, 300, 303. † Ibid. 305.

CHAP. Parry to send the tea to Halifax, and quiet was  
IX. restored.

Nearly all the towns had by this time passed resolves condemning the use of tea. Committees of vigilance and inspection, composed of the most vigilant of the Sons of Liberty, aided by the sentiment of the people, carried those resolves into effect. Public sentiment banished tea from the table entirely. The women, with praiseworthy spirit, gave it up; and tradition says that the more inveterate devotees of the herb descended into their cellars, and, having barred the doors, secretly and with trembling gave way to their love of the proscribed and obnoxious beverage.

1774. Everything indicated that the people of New Hampshire were fast uniting with the views of Massachusetts and the other colonies. In vain did the governor labor to prevent the free action of the people. In vain did he dissolve and adjourn their meetings. In vain did he declare them illegal. They rose when he entered among them to declare their proceedings void; but no sooner had he retired than they resumed their seats and proceeded, unrestricted by forms. An authority was rising in the province above the authority of the governor—an authority founded on the broad basis of the people's will—an authority before which the shadow of royal government was destined to pass away. The people appointed committees of correspondence, and chose delegates\* to the provincial congress at Philadelphia; and nowhere were the proceedings of the congress more universally approved. "Our atmosphere threatens a hurri-

July 14.  
Sept. 4.

\* Nathaniel Folsom and John Sullivan.

cane," wrote the governor to a confidential friend. CHAP. IX.  
 "I have strove in vain, almost to death, to prevent it. If I can, at last, bring out of it safety to my country, and honor to our sovereign, my labors will be joyful."

The people of New Hampshire soon gave an example of the spirit by which the whole country was animated equally with themselves. An order had been passed by the king in council prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder to America. A copy of it was brought by express to Portsmouth, at a time when a ship of war was daily expected from Boston to take possession of fort William and Mary. The committee of the town, with secrecy and despatch, collected a company from Portsmouth and some of the neighboring towns, and, before the governor had any suspicion of their intentions, they proceeded to Newcastle and assaulted the fort before the troops had arrived. The captain and five men, who were the whole of the garrison, were taken into custody, and one hundred barrels of powder were carried off. The next day another company removed fifteen of the lighter cannon, together with all the small arms and other warlike stores. These were carefully secreted in the several towns, under the care of the committees, and afterwards did effectual service at Bunker's Hill. Major John Sullivan and John Langdon were the leaders in this expedition. No sooner was it accomplished, than the Scarborough frigate and sloop of war Canseau arrived, with several companies of soldiers. They took possession of the fort, but found only the heavy cannon. Sullivan and Langdon were afterwards

Bel-knap.

1774.

Bel-knap.

Dec. 11.

1775.  
Jan. 25.

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IX.

chosen delegates to the next general congress, to be holden on the tenth of May.

The winter of 1774 passed away in gloomy apprehension and anxiety. It was evident that the breach between the two countries was too wide to be healed, No mediator could be found, and there was too much reason to fear that this controversy must be decided on the field of battle.\* The port of Boston was shut and guarded by ships of war. Its commerce was ruined, its poor without bread, its merchants without business. A military governor presided over them, and was concentrating troops, as if in apprehension of an approaching crisis. Parliament had voted the existence of rebellion in Massachusetts, and the king had demanded an augmentation of his forces by sea and land.

April  
19.

On the night of the 19th of April, Gen. Gage, governor of Massachusetts, despatched a body of his troops privately, to destroy a magazine of provisions and ammunition which the provincials had collected at Concord. He hoped also to secure the persons of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, two of the most active and ardent of the Sons of Liberty. At eleven in the evening the troops were embarked at Boston, under the command of Lieut. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn. The provincials had notice of their approach, and at five o'clock, on the morning of the eighteenth, they had assembled at Lexington, to the number of

\* The spirit which was displayed by the people may be seen by reference to the New Hampshire Gazette for the period of 1760 to 1775. The following papers are of especial interest, viz.: 1767, Jan. 2; Nov. 27; Dec. 11, 24; 1768, Jan. 15, 22, 29; Feb. 12, 19, 26; March 11, 18; April 8, 15, 22, 29; May 6; June 17, 24; 1769, Nov. 10; Dec. 29.

seventy. The royal troops appeared in sight, and Major Pitcairn, riding forward, brandished his sword at the head of his column, and cried out to the Americans, "Disperse, ye rebels! lay down your arms and retire!" Not being instantly obeyed, he ordered his men to fire. Eight of the provincials fell, and the remainder retreated, pursued by the British.

Thus was spilled the first blood of the Revolution. Thus was opened the grand drama, which closed in the dismemberment of a great empire and the birth of the first American republic. The American Revolution!—that revolution which was to make the names of its actors celebrated with immortal praises, and their memory dear to posterity—that revolution which was to be the dread of tyrants, and the example and the hope of freemen, to the latest ages.

A simple monument, raised a few yards from the church, now marks the spot where fell these first martyrs to the cause of liberty. The detachment proceeded to Concord, and, after a hot skirmish, destroyed or removed the stores, and then retreated precipitately towards Lexington, assailed with fury by the provincials. The minute-men, hastily assembling from all quarters, followed in close pursuit. Posted behind fences, trees, and stumps, they kept up a galling and destructive fire along the whole line of the march, which it was impossible for the British to return. They at length reached Lexington, where they were met by Lord Percy, with a reinforcement of nine hundred men. At sunset they reached Charlestown neck, overcome with fatigue, and having lost two

CHAP. IX.   
 hundred and seventy-three in killed, wounded and missing. The provincials lost eighty-eight.

The news of the battle of Lexington spread everywhere with electric speed. From all parts the cry rung, to arms. The militia poured in from all quarters, and soon there was collected in the neighborhood of Boston an army of twenty thousand men. In May, the Americans, under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, surprised and took the strong fortress of Ticonderoga; and soon after, a detachment, under Colonel Warner, took possession of Crown Point. During all these hostile movements, Governor Wentworth, who, like most of the British governors, entirely mistook the genius of the people of New England, continued to be sanguine in his hopes to plant the root of peace in New Hampshire. He summoned a new assembly, and in his speech\* exhorted them to direct their councils to peace. He earnestly conjured them to an affectionate reconciliation with the mother country. But the spell of royal influence was broken. The assembly desired a short recess, and he adjourned them to the twelfth of June. Meanwhile, the crew of the Scarborough proceeded to dismantle fort William and Mary. They also seized two vessels, coming into the harbor, laden with provisions. The inhabitants demanded their release; but the governor refused to give them up. Immediately a body of men armed themselves and proceeded to a battery at Jerry's point, at Great Island, and seized eight pieces of cannon and brought them to Portsmouth. But while they were engaged in this, the Canseau

May.

Weems' Life of Washington.

May 26.

\* Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1770—1775.

sloop convoyed the two provision-vessels to Boston, for the supply of the British fleet and army. CHAP.  
IX.

A convention of the people had been called, and was at this time sitting at Exeter. They passed a vote of thanks to those who had removed the cannon from the battery, and to those who had taken the powder and guns from the fort, under Sullivan and Langdon. Recognising the doctrine that the representative is the mere organ, servant, or agent of the people, and bound to obey their known will, the people had instructed the representatives how to proceed in several important particulars at the next assembly. They had come freshly from the people. In this body the province was fully and equally represented, and the voice of the convention was therefore regarded as the voice of the people. Pursuant to adjournment, the house met on the twelfth of June, and the governor again recommended "the conciliatory proposition."\* The house gave him no heed, as appears by the first step they took. Recognising the duty of the representative to obey the voice of his constituents, they proceeded, in obedience to the instructions of the convention, to expel three members whom the governor had called by the king's writ from three new townships. This they did because these members were elected from their known partiality to the royal cause,† while other towns, much older and more populous, were not represented. One of the expelled members, having censured this proceeding, was assaulted by the populace, and fled for shelter to the governor's house. The peo-

Bel-  
knap.

June  
12.

\* The proposition of Lord North. Parl. Deb.

† Prov. Rec., Jour. House, 1770—1775.

CHAP.  
IX.

ple demanded him, and, being refused, they pointed a gun at the governor's door; whereupon the offender was surrendered and carried to Exeter. The governor retired to the fort, and his house was pillaged. He afterwards went on board the Scarborough and sailed for Boston. He had adjourned the assembly to the 28th of September. But they met no more. In September, he issued a proclamation from the Isles of Shoals, adjourning them to April next. This was the closing act of his administration. It was the last receding step of royalty. It had subsisted in the province ninety-five years. The government of New Hampshire was henceforth to be a government of the people.

The news of the battle of Lexington aroused all America. Men of all classes—the mechanic from his shop, the farmer from the field—all hastened towards Boston; and a volunteer army of thirty thousand men were found assembled in a short time, and closely pressing the siege upon the British within the city. Twenty thousand of these were sent home by the American generals.\* But of those who remained, twelve hundred were from New Hampshire, under command of the colonels Stark and Reid; the former of whom, while at work in his saw-mill, heard of the battle of Lexington, and instantly dropped the implements of labor, seized his musket, and hastened to the post of danger. So closely were the British troops besieged, and so completely was their communication with the adjacent country cut off, that it was impossible to obtain supplies. They dared

\* Botta, I., 186.



not to sally forth even to procure food ; yet they looked upon the insurgent people with disdain.

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1775.

All eyes were now fixed on the two armies at Boston ; the one composed of the regular troops of the king within the city, the other a body of raw militia, collected from the workshop and the plough, closely pressing a siege upon their disciplined and confident foe. The Americans had elected Gen. Ward commander-in-chief, with Col. Putnam for the second in command. The British, already reinforced, were under the command of Gage, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne ; all skilful and experienced commanders. They had come from the battle-fields of Europe freshly decked with laurels. They had combatted successfully against the most warlike nations in the world. Were they to be seriously opposed by “a flock of Yankees ?” as they contemptuously named the Americans. Elated with the recollection of their past achievements, they panted to wipe off the disgrace of Lexington. They could not bear to rest under the thought that they had turned their backs at Concord, and retreated before a foe whom they despised and persisted in calling cowards.

They were now suffering extremely from scarcity of food. This, as well as a desire to execute something, determined the British to attempt some mode to extricate themselves from their difficult position, and gain an entrance into the open country. The American generals were apprized of their intention, and, in order to prevent this movement they resolved to fortify the heights of Bunker’s hill. Orders were therefore given to Col. William Prescott to occupy them with a detach-

CHAP.  
IX.

ment of one thousand men, and to fortify himself there. But, from some mistake, instead of repairing to the heights of Bunker's hill, he advanced farther on, and commenced his entrenchments on the heights of Breed's hill, another eminence which overlooks Charlestown, and is situated towards the extremity of the peninsula, nearer to Boston. The labor had been conducted with such silence as to be unperceived by the English; and, by the following morning at daybreak, the Americans had already constructed a square redoubt, capable of affording them shelter from the enemy. The English had no suspicion of what was passing. It was about four o'clock the next morning when the captain of a ship of war first perceived it, and began to play his artillery. It now became important to dislodge the provincials from this formidable position, or at least to stop the progress of their entrenchments. The English, therefore, opened a general fire of artillery, which hailed a tempest of bombs and balls upon the works of the Americans. But, notwithstanding the fury of the enemy's artillery, the Americans continued to work the whole day with unshaken constancy; and towards night they had already much advanced a trench, which descended from the redoubt to the foot of the hill and almost to the banks of Mystic river. The small passage between they obstructed with two parallel palisades, which were made by pulling up some adjoining post and rail fence, and setting it down in two parallel lines near each other, filling the space between with grass.\* The right wing was flanked by the houses of Charles-

Botta,  
I., 203.

1775.

Botta,  
I., 203.

\* Morse's Revolution, p. 231.

town, which they occupied; the centre and left wing formed themselves behind the trench, which, following the declivity of the hill, extended towards Mystic river. The troops of Massachusetts occupied Charlestown, the redoubt, and a part of the trench; those of Connecticut, commanded by Capt. Nolten, and those of New Hampshire, under Cols. Stark and Reed, the rest of the trench.\*

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IX.

Before the battle commenced, Dr. Warren, who had volunteered his services, arrived, and joined the troops of Massachusetts. Gen. Pomeroy made his appearance at the same time, and took command of those from Connecticut. Gen. Putnam directed in chief, and held himself ready to repair to any point where his presence should be most needed. About midday, the heat being intense, all was in motion in the British camp. A multitude of sloops and boats, filled with British soldiers, the whole under the command of General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, crossed over to Charlestown, and landed without meeting resistance. Their debarkation was protected by the fire of the artillery from the ships of war, which forced the Americans to keep within their entrenchments. The troops, on landing, began to display, the light infantry on the right, the grenadiers on the left; but having observed the strength of the position and the good countenance of the Americans, Gen. Howe made a halt, and sent to call a reinforcement. The English now formed themselves in two columns. Their plan was that the left wing, under General Pigot, should attack the

Botta,  
I., 204.

Botta,  
I., 204.

1775.  
June 17.

Botta,  
I., 204.

\* In describing the battle of Bunker's Hill, I have adopted the statements, and, in some instances, the language, of Botta, the Italian historian.

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IX.

rebels in Charlestown, while the centre assaulted the redoubt; and the right wing, consisting of light infantry, should force the passage near the river Mystic, and thus assail the Americans in flank and rear. It appears, also, that Gen. Gage had formed the design of setting fire to Charlestown, in order that the corps destined to assail the redoubt, thus protected by the flames and smoke, might be less exposed to the fire of the provincials. The dispositions having all been completed, the English put themselves in motion. The provincials that were stationed to defend Charlestown, fearing lest the assailants should penetrate between the town and the redoubt, and thus to find themselves cut off from the rest of the army, retreated. The English immediately entered the town and fired the buildings, which being of wood, the combustion soon became general. They continued a slow march against the redoubt and trench, halting from time to time for the artillery to come up and act with some effect previous to the assault. The flames and smoke of Charlestown were of little use to them, as the wind turned them in a contrary direction. The scene presented by the hostile armies was sublime beyond the power of language. The veil of smoke rising from Charlestown, the flames, the crash of falling houses, the uproar of the artillery, and the sanguinary nature of the conflict, all conspired to render the spectacle one of surpassing sublimity and interest. On the part of the English, honor was at stake—fame might be won. On the side of the Americans, the defence of their country, the liberty and rights of themselves and their posterity, now depended upon their arms and

their valor. The spires and roofs of Boston, the hills and circumjacent fields, were covered with swarms of spectators, all intently viewing the men, who, unaccustomed to the glare of military show, clad in the rude vestments of husbandry, with scarcely a badge or a banner to deck their ranks, were to show, by this day's conduct, whether they were worthy to transmit freedom to their children. The English advanced, exulting in anticipation of an easy triumph. Their standards waved proudly above them, and the wild music of their martial bands rose on the air and mingled with the roar of the artillery. With muskets levelled, but reserving their fire, the Americans awaited the result in profound tranquillity. The weather was clear, and permitted them to take good aim. Not a shot was fired until the English had advanced within a few yards of the works, when a terrible flash came from the redoubt, and a deluge of balls poured amidst the enemy's ranks. Volley after volley succeeded, with such fatal aim, that not even the practised courage of royal troops could withstand its effect. They reeled as before a whirlwind, and fled in wild disorder to the place of landing. Some threw themselves precipitately into the boats.

The English officers were now seen running hither and thither amongst the disordered battalions, with promises, with exhortations and with menaces, attempting to rally the soldiers for a second attack. At length, after the most painful efforts, they resumed their ranks and turned their faces again towards the deadly redoubt. The Americans reserved their fire, as before, until they had advanced within a few yards, and then poured

1775.  
June 17.

CHAP. upon them the same deluge of balls. Overwhelmed  
 IX. and routed, they again fled to the shore. For  
 Botta, a moment General Howe remained alone upon  
 205. the field of battle; all the officers who surrounded  
 him were killed or wounded. At this critical con-  
 juncture, upon which depended the issue of the  
 day, General Clinton, who from Copp's Hill had  
 watched all the movements, seeing the destruction  
 of his best troops, immediately resolved to fly to  
 their succor; and entering a boat he was rowed  
 rapidly to Charlestown. By an able movement,  
 this experienced commander re-established order,  
 and being promptly seconded by the officers, who  
 felt all the importance of success to English honor,  
 led the troops to the third attack. It was directed  
 Botta, against the redoubt at the several points. The  
 206. ammunition of the Americans being exhausted, and  
 being without bayonets, they defended themselves  
 valiantly for a while with the butt-ends of their mus-  
 kets; but, seeing the redoubt and the upper part  
 of the trench filled with enemies, they slowly retired.  
 During the action the ships of war raked the isth-  
 mus of Charlestown to prevent any reinforcements  
 from passing to the Americans from Cambridge.  
 General Putnam, seeing this, rode several times to  
 and fro along the isthmus, to convince the Cam-  
 bridge division that they could pass over with  
 safety. But being apprehensive of an attack in  
 their own position, they declined engaging in the  
 battle. The Americans had not yet reached the  
 period of their greatest peril. The only way of  
 retreat was by the isthmus of Charlestown, which  
 Botta, was raked by the guns of the Glasgow ship of war  
 206. and two floating batteries. The Americans, how

ever, issued from the peninsula without losing any considerable number of men. Yet their loss was great, for it was here that the brave Warren was killed. A British officer singled him out and shot him with a gun which he borrowed from a soldier. He fell and died upon the spot. In him America lost a man of the purest patriotism and the most undaunted bravery—an able statesman, an accomplished orator. New Hampshire here lost a gallant son, Major Andrew M'Clary, who was killed by a cannon shot after he had passed the isthmus. Thus ended the battle of Bunker's\* hill, and with it the confidence which the British had reposed in the cowardice of the Americans. The Americans reaped the fruits of a victory. The British remained masters of the field. Their loss was ten hundred and fifty-four. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, four hundred and fifty three.†

In this battle the New Hampshire troops, posted behind the breast-work, on the left of the main body, behaved with distinguished bravery. They helped to sustain that galling fire which swept down whole regiments of the British as they advanced to the attack. They made good the defence of their position, until the loss of the redoubt compelled the American commander to sound the signal of retreat. The number lost from Stark's regiment was fifteen killed and missing, and sixty wounded; the number from Colonel

CHAP.  
IX.

Mass.  
Records,  
232.

Bel-  
knap, p.  
359.

Whi-  
ton,  
p. 123.

\* In compliance with the popular language, I call the scene of the battle *Bunker's hill*, which is a quarter of a mile north of Breed's or Russell's hill, where the battle was fought.

† Hale's Hist. U. S., vol. I., p. 269. Morse sets it down at 355. Revolution, p. 232. Neither of these authors gives any authorities.

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IX.

Reed's regiment was three killed, one missing, twenty-nine wounded.\* After the battle, the third New Hampshire regiment, under the command of Colonel Poor, collected and marched to the camp; and, with the other New Hampshire regiments, was stationed on Winter Hill, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Sullivan. Besides these troops, a company of artillery was raised to garrison the forts. A company of rangers was posted on Connecticut river, and two companies more were organized to be ready to march wherever the committee of safety should direct. The whole militia was divided into twelve regiments.† Out of these were enlisted four regiments of minute-men,‡ who were to hold themselves in readiness to march to any point, and were constantly trained to military duty. In the succeeding winter, the Connecticut forces, whose term of service had expired, withdrew from the camp, and sixteen companies of the New Hampshire militia supplied their place until the British troops evacuated Boston.

1776.  
March  
17.

May,  
1776.  
June  
15,  
1775.

Meanwhile the American congress had assembled at Philadelphia. George Washington had been appointed commander of the American army, and had entered Boston in triumph, amidst the rejoicings of the people. In the forty-fourth year of his age, a period of life which placed him beyond the illusions of youth, and possessed of an ample fortune, renowned for his fidelity and virtue, the congress found united in him all the

\* See Stark's letter, Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc., II., 145. Sweet's Hist. Bunker Hill Battle.

† N. H. Hist. Coll., I., 336.

‡ So called because they were to march at a minute's warning.







GEN. JOHN THOMAS

qualities necessary to secure success in the chief of the union. To him they resolved to adhere in every extremity with their lives and fortunes. Still further to ensure success, they resolved to place at the head of the army other able and experienced officers. Accordingly, Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, and Philip Schuyler were appointed major generals. Horatio Gates, an officer known to be profoundly versed in all the details of military science, was made adjutant general. They also created eight brigadier generals, viz., Seth Pomeroy, William Heath and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster and John Spencer, of Connecticut; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Nathaniel Green, of Rhode Island.

CHAP.  
IX.

Botta,  
I., 217.

After these appointments had been made, the congress applied themselves, with the greatest activity, to obtain the means to carry on a war. The people promptly seconded their efforts, and proceeded, in the several colonies, to raise men, to arm and equip them, and to provide themselves with arms and munitions of war. An exact scrutiny was commenced in the cellars and stables for saltpetre and sulphur. In every part of the country manufactories of gunpowder and foundries of cannon were seen rising; every place resounded with the preparations of war. All men fit to bear arms were ordered to form themselves into battalions. Those who could not bear arms, came forth to aid the cause by every other means in their power. The most rigorous religious opinions easily found evasions. Even the Quakers, kindling in the great convulsion, allowed themselves to be transported

Botta,  
I., 219.

CHAP.  
IX.

by a zeal for liberty, and joined the companies of the Philadelphians. The aged Germans resumed the profession of arms, so long relinquished, and resolved to bear a part in the common defence. With crape upon their hats, to denote their regret at the unfortunate causes which compelled them to take up arms, they formed themselves into a body, called the "Old Men's Company," and resumed their arms to defend the liberty of that country which had offered them an asylum, when oppression forced them to abandon their own.

The women were forward to signalize their zeal for liberty. They chose to work the soldier's rough garb, rather than the embroidery of fashion. With their own hands they embroidered the colors and adorned them with appropriate mottoes; then presented them to the regiments, with eloquent discourses on liberty, and earnest entreaties to the soldiers never to desert their banners. In the county of Bristol, Pennsylvania, they resolved to equip a regiment of men at their own cost.

While such was the enthusiasm for liberty, it was but natural that a violent resentment should be kindled against those who still adhered to the royal cause. These took the name of tories; their opponents, the name of whigs, or sons of liberty. The tories were persecuted with relentless fury. Some of them were arrested and imprisoned. Some fled to Nova Scotia, or to England, some joined the British army in Boston. Others were restricted to certain limits, and their motions continually watched. The passions of jealousy, hatred and revenge were under no restraint. Although many lamented these excesses, there

seemed to be no effectual remedy. All the bands of ancient authority were broken. The courts were shut; the sword of magistracy was sheathed. But amidst the general laxity in the forms of government, order prevailed; reputation, life and property were still secure; thus proving that it is not in outward forms of austerity, or sanguinary punishments, or nicely written codes, or veneration for what is old, that our rights find protection—but in the potent, though unseen, influence of family ties, virtuous habits and lofty example. These contributed more, at this time, to maintain order than any other authority; thus illustrating how much stronger are the secret than the apparent bonds of society. But the people of New Hampshire proceeded to perfect, as far as possible, their provisional government. The convention which had assembled at Exeter, was elected but for six months. Previous to their dissolution in November, they made provisions, pursuant to the recommendations of congress, for calling a new convention, which should be a more full representation of the people. They sent copies of these provisions to the several towns, and dissolved. The elections were forthwith held. The new convention promptly assembled, and drew up a temporary form of government.

Having assumed the name of **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**, they adopted a constitution,\* and proceeded to choose twelve persons to constitute a distinct and a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, by the name of a **COUNCIL**. These twelve were empowered to elect their own president; and any

CHAP.  
IX.

1775.  
May.

Nov.  
14.

1775.  
Dec.  
21.

1776.  
Jan. 5.

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 364.

\* A copy of this is in N. H. Hist. Coll., IV., p. 150.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1776.

seven of them were to be a quorum. It was ordained that no act or resolve should be valid, unless passed by both branches of the legislature ; that all money bills should originate in the house of representatives ; that neither house should adjourn for more than two days, without the consent of the other ; that a secretary and all other public officers of the colony and of each county for the current year, all general and field officers of militia, and all officers of the marching regiments, should be appointed by the two houses ; all subordinate militia officers by their respective companies ; that the present assembly should subsist one year, and, if the dispute with Britain should continue longer, and the general congress should give no directions to the contrary, that precepts should be issued annually, to the several towns, on or before the first day of November, for the choice of councilors and representatives.

Bel-  
knap,  
264.

Thus did the convention establish annual elections and co-ordinate branches of government, each having a negative upon the other. But in this system there was still a material defect. It provided for no executive. To remedy this, the two houses assumed to themselves the executive duty during the session, and they appointed a committee of safety to sit in the recess, varying in number from six to sixteen, vested with executive powers. The president of the council was president of the executive committee. To this responsible and honorable station they called that old and tried servant of the public, Meshech Weare ; a man of no brilliant parts, but of a sound understanding, a calm temper, and a benevolent heart ; a ripe

Bel-  
knap,  
p. 364.

scholar, accurate in his judgment, of modest deportment, prudent and diligent. So great was the confidence reposed in Weare, that he was also made judge of the superior court.\* Thus the people did not scruple to invest him, at the same time, with the highest offices, legislative, executive and judicial. To the offices of president of the state and judge he continued to be chosen, by annual elections, through the stormy period of the revolution, discharging his various duties with unsurpassed fidelity and wisdom. He died in the seventy-third year of his age. As he had not enriched himself by public employments, he died poor in worldly goods, but rich in the gratitude of the people, and honored by their unaffected sorrow.

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IX.

1786.  
Jan. 25.

Congress now resolved to contest the power of England, on her chosen element, the seas. Having observed the skill and success of a few privateers, in protecting the coasts of the continent, and intercepting English navigation, they decreed that five ships of war should be constructed and armed. Of these, one was to be built in New Hampshire. After long delays, the Raleigh was completed in Portsmouth, and joined the other ships, all under command of Commodore Hopkins. With incredible despatch this little fleet was equipped. A multitude of privateers sprang into existence at the same time, and swarmed out into the sea, with a success fatal to English navigation. An immense quantity of provisions, cattle, arms and munitions of war, which the English were transporting across the ocean, at a vast expense, became the prey of the American ships.

1776.

\* N. H. Hist. Coll., V., p. 245.

CHAP.  
IX.

1776.

While New Hampshire thus contributed her full share to this humble squadron, she also furnished her quota of troops. Two thousand men were raised for the service of this year, and constituted four regiments. One moved from Boston to New York, in the army of Washington, and was placed under command of General Sullivan. One, raised in the western part of the province, under command of Colonel Bedell, was destined to join the expedition against Canada—one of the most singularly bold, and romantic enterprises recorded in military annals. The names of Montgomery, Morgan, Allen,\* Warner, Livingston, Brown and Arnold, appear as leaders—all bold spirits, distinguished for deeds of daring; and all, with the exception of the last, true to the American cause. This expedition contemplated the bold plan of leading two forces, one of which, by the way of the Kennebec, was to emerge from the wilderness near Quebec, and join another force marching by the way of lake Champlain. With incredible fortitude, and after incredible hardships, they had reached their destination, and, in the face of fearful odds, had taken Montreal. Hastening to Quebec, amidst the snows of that fierce climate, in the month of December, Montgomery hurried on to the assault of that strong fortress. Prodigies of valor were performed by the American troops, but they were overpowered by numbers. Montgomery, the brave and generous Montgomery, fell there, wept and honored; Arnold was carried off the field wounded, and Morgan succeeded to the command. Impetuous as the thunderbolt, he

1775.  
Dec.  
31.

\* Of Vermont, who led the "Green Mountain Boys."



rushed forward, and fought like a lion at the head of his forlorn hope; but was forced to surrender. While the American troops were compelled to retreat from Quebec, calamity followed them in another quarter. The important post of the Cedars, about forty miles above Montreal, garrisoned by four hundred men, under Col. Bedell, was surrendered, in the most cowardly manner, by a subordinate officer\* of Colonel Bedell, to five hundred British and Indians. Finally, after lingering in the vicinity of Quebec until the augmented numbers of the British army rendered every hope vain, the Americans determined on evacuating Canada, and commenced their retreat. It was to meet the broken remnants of the army of Canada, that General Sullivan was detached by Washington, from New York, at the head of the New Hampshire troops.

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IX.

1776.

At the mouth of the Sorel he met them, in the last extremity of suffering. They had been compelled to subsist sometimes upon the meat of dogs, and had even boiled their shoes in the last extremity of hunger. The small-pox had broken out amongst them, to which the commander-in-chief, General Thomas, had fallen a victim. Followed by an army of thirteen thousand men, they retreated to St. Johns, where pursuit ceased, and on the first of July, they arrived at Ticonderoga. Nearly one third of them had perished by sickness. Those that remained, marched under Washington, and took part in the brilliant actions of Trenton and Princeton.

June 1.

July 1.

The American congress were now about to take

\* Colonel Bedell was, at the time, absent at Montreal to obtain assistance.

CHAP.  
IX.

New  
Hamp-  
shire  
re-  
solves  
on a  
declar-  
ation of  
inde-  
pendence.

June  
15.

an important step. Independence had become the general voice of the people. On the eleventh of June, 1776, a committee was chosen by the assembly and another by the council of New Hampshire, "to make a draught of a declaration of the independence of the united colonies." On the fifteenth, the committees of both houses reported a **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**, which was adopted unanimously, and a copy sent forthwith to their delegates in congress. It was in these words:—  
 "Whereas it now appears an undoubted fact, that, notwithstanding all the dutiful petitions and decent remonstrances from the American colonies, and the utmost exertions of their best friends in England on their behalf, the British ministry, arbitrary and vindictive, are yet determined to reduce, by fire and sword, our bleeding country to their absolute obedience; and for this purpose, in addition to their own forces, they have engaged great numbers of foreign mercenaries, who may now be on their passage here, accompanied by a formidable fleet to ravish and plunder the sea-coast; from all which we may reasonably expect the most dismal scenes of distress the ensuing year, unless we exert ourselves by every means and precaution possible; and whereas we, of this colony of New Hampshire, have the example of several of the most respectable of our sister colonies before us, for entering upon that most important step of disunion from Great Britain, and declaring ourselves **FREE AND INDEPENDENT** of the crown thereof, being impelled thereto, by the most violent and injurious treatment; and it appearing absolutely necessary, in this most critical juncture of

our public affairs, that the honorable, the continental congress, who have this important object under immediate consideration, should be also informed of our resolutions thereon, without loss of time; we do hereby declare that it is the opinion of this assembly, that our delegates at the continental congress should be instructed, and they are hereby instructed, to join with the other colonies, in declaring the thirteen united colonies a free and independent state—solemnly pledging our faith and honor, that we will, on our parts, support the measure with our lives and fortunes—and that, in consequence thereof, they, the continental congress, on whose wisdom, fidelity and integrity we rely, may enter into and form such alliances as they may judge most conducive to the present safety and future advantage of these American colonies: *Provided*, the regulation of our own internal police be under the direction of our own assembly.”

This declaration was not in advance of the popular sentiment. The *New Hampshire Gazette*, as early as October, 1775, had hinted at independence, and now advocated it. “Wherein,” says a writer in the *Gazette* of June 8th, 1776, “is America lawfully subject to the crown of Great Britain, or to any other power in that island? The answer, at the present time, is very obvious; that Great Britain, by the free consent and concurrence of the king with the other two branches of the legislature, having, by acts of the greatest injustice and inhumanity, and with unparalleled cruelty and violence, broke faith with America, the latter stands wholly disengaged from, and indepen-

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N. H.  
*Gazette*  
June 8,  
1776.

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 dent of, and unconnected with, the former, and is at liberty to form any new plan of union or disunion, as she thinks fit and best. All charters and agreements between the two countries are entirely cancelled and vacated; and a state of nature in America, so far as relates to the laws of Great Britain, has revolved upon the former, wholly owing to the misconduct of the latter—all laws naturally returning back into the hands of the people, or at least, ought so to do, as often as tyranny and oppression extend their lawless sway.”

This writer only gave expression to the popular feeling and to the sentiments of the declaration.

1776. Other states passed similar resolves; and on the fourth of July, a day ever memorable, that immortal body, the American Congress, in which  
 July 4. New Hampshire was represented by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple and Matthew Thornton, published their high resolve to the world. It was framed by the philosophic mind of Jefferson, and proclaimed the complete independence of the colonies. It dissolved all connexion with Great Britain. It was received with joy by the army and the people. Within fourteen days, it was published by beat of drum in all the shire towns in  
 Bel-  
 knap.  
 p. 363. New Hampshire. At Exeter it was read, by the patriotic Gilman, to the assembled multitude, with a rapturous emotion which for a few moments choked his utterance.

And now America presented a spectacle inviting the admiration of the world. With defeat on her arms, yet with a resolution soaring above the reverses of fortune—with Washington in the field

—Franklin and Jefferson in her councils—Adams and Henry in the popular assemblies, with hundreds like them in feeling, she stood before the world, confronting the giant power of England. The patriotism of New Hampshire, at this epoch,\* did not evaporate in momentary feeling. For the service of 1777, three regiments, under the command of Colonels Joseph Cilley, Nathan Hale and Alexander Scammell, were raised for long enlistments, and rendezvoused at Ticonderoga, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Poor. Here they remained until the approach of the British army, under General Burgoyne, rendered it advisable to abandon that post. On the retreat, Colonel Hale's battalion was ordered to cover the rear of the invalids, which brought him seven miles behind the main body. The next morning he was attacked by an advanced party of the enemy at Hubbardton. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which Major Titcomb was wounded, and Colonel Hale, Captains Robertson, Carr and Norris, Adjutant Elliot and two other officers, with about one hundred men, were taken prisoners. The main body of the army fell back upon Saratoga. But, before their arrival, a skirmish took place at fort Anne, in which Captain Weare, a son of the president, was mortally wounded, and died afterwards at Albany. When the news of Burgoyne's advance reached New Hampshire, the assembly was quickly summoned together, and, in a session of three days, adopted an effectual plan of defence. They formed the militia of the state into two

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Bel-  
knap,  
p. 374.  
July 6.

\* See "Returns of the Association Test," for 1776, in the office of the Secretary of State, at Concord.

CHAP. brigades, under command of William Whipple  
 IX. and John Stark. A portion of each were drafted,  
 and were ordered to march immediately to stop  
 the progress of the enemy. Stark pushed forward  
 and joined the Vermont forces, under Colonel  
 Warren, twenty miles above Bennington. Gen.  
 Burgoyne, with the main body of the British army,  
 had arrived at fort Edward. Burgoyne had  
 1777. vaunted that his course should lead through Ver-  
 mont, and should be but a triumphal march, which  
 was to complete the conquest of New England.  
 Finding his army in want of provisions, and learn-  
 ing that the provincials had a large depot of pork,  
 beef and flour, at Bennington, he despatched  
 Colonel Baum, with fifteen hundred men, to pene-  
 trate to Connecticut river, to collect horses to  
 mount the dragoons, and cattle for provisions.  
 He was to persuade the people among whom he  
 should pass that his detachment was the advanced  
 guard of the army, which was in victorious march  
 to Boston. Learning that the provincials had a  
 large depot of beef, pork and flour at Bennington,  
 Colonel Baum went, with five hundred men, to  
 seize them. Some of the Indians who preceded  
 this detachment, being discovered about twelve  
 miles from Bennington, Stark detached Colonel  
 Gregg, with two hundred men, to stop their pro-  
 gress. In the evening of the same day, informa-  
 tion was given that a body of regular troops were  
 1777. marching upon Bennington with a train of artillery.  
 Aug. The next morning he marched with his whole  
 14. brigade to the support of Gregg, who, having found  
 himself outnumbered, was retreating, the enemy  
 pursuing within one mile of his rear. When they

perceived Stark advancing, they halted, erected breastworks, and sent back to call a reinforcement. Stark drew up his men on an eminence in open view, but could not bring the enemy to an engagement. He then marched back a mile, and encamped, leaving a few men to skirmish with the enemy. The next day being rainy, Stark kept his position; but, to try the spirit of his troops, he sent out skirmishing parties to harass the enemy. The militia being brave, in the several skirmishes between small detachments were uniformly successful. This sharpened their courage, and on the sixteenth of August, Stark, who now had his forces augmented by the Berkshire men from Massachusetts, resolved to attack the main body. His force now amounted to sixteen hundred men. Colonel Nichols, with two hundred men, was ordered to the rear of the enemy's left wing; and Colonel Hendrick, with three hundred, to the rear of their right. Three hundred men were ordered to attack them in front, and draw their attention. Then, sending Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred, to attack the right wing, and one hundred more to reinforce Nichols in the rear of their left, the battle commenced by an attack on the rear of the left wing, at precisely three o'clock in the afternoon. It was immediately seconded by the other detachments, and, at the same time, Stark himself advanced with the main body. For two hours the Hessians\* fought bravely; but, overwhelmed by numbers, and their entrenchments assaulted by yet braver troops, they were overpowered. The Americans

Hale's  
Hist.  
U. S.,  
vol. II.,  
p. 33.

\* German troops in the English service.

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forced their entrenchments, and they fled in disorder. But carelessness had now well nigh lost what valor had won. The Americans, apprehending no danger, dispersed in search of plunder and fugitives. Suddenly the reinforcements sent to Baum arrived, and fell furiously upon the scattered Americans. Fortunately, at this critical juncture, the Green Mountain Boys came up, under Colonel Warner, and threw themselves impetuously upon the enemy. The scattered militia rallied fast to his support. The battle lasted till night, when the enemy, retreating under cover of the darkness, made good their escape. Four pieces of cannon, with all the baggage wagons and horses of the enemy, were the trophies of this victory. Two hundred and twenty-six men were found dead on the field of battle. Colonel Baum, mortally wounded, was taken; besides whom thirty-three officers and seven hundred privates were made prisoners. Of Stark's brigade, four officers and ten privates were killed, and forty-two were wounded.

Long before the battle, General Poor, a junior officer, had been promoted over Stark; who, being offended, had resigned his commission, and, in disgust, retired to his farm. At the news of Burgoyne's approach, he had taken the field, and was acting under the authority of the assembly of New Hampshire. When congress heard of this, a few days before the battle, they passed a resolve, that the movements of General Stark were "destructive of military subordination, and prejudicial to the common cause." But by accident the same congress heard of his victory. They immediately



passed a vote of thanks to him, and promoted him to the rank of a brigadier general.

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The colonies had long been depressed by disaster and defeat ; but the decisive victory of Bennington turned the tide of success, and diffused confidence and joy. The prospect of a more glorious victory burst upon the Americans, and crowds of militia flocked to the republican camp. It happened, at this time, that there was a change of officers, and General Gates had been appointed to the army of the north. Arnold, the thunderbolt of war, whose path was always marked with carnage, was also there, and Morgan, already distinguished for his brilliant achievements, with the patriot of Poland, the brave Kosciusko, were there. These several causes combined, produced a general rising of the people at the north, and it seemed that every man, who could bear arms, was rushing to the camp of Gates.

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Thus General Gates found himself at the head of an army of five thousand men. On the 8th of September he left his encampment at the islands, proceeded to Stillwater, and occupied Bemus heights. On the twelfth, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson, and on the seventeenth, moved forward to Saratoga, and encamped within three miles of the American army. The next day occurred the first battle of Stillwater. It began by skirmishes between the scouting parties. Each side sent reinforcements to their combatants, respectively, until nearly the whole of both armies were engaged. The Americans took advantage of a dense wood, from which they poured a deadly fire. Unable to withstand it, the British lines broke, and the

Sept. 8.

Sept.  
12.

Sept.  
17.

Sept.  
18.

CHAP. Americans, rushing from their coverts, pursued  
IX. them to an eminence, where, their flanks being  
1777. supported, they rallied, and, charging in their turn,  
drove the Americans into the woods, from which  
they again poured a fire too deadly to be with-  
stood. Again the British fell back. At every  
charge their artillery fell into the hands of the  
Americans. Night put an end to the conflict.  
The Americans retired to their camp, having lost  
between three and four hundred. The British loss  
was five hundred. Both sides claimed the victory.  
The former gained the advantages of a victory,  
the latter reaped the worst consequences of defeat.

From this time to the seventh of October, fre-  
quent skirmishes occurred between the two armies.  
On that day a general battle was fought at Sara-  
toga. It began by an attack of the Americans,  
Oct. 7. under General Poor, on the left flank and front  
of the British. At the same time, Morgan made  
an onset upon their right. The action now be-  
came general. The efforts of the combatants on  
both sides were desperate, and both displayed  
equal valor. Burgoyne and his officers fought as if  
their all of reputation depended on the issue of the  
day; while the Americans contested the field like  
men resolved to die rather than surrender their  
native soil to invaders. In fifty-two minutes the  
invading army gave way. The defenders of the  
soil pursued them to their entrenchments, and  
forced the guard. Arnold was seen amongst the  
most furious, and seemed to court danger.  
Throughout the whole action, he fought like a  
lion, overturning with fierce slaughter all that  
opposed his progress. Putting himself at the

head of a small band, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and carried a portion of the works by storm. His horse was shot under him, and he himself wounded. Mounting another, he plunged again into the thickest of the fight, but night coming on, Gates retired; and the ruin of the British army was reserved to another day.

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The Americans, that night, rested on their arms upon the field which they had so nobly won. Gates now perceived that a bloodless victory was in his power. Burgoyne was completely surrounded and hemmed in on every side. His supplies were cut off, and all hope of succor from General Clinton had failed. In this distressed condition, he summoned a council of war. Their advice was unanimous, and on the seventeenth, the whole army, amounting to five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, surrendered, prisoners of war. Their arms, thirty-five brass field-pieces and five thousand muskets, fell into the hands of the Americans. They marched out of their camp with the honors of war, and thus terminated the vaunted expedition of Burgoyne, from which so much was expected, and so much was feared. The news of this great victory diffused everywhere the wildest joy. At the news of Burgoyne's downfall, Clinton dismantled the forts he had taken, and retreated, bearing with him the execrations of a people whom he had plundered, and a fame for having revived, in an age distinguished for civilization, atrocities which belong to the most barbarous times.\*

Hale,  
II., 36.

1777.

Oct. 17.

There no longer remained an army at the north, and the theatre of war changed to the south. In 1778.

\* Willard's Republic, p. 207.

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the battle of Monmouth, a part of the New Hampshire troops, under Colonel Cilley and Lieutenant Colonel Dearborn, behaved with such distinguished bravery as to receive the notice and approbation of the illustrious Washington. At the close of that campaign, they retired to huts at Reading. France had now become our ally in the struggle, and in July, congress received, with inexpressible joy, a letter from Count D'Estaing, announcing the approach of a French fleet. On his arrival, in concert with General Sullivan, who had command of the troops in that quarter, he planned a combined attack by land and sea, on the British forces at Newport in Rhode Island. A call upon the militia of New England, brought to the standard of Sullivan an army of ten thousand men. He took a position on the north end of Rhode Island, and then moved towards Newport. Admiral Howe, having received a reinforcement, appeared before the harbor; but while preparing for battle, a storm dispersed both fleets. The ships being damaged, Count D'Estaing proceeded to Boston, and Sullivan, deserted by the fleet, and finding it unsafe to remain longer on the island, retreated to his first position. He was pursued and attacked. He gallantly resisted, and the British were repulsed with loss. Through the rest of the day he kept a bold face towards the foe; and having deceived them into a belief that he was preparing to attack them, effected, in the ensuing night, his retreat across the narrow sheet of water which divides the island from the main. With great secrecy and without loss, this retreat was effected.

Hale,  
II., 47.

Whiton,  
p. 141.

The next morning the British discovered, from

an eminence, several American officers at breakfast, in the general's quarters. Immediately a captain of artillery was directed to point a cannon at the spot. It shattered the leg of John S. Sherburne, at that time aid-de-camp to Gen. Sullivan.

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The massacre at the beautiful settlement of Wyoming, now attracted the notice of congress; and General Sullivan was appointed to the command of an army of four thousand men,\* destined to carry terror to the savages. His route lay up the river Susquehannah, into the country of the Senecas. Into this unexplored region, no troops had ever penetrated before. General Sullivan had all the difficulties to encounter, which had so often proved fatal to the whites in the preceding Indian wars. With great judgment and sagacity his expedition was planned and conducted. The army, proceeding in two divisions, one from the Mohawk, the other from Wyoming, formed a junction on the Susquehannah, and proceeded, on the twenty-second of August, towards the lower lake. The Indians, in connection with two hundred Tories, were drawn up in an advantageous position, and had erected fortifications to oppose their progress. These were vigorously assaulted by General Sullivan, and after a slight resistance, the enemy gave way, and disappeared in the woods. The army advanced into the western part of New York. The Indians deserted their towns, which had begun to assume an appearance of civilization, never before found in the wilds of North America.† The houses were commodious, the apple and peach trees numerous, the crops of corn abundant. These were all de-

\* Hale, II.

† Hale, II., p. 55.

CHAP. stroyed. Not a vestige was left of all that gave  
 IX. beauty to the wilderness, and distinguished the  
 Senecas from the ruder tribes around them. Hav-  
 1779. ing accomplished this work of vengeance, Sullivan  
 Oct. returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania. Capt. Cloyes  
 and Lieutenant McAulay had fallen, and with them  
 he had lost forty men, by sickness and in battle.

In the following year the New Hampshire regi-  
 ments were stationed at West Point. Afterwards  
 they marched into New Jersey, where Gen. Poor  
 died. He had accompanied the expedition of Sul-  
 1780. livan as far as the Genesee, and had defeated the  
 F. Bel- savage enemy. Afterwards he commanded a brig-  
 knap, p. 377. ade under Major General La Fayette. The win-  
 Sept. 8. ter of this year was passed by the New Hampshire  
 troops in a hutted cantonment near the Hudson  
 river, at a place called Soldier's Fortune. At the  
 close of this year, the three regiments were reduc-  
 ed to two, commanded by the colonels Scammell  
 and George Reid. The next year a part of them  
 went to Virginia, and were present at the capture  
 of the second British army, under Earl Cornwallis.  
 Here the brave and active Colonel Scammell fell.  
 They were quartered at Saratoga and on the Mo-  
 hawk river, until the decisive battle of Yorktown  
 drew from the king of England an acknowledg-  
 ment that his revolted colonies in North America  
 were free and independent states.

In the moment of victory, and while possessing  
 a boundless influence over the army, the incorrupt-  
 ible Washington returned his sword to his country  
 and retired to his plantation at Mount Vernon,  
 where his ashes now repose. Ambition will for-  
 ever be awed and admonished by such an example.

## CHAPTER X.

DEPRECIATION of continental money—Efforts of Congress to prevent the depreciation—Proscription of persons and confiscation of estates—Constitution proposed—rejected by the people—Another proposed—Revolt of sixteen towns—Monetary distress—Insurrection—the insurgents made prisoners—Union of the states—Convention of delegates at Philadelphia—The Federal Constitution—submitted to the people—Convention assembles at Exeter to ratify the Federal Constitution—Conflicting opinions—Joshua Atherton's speech against the adoption of the Constitution—It is finally ratified—Washington chosen President of the United States—John Langdon elected President of New Hampshire—Washington visits New Hampshire—Progress of settlements—Increase of population—Support of common schools—Education—Establishment of post offices—State debts—Revision of the State Constitution—Josiah Bartlett—Formation of parties—Republicans—Federalists—Depreciation of paper money—The privateer ship M'Clary—Case of the prize ship Susanna—Remonstrances against the acts of the general government—Jay's treaty—Progress of settlements—Lake Winnipiseogee—A medical school established—Troubles with France—Laws for the observance of the Sabbath—Death of Washington—Administration of John Adams—Organization of parties—Manufactures—Coos county—Scenery around the mountains.

To provide the "sinews of war," congress was compelled, after finding itself wholly cut off from every other resource, to issue continental bills of credit, based, not on specie, but on distant and problematical taxation. The patriotism of the people—the same self-sacrificing spirit that caused them to shed their blood for the sacred cause of liberty—for a short period sustained the credit of these worthless emissions. The colonies were soon flooded with them: they were the only currency in circulation. Those who had specie carefully hoarded it up. As the government, how-

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X.  
1776.

CHAP. ever, became more settled and stable, and the  
 X. people withdrew their attention from public affairs  
 to their own private interests, these bills fell into  
 gradual but fatal discredit. The authorities of  
 the several states attempted to revive public con-  
 fidence. Laws were enacted in New Hampshire  
 making them legal tender, and if they were refused  
 by a creditor, that refusal discharged the debt.  
 Such an enactment, it may be readily supposed,  
 increased rather than alleviated the general dis-  
 tress. Creditors, by fraud or legal subterfuge,  
 avoided it. In the meantime increasing effort  
 was made by congress to stop the depreciation.  
 1777. Among other things, they issued a circular, which  
 they ordered to be read to the congregations,  
 throughout the states, assembled for religious  
 worship. The circular was an ingenious and elab-  
 orate argument in favor of a paper currency, which  
 it called "the only kind of money which could not  
 make to itself wings and fly away."

The distress became so alarming that a conven-  
 tion was held at Springfield, composed of delegates  
 from the New England states and New York.  
 The convention memorialized congress, praying  
 that body, for the relief of the public difficulties,  
 to establish a system of taxation, and open loan  
 offices in the several states. Congress, in answer,  
 recommended a plan of confiscation, which by sev-  
 eral states was followed.

1778. New Hampshire proscribed seventy-six persons,  
 who had for various causes left the state, and for-  
 bade their return. The property of twenty-eight  
 of them was confiscated, and all previous attach-  
 ments thereby dissolved. This measure, doubtfully



justified by extreme necessity, did not result so beneficially as was anticipated to the treasury of the state, as the net profit was comparatively unimportant. CHAP.  
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While these estates were in process of settlement, the continental bills continued to fluctuate, occasionally rising slightly in nominal value, but always followed by a rapid depreciation, until, as by common consent, they disappeared, and specie, from the public mint, took their place.

A large convention of delegates assembled for the purpose of framing and recommending to the people a state constitution; but it was deficient in so many respects that it was rejected by the popular vote almost unanimously. Another convention was afterwards called, which occupied two years. The first plan proposed by that body was rejected, but the second was generally approved and adopted. The present constitution partakes of all the general features of that, but has received such modifications as the growing importance of the state and increase of population have demanded. 1779.  
  
1781.

To this convention sixteen towns, on the eastern side of the Connecticut river, refused to send delegates, on the ground that the war had dis-severed all colonial ties and responsibilities, that the inhabitants reverted to a "state of nature," and that each town had the entire right to govern itself as an independent municipal community. The people on the western side of the river, having adopted the same doctrine, had cut themselves loose from New York, and formed an independent state, which was called Vermont. These sixteen recusant towns immediately desired to be admitted 1782.

CHAP. X. into the confederacy, which was granted by the legislative body of the new state. New Hampshire refused to resign its claim, or to acknowledge the novel doctrines upon which the secession was based; and the consequence was a long and bitter controversy, which soon involved so many collateral questions that New York and Massachusetts were brought into the contest. After much discussion, the controversy was closed by the decision of congress. Vermont demanded admission into the Union, and threatened to make terms with the British government if that admission was withheld. Congress required, as an indispensable preliminary, that the revolted towns should be restored to New Hampshire; to which Vermont consented. The assembly of that state, during the absence of a portion of its members, passed an act drawing its eastern boundary by the western bank of the Connecticut, and relinquishing all claim to jurisdiction without that limit. After some slight opposition, and a manifestation of discontent, the people returned to their allegiance to New Hampshire. Thus happily was settled a controversy which, at one period, threatened to renew the bloody scenes of the revolution.

At the close of the war congress found itself burthened with a heavy debt, and with no immediate means of discharging it. But the creditors of the government were suffering and clamorous, and must be relieved. The debt might have been speedily cancelled by the adoption of a system of imposts; but the powers of that body were confined within the narrowest limits, and they had no authority to adopt that course. They were, therefore,

compelled to put a tax on polls and estates. The result was most disastrous to the people, and to none more than to those of New Hampshire. The courts of law were thronged with unhappy debtors and importunate creditors—business stagnated—and distress was general.

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To meet the evil, conventions, composed of the discontented, were held, and the assembly urged to emit large issues of paper money, based on real estate, and drawing interest. The assembly did all in their power to relieve the public suffering. They passed an act to call in all treasury notes issued by the states, “and give certificates for the interest and fifteen per cent. of the principal annually; which certificates were to be received by the treasurer for taxes, in lieu of, and equal to silver and gold.” But farther than this they refused to proceed. They exhorted the people to industry and economy, as the only sure remedy for the public evils. They assured them that their true wealth was in the soil; that attention to agriculture would soon alleviate the monetary troubles of the state; and that the granting of their petition would aggravate rather than cure their embarrassments.

1785.

Massachusetts, about this period, passed an act providing that cattle, and other articles enumerated, should be a legal tender on executions, and be received at an appraisalment of impartial men under oath. In compliance with a petition from certain parts of the state, the assembly of New Hampshire enacted a law somewhat similar. The import of it was that the debtor might tender to his creditor, on an execution, real or personal

CHAP. estate sufficient, at a fair valuation, made by three  
 X. sworn appraisers, to cancel the debt, and if it were  
 refused, the body of the debtor was to be ever after  
 exempted from arrest. The tender, however, if re-  
 fused, did not discharge the debt. The creditor  
 could keep it alive by taking out an alias within one  
 year after the return of any former execution, and  
 might levy on any estate that he could find, the debt  
 in the meanwhile drawing six per cent. interest.  
 This act continued in force five years, although it  
 was justly complained of as unconstitutional and as  
 a direct violation of the obligation of contracts. Its  
 indirect effect was to secure the insolvent debtor  
 in the actual, though not always nominal, posses-  
 sion of property which, by right, belonged to his  
 creditors. But there was another and still more  
 general result produced by it;—those who had  
 specie refused to give it circulation while the  
 1786. tender-act was in force. And though the legisla-  
 ture, to encourage its importation into the coun-  
 try, exempted from port duties those vessels that  
 should bring only gold and silver, and one half the  
 duties where one half the value of the whole cargo  
 was gold and silver, yet it tended in no manner  
 to relieve the monetary distress.

The demand for paper money still continued,  
 and became increasingly clamorous. A large por-  
 tion of the press united with political demagogues  
 to keep the public excitement upon this subject to  
 its highest tension. The most extravagant argu-  
 ments were urged by the zealots of that period.  
 It was said that the people had a right to require  
 their representatives to stamp value upon any-  
 thing that was impressible, and that by passing

an act of outlawry upon any person who should refuse to receive it, depreciation would be forever prevented. As the confidence of this party in its numerical strength increased, a portion of them extended their demands. They required the abolition of the inferior courts, an equal distribution of property, and a release from all debts. CHAP  
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To test the real sentiments of the people, the assembly proposed, for the public consideration, a plan for the emission of paper currency to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, to be loaned at four per cent., on real estate, and to be a tender in payment of taxes ; and desired a return of the votes of each town at the ensuing session.

The leaders of the excitement were not satisfied with this proposition. They considered it, or professed to consider it, merely a manœuvre to calm the public ferment. Stirred by the wild and vague rumors of Shay's rebellion in the sister state of Massachusetts, which was then at its height, about two hundred persons, principally from the western part of Rockingham county, assembled at Kingston, about six miles from Exeter, the seat of government. Armed with swords, clubs, scythes, and muskets, they marched, to the beat of a drum, into the meeting-house where the assembly were in session. The president, Gen. John Sullivan, with great moderation stated the reasons why their petitions could not be granted, and that the assembly could accede to nothing while threatened by an armed body. After some unimportant demonstrations on the part of the insurgents, they were struck with panic at the cry, "Bring out the artillery!" and retired for the night. In the morn-

CHAP. X. ing, a numerous body of militia and a company of horse entered Exeter, and, when the insurgents appeared, rushed upon them, took about forty prisoners, without bloodshed, and dispersed the others.

The assembly deemed mildness the wiser policy, and therefore dismissed all but six. These were required to recognise for their appearance at the next superior court, and their bonds were discharged.

The firm and prudent course of the government thus crushed a political movement which in time might have swept away all law, and introduced a popular despotism far worse than that which had been fastened upon the state by a foreign power.

1787. The plan for a paper emission, proposed by the assembly, was rejected by the popular vote, and thus the whole question put at rest.

1788. The commencement of the year 1788 presented one of the most important periods in our history. Having passed through the flames of a revolution, and obtained from Great Britain, at vast expense of blood and treasure, a recognition of their rights as an independent people, the next care of our forefathers was the establishment of a constitution for the common government. Bound together during the war by a consciousness of the common danger and the necessity of mutual aid, the states were enabled, even under the imperfect government they had formed at the commencement of the revolution, to act harmoniously together in the great contest which led to its consummation. But no sooner had the common enemy relinquished his foothold on our soil, a treaty of peace been con-

cluded with the power of which we had so recently been unprivileged subjects, and the necessities of war ceased to operate upon our national councils, than the people began to discover the necessity of a more perfect system of government. The confederacy of 1778 was calculated only for a temporary existence. It neither defined with sufficient clearness the rights of the citizen, nor traced with the necessary precision the dividing line which separated the powers of the individual states and the confederacy itself. The necessity of a government based upon more fixed and enduring principles, was admitted by general consent; and there was scarcely a dissenting opinion in relation to the propriety of establishing a permanent union of the states, secured and protected by a general government, strong enough to protect our rights and our territories from the encroachments of foreign powers, and liberal enough in its provisions to compensate the people for the hardships and dangers they had endured in their struggle for independence.

The credit of making the first movement towards the accomplishment of this object, belongs to Virginia. As early as 1786 that state formally proposed a convention of commissioners from the several states, "to take into consideration the trade and commerce of the United States; to consider how far a uniform system, in their commercial intercourse and regulations, might be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony; and report to the several states such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, should enable the United

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States, in congress assembled, effectually to provide for the same." By subsequent agreement, this convention was holden at Annapolis, in Maryland, in September of the same year. Delegates attended from five states only—Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York—and in consequence of the small number of states represented, deemed it improper to proceed with the important business with which they had been intrusted. Sensible, however, of the necessity of a re-organization of the government, they drafted an address to the people, expressing their views on that subject, detailing the defects of the articles of confederation, and recommending a general convention of the states, to be holden at Philadelphia, on the second Monday of May, 1787. Congress having seconded this recommendation, delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, assembled at the appointed time in Philadelphia, and on the seventeenth day of the following September, agreed upon a Federal Constitution. This instrument was soon after, by the votes of eleven states, in congress assembled, submitted to the several states for their ratification.

However unanimous the people might have been in the sentiment, that a national government, resting upon some more substantial basis than the old articles of confederation, was essential to the public welfare, the convention of the states was divided by many conflicting opinions in relation to the principles upon which that government should be founded. A small portion of its members, permitting their partiality for a *strong* government to lead them beyond those restraints

which a regard for the great principle of equal rights would seem to have dictated, favored as a matter of sound policy the establishment of a president and senate, to hold office during life, as the only means of protecting the government from those ruinous fluctuations of sentiment, which they contended would be the effect of a more republican form. On the other hand, a portion of its members were unwilling to invest the government which was to be the result of their deliberations, with the powers which are now universally conceded to be indispensably necessary to the common welfare in peace and the common defence in war. A vast variety of questions, all of them important, and some of them involving the peculiar interests of large sections of the country, successively claimed the attention of the convention. At times almost despairing of being able to effect the purposes for which they were assembled, it was only by mutual concessions that its members were able to agree upon a constitution, which with slight amendments, now forms the connecting bond of twenty-six independent and prosperous states—a constitution which is at once venerated by our citizens and regarded with admiration by the world.

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When the question of ratification was submitted to the states, the same objections which had embarrassed the deliberations of the convention which framed the constitution, were urged to prevent its adoption. The result was doubtful, and the whole community watched the deliberations of the state conventions with intense anxiety. The convention for the state of New Hampshire,

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assembled at Exeter, on the second Wednesday of February, 1788. Eight states, some of them by small majorities, had given their assent to the constitution. The *ninth* only was necessary to its ratification. At this crisis, therefore, all eyes were directed to New Hampshire, as the state upon whose decision the fate of the constitution seemed in a great measure to depend. Its assent, on the one hand, would settle the question in its favor; and its dissent, on the other, in the then divided state of public opinion, might create a popular impulse against it, fatal to its final success.

The convention was composed, to a great extent, of men of the first talents and respectability; men whose services, during the trying times of the revolution, had afforded them the advantages of experience, and gained them the respect and confidence of the people. General John Sullivan was chosen its President, and such men as John Langdon, Josiah Bartlett, John Taylor Gilman, John Pickering, Samuel Livermore, Joshua Atherton and Joseph Badger were numbered among its members. In the disputes which followed the organization of the convention, Sullivan, Langdon, Pickering and Livermore took the lead in favor of the ratification, and Joshua Atherton, of Amherst, was the principal speaker against it. Among other objections raised against the constitution, and urged with great earnestness, was that clause permitting the abolition of the slave trade after 1808,\* and prohibiting any action on the subject, beyond a trifling tax on their importation, before that time.

\* Journal of the Convention which adopted the federal constitution, 1788, and which revised the constitution of New Hampshire, 1799.

Mr. Atherton opposed this clause with great warmth; and the following extracts from his remarks are believed to be the only relic of the debates of the convention, which has descended to the present time.

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“The idea that strikes those who oppose this clause, so disagreeably and forcibly, is that if we ratify the constitution, we become *consenters to* and *partakers in* the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic in slaves, at least for a certain period, without any positive stipulation that it shall even then be brought to an end. We do not behold in it any assurance that ‘an end is then to be put to slavery.’ Congress may be as much puzzled to put a stop to it then as we are now. This clause has not secured its abolition.

“We do not think we are under any obligation to perform works of supererogation in the reformation of mankind; we do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the Inquisition of those countries; or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans; but, sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandise, not even for a day. There is a great distinction between refusing to take any part in a barbarous violation of the laws of God and humanity, and guarantying its existence for a term of years. Yes, sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clear of it; and however unconcernedly we may remain spectators of such predatory infractions of the laws of our nation—however unfeelingly we may subscribe to the ratification of man-stealing,

CHAP. with all its baneful consequences; yet I cannot but  
 X. believe, in justice to human nature, that if we  
 reverse the consideration, and bring the effects of  
 this claimed power somewhat nearer to our own  
 doors, we shall form a more equitable opinion of  
 its claim to ratification.

“Let us figure to ourselves a company of these man-stealers, well equipped for the enterprise, arriving on our coast. They seize and carry off the whole or a part of the town of Exeter; parents are taken and children left; or, possibly, they may be so fortunate as to have a whole family taken and carried off together by these relentless robbers. What must be their feelings in the hands of their new and arbitrary masters! Dragged at once from everything dear to them; stripped of every comfort of life, like beasts of prey, they are hurried on a loathsome and distressing voyage to the coast of Africa, or some other quarter of the globe, where the greatest price may waft them; and here, if anything can be added to their miseries, comes on the heart-breaking scene! a parent is sold to one—a son to another, and a daughter to a third. Brother is cleft from brother—sister from sister—and parents from their darling offspring. Broken down with every distress that human nature can feel, and bedewed with tears of anguish, they are dragged into the last stage of depression and slavery, never, never to behold the faces of one another again.”

As the discussion of the provisions of the constitution progressed in the convention, the result became so doubtful that its friends were unwilling to hazard an immediate decision. At their request,

the convention adjourned, to re-assemble at Concord in the month of June following.\* In the meantime the subject was fully discussed among the people. Objections which had existed to a few features of the constitution, were, in many instances, gradually overcome by a candid consideration of the benefits which would result from its adoption; in many cases, instructions adverse to the constitution were withdrawn; and when the convention again assembled, it was with a brighter prospect, and a greater harmony of sentiment among its members. A session of four days was found sufficient to complete the deliberations of that body. On the last day of its session, the opponents of the constitution having in turn become anxious for the result, and made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a second adjournment, the main question was taken. The result was the ratification of the constitution, fifty-seven members voting in its favor and forty-six against it.† The convention, however, proposed a series of amendments to the constitution, providing, among other things, that no standing army should be kept up in time of peace without the consent of three fourths of the members of both houses—that the general government should make no laws touching religion, or infringing the rights of conscience—nor disarm any citizen, on any other ground than actual rebellion.

The convention excited an interest, with which the proceedings of no other deliberative body in this state have ever been regarded. The galleries of the church, where it assembled, were thronged

\* Journal of the Convention.

† Ibid.

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with spectators, and its members were surrounded, not only by large numbers of their own constituents, but by individuals from distant states—engaged, some of them, in watching their deliberations, and some of them, no doubt, in efforts to influence the result. Even at this early period, purified as the moral atmosphere of the country had been by the storms of a revolution, the most opposite motives might very probably have influenced our citizens to labor for the same result. Of the multitudes who thronged around the meetings of the convention, many, doubtless, supported the constitution from a selfish regard to private interests of their own; while many opposed it from sentiments of the purest patriotism. Speculators, who had bought, at a ruinous discount, from the officers and soldiers of the revolution, a large amount of continental certificates, naturally looked to the establishment of an energetic general government as the only chance for their redemption. This class of men, therefore, regarded the constitution with favor, rather as the sun which was to bring their own golden harvests to maturity, than the means of dispensing the blessings of equal rights and free institutions upon a great nation. So true it is, that the best and wisest measures are sometimes sustained from venal and unworthy motives, while the most discreet and virtuous men in the community, from mistaken views, may be found temporarily arrayed in the support of erroneous principles.

The result of the convention was received with general satisfaction by our citizens. Even where the constitution had met with the strongest oppo-

sition, public opinion seemed gradually to have inclined in its favor, and, in many sections of the state, the news of its adoption was received with demonstrations of joy, second only to those with which the people received the Declaration of Independence itself.

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In 1788, John Langdon succeeded General Sullivan in the presidency of the state. During the same year, in anticipation of the organization of the general government, John Langdon and Paine Wingate were elected members of the United States senate by the legislature, and Samuel Livermore, Abiel Foster and Nicholas Gilman were elected representatives to congress, by the people.

George Washington having been called to the presidency by the unanimous vote of the electoral colleges throughout the Union, the first congress, on the fourth of March, 1789, assembled at the city of New York. The wheels of the general government having now been put in motion, the credit of the country revived; commerce received a new impulse from its legislation, and a permanent revenue was provided, sufficient not only to defray the expenses of the government itself, but also gradually to extinguish the national debt which the war had imposed upon the country. Such, indeed, was the favorable change, produced by the early action of the government, in the affairs of the country and the people, as gradually to reconcile most of those persons to the constitution who had been the most honest and zealous in opposing it. The excitement which had at one time prevailed in relation to it, subsided almost

CHAP. immediately upon its adoption, and a difference of  
X. opinion as to the *construction* of the constitution took the place of that which had prevailed upon the question of its ratification. Those persons who had opposed the constitution, on the ground of its impairing in too great a degree the power of the states, naturally favored a rigid construction of the powers conferred upon the general government. Those, on the other hand, who desired a *strong* government, favored a liberal construction of the constitution, and sought to gain from it, by implication, powers for the general government which had not been conferred by its letter. To these causes may be traced, to a great extent, the party divisions which have so long existed in this country.

In 1789 John Sullivan was again elected to the presidency of the state. During the year he had the pleasure of welcoming to the state the illustrious Washington, who, having visited New England on a tour of observation, extended his visit to New Hampshire. His approach was hailed with demonstrations of joy, both from the state authorities and the people. He arrived at Portsmouth on the thirtieth of October, having been met at the state line by the principal state officers, a regiment of cavalry, and a large number of citizens. His entrance into town was announced by the ringing of bells and the roar of cannon, and during his stay he received all those tokens of respect which are due from a free and grateful people to a distinguished public benefactor. His visit gathered new interest from the fact, that scarcely seven years had then elapsed since the closing



scenes of the revolution. His companions in arms were, most of them, still in active life. Hundreds of patriots, who with him had relinquished the comforts of their quiet firesides, and hazarded their lives to secure, by a long and arduous contest, the blessings of an independent government and a free constitution, gathered eagerly around the man, whose paternal affection for his troops, and inestimable services to the public, had entitled him to be deemed at once the father of the country he had saved and the armies he had commanded.

From the close of the revolution, an increased regard for schools and institutions of learning began to be cherished among our citizens. During the present year, an academy was incorporated at New Ipswich, being the second institution of the kind in the state. The burthens occasioned by the war having been in some measure removed from the people, their attention was more generally directed to the importance of common schools, and more liberal provision was made for their support.

Towards the close of the year, printing was first introduced, on rather a limited scale, at Concord. George Hough, who was during his life engaged more than fifty years in the typographic art, came to Concord from Windsor, Vermont, where he had been engaged, in company with Alden Spooner, in the publication of the Vermont Journal. His printing-press, the first established in this state north of Exeter, was set up in a small building in front of the ground now occupied by the state-house; and the first work issued from it was "Doddsley's Christian Economy," which was published in October. On the 5th of January, of the

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following year, he commenced the publication of a weekly paper, called the "Concord Herald," which, with several changes in its title, was continued till 1805. Such was the first small beginning of printing in Concord, where it has since increased to such an extent, as to entitle that place to a high rank among the principal publishing towns in the country.

1790. The election of president, in 1790, was warmly contested, though upon personal and local grounds, rather than the prevalence of any divisions of political sentiment among the people. No choice having been made by the people, the duty of electing a chief magistrate devolved upon the legislature; and Josiah Bartlett was elected, though two of his competitors, John Pickering and Joshua Wentworth, had each received a larger number of popular votes than himself. The election, however, was approved by the people, and President Bartlett was, for nearly four years, the chief magistrate of the state. Having been honored, a short time previous, by an appointment to the office of chief justice of the superior court,—an appointment doubly complimentary to him, as the only instance in our history in which a member of the medical profession had been elevated to a station requiring such high legal attainments,—that office became vacant upon his election to the presidency of the state. At the commencement of his administration, John Pickering, who had been his competitor for the chief magistracy, received, at his hands, an appointment to that important station, which he filled, with honor to himself and advantage to the state, for several years.

From the census which was taken this year, it appeared that the population of the United States had increased, since the commencement of the revolution, from less than three to nearly four millions. New Hampshire had more than kept pace, in the growth of her population, with the country at large. At this period she had one hundred and forty-two thousand inhabitants; having increased, notwithstanding the dangers and discouragements incident to a seven years' war, nearly sixty thousand in the fifteen preceding years. Not only were her towns on the seaboard and in the interior strengthened by the natural growth of their population, but multitudes of adventurers from the northern section of Massachusetts, invited by the cheapness of her lands and the extent and fertility of her unoccupied domains, had found their way along the valley of the Connecticut, nearly to its sources, and, after occupying its intervalles, gradually extended their settlements among the hills and valleys of the back country. Points, at an earlier period apparently inaccessible, were reached by the advancing tide of emigration; and neither the want of roads, the absence of schools and religious privileges, or the other innumerable privations incident to a settlement in the wilderness, were sufficient obstacles to stay its progress. Even the recesses of the White Mountains, whose snow-clad summits the Indians looked upon, during their early conflicts with the white men, as an eternal barrier against their intrusion, were reached at this early period.

During the session of the legislature in 1791, a law was passed, requiring the assessment of a tax

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of seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling upon the several towns in the state, in proportion to their taxable property, for the support of common schools. Hitherto the measures taken by the state, for the establishment of schools and institutions of learning, while they proved that its citizens were not unmindful of the advantages of education, had possessed too little energy for the general diffusion of those advantages through the community. A law had passed, as early as 1693, requiring each town to "provide a schoolmaster." In this act Dover was expressly excepted, being at that time too much impoverished, by the frequent incursions of Indian enemies, to sustain any considerable burthen for any other purpose than its own defence. In 1719, towns with fifty or more freeholders were required to be "constantly provided with a schoolmaster to teach reading and writing;" and towns containing one hundred or more freeholders were also enjoined to maintain a grammar-school, under the instruction of "some discrete person, of good conversation, well instructed in the tongues." Considerable advantage resulted from these laws, though the poverty and scanty population of some of the towns rendered them entirely inoperative, and the want of proper books and competent instructors everywhere united with the insecurity of the times in retarding the progress of popular education. Reading and writing were, in those early days, the only branches of instruction in our common schools. The Bible and Psalter, and the New England Primer, were the only reading books; and those who aspired to the more liberal art of chirog-

raphy, instead of white paper, very generally made use of white birch bark. The first spelling-book generally used was not introduced till 1770, and though very humble in its merits, when compared with those of the present day, it was considered, even then, a perfect epitome of all that was essential to a common education.

Some idea of the scientific attainments of our ancient rulers may be formed from the circumstance, that, in a proclamation for a fast in 1681, they assign as a reason for it, “that *awful portentous blazing star*, usually foreboding sore calamity to the beholders thereof.” And some idea of the acquirements of the people, at about the same period, may be gathered from the fact, that, on a petition for protection against the Indians, addressed to the general court of Massachusetts in 1690, signed by three hundred and seventy-four inhabitants of New Hampshire, about one fourth part of the whole number made their marks. The signatures of a large portion of the remainder, to use a favorite expression of Governor Andros, resembled “the scratch of a bear’s paw,” rather than the neat chirography of the present age. Very few of our leading men wrote a tolerable hand, and scarcely a schoolboy in the country, at the present day, would suffer by a comparison of the performances of his pen with those of our early secretaries of state.

The schools which had grown up in our principal towns prior to the revolution, under the influence of the early laws for their encouragement, to which I have referred, and which had been attended with considerable advantages, had been almost

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universally prostrated by the turmoils and dangers of the war. The act of this year was the beginning of a series of decided measures, which have established the common school system, in New Hampshire, upon a firm and imperishable basis, and extended its advantages to the rich and the poor—the citizens of its most populous and flourishing towns, and the scattered dwellers among its mountains. Under the influences of a reviving interest in the cause of education, academies and public schools, generously endowed and liberally supported, sprung up at short intervals, and within a brief period of time, in the principal towns and villages of the state. During the year 1791, academies were incorporated at Atkinson and Amherst. The establishment of these invaluable institutions in different sections of the state, and in sufficient numbers to extend the advantages of an excellent elementary education in all directions, and furnish an ample supply of well qualified instructors for our common schools, produced at once a decided and favorable change in the schools and the literary characteristics of the people. A taste for learning was suddenly diffused through every part of the community; habits of reading and investigation became general; schools revived; the patronage of the higher institutions of learning swelled with the rising tide of intellectual improvement, and the means of at least a tolerable education were gradually extended, not only to every town, but nearly to every family in the state.

While the legislature of 1791 was attending to the interests of education, it was not unmindful of the importance of facilitating the means of com-

munication. At this time, nothing like an efficient post-office establishment existed in the country. Two or three weeks were generally necessary for the transmission of letters from Philadelphia to the borders of this state; and all organised means of spreading intelligence stopped within a few miles of the sea-coast, leaving the inhabitants of the interior almost entirely dependent upon chance for those facilities for communication, which the present well organised post-office establishment has since extended to every corner of our broad country. Even an ordinary stage-coach was an accommodation, which, at that time, was scarcely to be seen in our principal cities; and a humble post-rider, journeying leisurely along the seaboard, and occasionally diverging a few miles into the country, for a considerable time performed the whole mail service of this state. To remedy these evils, the legislature of 1791 passed a law, establishing "four routes for posts, to be thereafter appointed to ride in and through the interior of the state."

By the provisions of this salutary law, each post-rider was to perform his route once in two weeks, reversing his course of travel once a fortnight. For the encouragement of this humble mail establishment, and in consideration of an express provision that all public letters, and other matters belonging to the state, should be carried free of postage, the legislature granted twelve pounds per annum to the post-riders on the first, second and fourth routes, and nine pounds to the post-rider on the third. The postage, which on single letters was fixed at sixpence for every forty miles, and

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While the legislature was discharging the duties of the post-office department for its own constituency, the business of the patent-office as yet remained in its hands. The same legislature, accordingly, passed an act, "giving to John Young the exclusive right to build chimneys, agreeably to an invention of said Young—according to a description of said invention lodged with the secretary of state."

The legislation of this, as well as a few preceding and subsequent years, evinces at once great economy in the legislature and great financial distress among the people. In 1791, the salary of the governor was fixed at two hundred pounds, of the chief justice at one hundred and seventy pounds, and the secretary of state at fifty pounds per annum. Laws, granting relief to towns—directing the treasurer not to issue extents for outstanding taxes—providing for the receipt of specie in payment of public dues, at the rate of one pound for two in state notes—granting reviews and staying, for a limited time, all proceedings against bondsmen, were of frequent occurrence, and indicated, in characters not to be mistaken, the severity of those financial embarrassments, which the expenses of the war had imposed upon



the people of New Hampshire, and which neither the unrivalled industry nor the reviving enterprise of its citizens had yet been able to remove. CHAP.  
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In the financial struggle which these embarrassments forced upon them, our legislature frequently assumed powers, which no similar bodies have recently exercised; while the general government having been but recently, and as yet but partially organised, the exercise of many of its functions devolved upon the states. The legislation of 1791 was, in many respects, a matter of curious interest to those who have regarded the legislation of our states in those narrower channels only within which it is at present confined. The legislature of this state, at that time, exercised not only the proper powers of the legislature, and to some extent those of the judiciary also, but also, as we have seen, discharged on a humble scale, suited to the depression of its financial affairs, the important duties now confided to the patent-office and post-office department of the general government. Its exercised powers were more extensive than those which any legislative body in the country has assumed for the last forty years; and if the unanimity of the people, in the elections of that period, is to be taken as an indication of the public feeling, it exercised them in such a manner as to promote the public welfare and gain the general confidence of the community.

During this year, with a view to elevate the character of the medical profession, to discourage quackery, and prevent unqualified pretenders to medical skill from imposing themselves upon the community, the legislature incorporated the New

CHAP. Hampshire Medical Society. Josiah Bartlett, the  
X. worthy chief magistrate of the state, was elected  
its first president.

Some proceedings of the legislature of this year, in relation to the "assumption of the state debts," render it necessary briefly to refer to the measures of the general government upon that subject. On the 19th of January, 1790, soon after the meeting of the first congress, Alexander Hamilton introduced his celebrated scheme for the assumption of the state debts. In compliance with his recommendation, and after a spirited opposition in both branches of congress, a bill, assuming the debts of the several states, to the amount of \$21,500,000, became a law on the 4th of August, 1790. By the provisions of this law, the debts of New Hampshire, which had contributed \$375,055 more than her equitable share to the means of conducting the war, were assumed only to the amount of \$300,000; while, on the other hand, the debts of New York, which had expended \$874,846 less than her proportion of the expenses of the same war, were included to four times that amount. This law met with a serious opposition from all parts of the Union—in some instances founded upon the injustice of its details, and, in others, upon the broad ground of its unconstitutionality.

In November, 1790, the house of delegates, in Virginia, passed a series of resolutions, declaring the assumption of the state debts to be a violation of the constitution, and a flagrant invasion of the plainest principles of justice. In June, 1791, the legislature of New Hampshire, surpassed by no

body of men in the country in their general attachment to the administration, adopted, by a unanimous vote, a spirited memorial to congress on the same subject. In this memorial they set forth, that this state had contributed, to its utmost ability, both men and money for the successful prosecution of the late war, and thereby accumulated a heavy debt; and that, considering this state alone responsible for that debt, by "burthensome taxes" upon themselves, its citizens "had succeeded in paying not only the interest of its debt, but likewise a great part of its principal,"—that having, by these means and by the "most rigorous economy, extinguished a large part of their debt, they had received, with general disapprobation and uneasiness, that part of the late act of congress, in which it is proposed to assume \$21,500,000 of the debts of the several states, and make provisions for funding the same." They complained that, by this measure, an increased debt was brought upon the general government, involving the necessity of an increased revenue; and that, "what was still more objectionable and disgusting to the citizens of New Hampshire," while that state had contributed one twenty-eighth part of the expenses of the war, the sum proposed to be assumed of the debts of the state was less than one seventieth part of the whole; thereby throwing \$600,000 of the debts of other states upon the state of New Hampshire. In conclusion, they solemnly "remonstrated against the said act, so far as it relates to the assumption of the state debts," and requested that, "*if the assumption must be carried into effect, New Hampshire might*

CHAP. be placed on an equal footing with other states.”  
 X. Opposed as they then were in their political attachments, it is a singular circumstance, that, at this early period, Virginia and New Hampshire occupied the same ground upon this important question. Though generally belonging in name to that federal party, which was by many deemed to favor a concentration of all political power in the general government, the people of New Hampshire showed, on more occasions than one, a firm attachment to democratic principles, and a patriotic zeal for their rights as citizens of a sovereign state.

In consequence of the demands of a rapidly increasing commerce, a bank was, in 1792, established at Portsmouth, with a capital of \$160,000, to continue fifty years.

A period of seven years having expired from the first adoption of the state constitution, a convention of delegates assembled, near the close of the year 1791, for the purpose of undertaking its revision. The Hon. Samuel Livermore, who had been a distinguished member of the previous convention, was elected its president. A variety of amendments, many of them important, were attempted at this time. Among them were, the erasure of the sixth article of the bill of rights, the total abolition of religious tests, and the exclusion of attorneys at law from seats in the legislature. None of these amendments were adopted. The fact that they were proposed, however, indicates, at once, something of the spirit of the times and the condition of the people. Embarrassed with those debts, which the total depre-

ciation of the currency of the revolution had imposed upon them, their jealousy of lawyers may be considered a fearful indication of the pecuniary distresses with which they were afflicted; while the proposition to expunge all religious tests from the constitution, shows that the spirit of religious toleration had already begun to shed its ennobling influences upon a people, who, in after times, have become so distinguished for its exercise.

It was not till its third session, holden in May, 1792, that the business of the convention was completed. The constitution, as revised, was marked by very few important changes. The title of the chief magistrate was changed from *president* to *governor*, the more readily to distinguish that officer from the head of the general government. The senate, under the old constitution, had consisted of twelve members, elected by the several counties—five for the county of Rockingham, two for Strafford, two for Hillsborough, two for Cheshire, and one for Grafton. Under the new constitution the number of senators remained the same, but a provision was made for the division of the state into twelve equal districts, upon the basis of taxation, for their election. The basis of representation in the house of representatives and all the main features of the constitution remained unchanged.

As the constitution of 1784, thus modified, has remained unchanged for a period of nearly fifty years, and is now the basis of our legislation and the corner-stone of our government, a brief synopsis of its most striking features can neither be unprofitable nor misplaced.

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The executive power of the state is vested in a governor and five councillors, elected annually by the people. All judicial officers are appointed by the governor and council, and removable upon impeachment, originating in the house of representatives, and heard and determined by the senate. Both branches of the legislature are judges of the elections, returns and qualification of their own members. The power of pardoning offences against the criminal laws of the state is vested in the governor who is to exercise it only with the consent of the council. Every bill or resolve must, before it becomes a law, be presented to the governor; who, if he approves, is to sign it, and if he disapproves, is to return it to the house where it originated, with his objections. Two thirds of both branches of the legislature, however, concurring in the passage of any bill or resolve returned and objected to by the governor, it becomes a law without his assent. All money bills must, by the constitution, originate in the house of representatives, though the senate may propose amendments. No member of the legislature can be arrested or held to bail, on any mesne process, during his attendance upon its business, or on his way to or from its sessions. Every male citizen of the state, excepting persons convicted of infamous crimes or supported at the public expense, was allowed the privileges of a freeman.

The convention which assembled soon after the close of the revolution, proposed to limit the number of representatives to fifty, to be duly apportioned among the several counties. This proposition was rejected by a large majority of the

popular vote. With a large share of the population thinly scattered over a wide expanse of territory— with a large number of new settlements springing up in the midst of the wilderness, sprinkling the valley of the Connecticut, from the southern line of the state to its source, and gradually finding their way among the hills and mountains of the northern counties—the people wisely judged that a representation so limited, would be altogether inadequate to the purposes for which it was designed. It would have placed the legislature at too great a distance from a large portion of the people, to understand their wishes, to judge with accuracy of their interests, or act with any degree of certainty in accordance with their will. These considerations doubtless suggested the excellent system established by the present constitution, under which every town, having one hundred and fifty rateable polls, has its representative, while the larger towns are allowed an additional representative for every three hundred polls in addition to the above number, and the smaller towns are classed in such a manner as to extend the privilege of direct annual representation to every citizen in the state.

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During the year 1792, Elder Jesse Lee came from Virginia to the New England states, and, after remaining some time in Massachusetts, visited New Hampshire, and prepared the foundation for the establishment of the first Methodist societies which existed within its limits.

The legislation of this period partook of the simple and economical spirit which characterized the citizens. Our revenue then, as it has been

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at all times, was small when compared with our resources; and the expenditures of the state were regarded with a watchful eye and managed with a prudent hand. By the rules of the house for this session, it was provided that no member should be absent, without leave, more than a quarter of an hour at a time, on pain of forfeiting his travel and incurring the censure of the house. Every day's absence of a member, even upon leave, was scrupulously noted by the clerk, in a roll kept for that purpose, and made the foundation for a corresponding reduction in his pay. In a legislature governed by such primitive views of economy, it may be safely inferred that few laws were enacted, and those plain in their provisions and suggested by the wants of the people.

1793. In June, 1793, the legislature assembled at Concord. Josiah Bartlett had been re-elected governor, with great unanimity; being the first person who had discharged the duties of chief magistrate under the new constitution. The smallness of the popular vote at this and the preceding election, as well as its unanimity, affords us some clue to the political characteristics of the time. The people, at this period, seem hardly to have entertained any strongly marked diversity of political opinions. Their elections turned rather upon the merits of the candidates for public favor, than the importance of particular and conflicting sentiments in relation to public affairs. The high places of the government were generally filled by men who had, in one way or another, evinced an honest devotion to the cause of liberty in the days of the revolution; and the opinions of these men,



even when on some points they differed from those of their fellow-citizens, were lost sight of in a universal attachment, which existed in the minds of all classes of the people, for the soldiers and statesmen, who had proved faithful to their country in the most eventful crisis of its history. Of this class of men, Josiah Bartlett was among the most distinguished. With an imperfect education, he had commenced the practice of medicine, at Kingston, as early as 1750. During the prevalence of a malignant distemper, in 1754, he pursued a course of practice so universally successful as to give him at once a high rank in his profession. Promoted to several offices, at different times, by Governor Wentworth, he was, in February, 1775, deprived of all his commissions, as a zealous whig, whom the frowns of the royal governor could not intimidate, or his favor secure. In 1776 he was a delegate to congress, and was among the first to give his vote and his signature to the Declaration of Independence. For several years he was a judge of one or the other of the state courts, and, in 1790, was raised to the chief magistracy of the state. Honest and unimpeachable in his private character, simple and yet dignified in his manners, deservedly popular in the community in which he lived, and firm and inflexible in support of the principles of that Declaration of Independence to which he gave the sanction of his name, he passed the noonday of his existence amid the storms and clouds of a revolution; and the unclouded light of popular favor, shining upon him in the evening of his life, was his just and appropriate reward.

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Towards the close of the year, Governor Bartlett was induced, by declining health, to resign the high and responsible station in which the people had placed him; and his retirement to private life was followed not long afterwards by his death.

The ocean of political discussion, which has since been agitated by so many successive and almost perpetual storms, had hitherto rested in unruffled repose. The popularity of Washington, and the mildness and impartiality with which he had administered the government, had united those parties, which circumstances had already created, in support of his measures and of his re-election. The effects of the revolution, however, which had recently occurred in France, soon reached our own shores, and disturbed the harmony of our citizens. The sympathies of a portion of the people were naturally enlisted in favor of the people of France, whose struggles for liberty reminded them of their own. Another portion, influenced by the exaggerated accounts of the excesses of their former allies, which continually reached them, regarded them with horror, and sympathized with Great Britain in her hostile operations against them. The former class, embracing most of the more ardent friends of state sovereignty and democratic principles, assumed the name of republicans. The latter class, including most of those who had favored an imitation of the aristocratic qualities of the British government in the establishment of our own, were called federalists. The first class, many of them, maintained that we were bound by the generous aid which France had afforded us in our contest with Great Britain, to

make common cause with her, in defending her rights against the aggressions of the same arbitrary power. Many of the people, of both parties, were in favor of the strict neutrality of position which was maintained by General Washington and his administration. On the other hand, a portion of the federal party, more violent than the rest, seemed ready at any moment to form an open alliance with Great Britain, and aid her in her attacks upon a people, who had been so recently the benefactors and faithful allies of this country.

The excitement generated by this state of things extended to New Hampshire, in common with other states; and opposing parties sprung into existence, as the immediate and necessary consequence. The federalists, however, for a long time maintained an indisputable majority. John Taylor Gilman, a gentleman of great personal influence and unspotted private character, who was for a long time the acknowledged head of the federal party in New Hampshire, was, in 1794, elected governor. He retained this position for a period of no less than eleven years, and for the same period his party remained in the ascendancy.

The history of this state, under the administration of Governor Gilman, was marked by few public events of importance. Our legislation related principally to the ordinary municipal regulation of the little communities into which we were divided; and our political conflicts, though such occasionally existed among us, sprung rather from a diversity of opinion in relation to national affairs, than any general dissatisfaction with the manner in which the concerns of the state itself were con-

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ducted. To the popular manners of Mr. Gilman, and the general fairness with which he managed our affairs, rather than any deep-rooted attachment to federal views of government, must be attributed the repeated re-elections of that gentleman, and the long ascendancy of his party in this state.

The legislature of 1794 held its June session in the meeting-house at Amherst. During that session, a law was enacted, providing for the redemption of "certain evidences of debts due from the state, and making compensation for the same." This law provided for the redemption of the state notes and state orders, at the rate of fifteen shillings to the pound; of the bills of the "new emission," so called, at five shillings to the pound; and of the "copper-plate notes," and every other species of bills "not before enumerated," at the rate of *five shillings for every hundred dollars!* All outstanding taxes, and the stock of the state in the United States' funds, were pledged for that purpose, and the treasurer was authorized to borrow twenty-five thousand pounds for two years, at six per cent. interest, for the same object. All notes, of a less denomination than three dollars, were to be redeemed at the above rates in specie, and one half of the residue to be paid in specie, and the other half in state notes, payable in eighteen months, and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent.

The entire prostration of the credit of the states, during the revolution, and the almost incalculable losses it imposed upon the community, were never better illustrated, than by the passage of this law.

Immediately after the commencement of hostilities in 1775, this state issued paper bills for the payment of the troops it furnished for the common defence, and for the support of the government, promising to redeem them in gold and silver. These bills, based upon nothing but the faith of the state, were, for the purpose of giving them greater currency, made a legal tender for the payment of debts. In spite, however, of all the efforts of the legislature, their value constantly depreciated. In 1780, the general government issued a new paper currency, called the "new emission," declaring one dollar of that emission to be worth forty dollars of the old; and sent to each state its proportion, guarantying its redemption. That proportion of this *first* national paper currency which fell to this state, was finally redeemed, as I have before related, while large sums of its other bills and evidences of indebtedness were bought up by the treasurer, at the rate of one hundred dollars for one.

The notes and bills of this state were greatly increased in their nominal amount, by the large sums issued to its officers and soldiers, to compensate them, from time to time, for the rapid depreciation of its paper already in their hands. Thus, by a fruitless attempt to remedy the evils of a depreciated currency of this state, its debts were immensely increased, and its securities plunged still lower in the scale of worthlessness and depreciation.

When these facts are known, the law of 1794, for the payment of the state debt, may be more readily reconciled with the principles of justice. If

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a mere fraction only of the nominal amount of the currency of which that debt consisted, was tendered for its redemption, it should be remembered that it was issued from necessity, passed discredited and depreciated from the treasury, and circulated among the people only for an inconsiderable percentage on its apparent value. One lesson, however, stands out in bold relief from the history of these transactions. It is that neither a noble excuse for issuing a currency which consists in the mere evidence of debt, nor arbitrary laws to sustain its credit with the people, can give it either stability or value, without the existence of a proper and certain fund for its redemption.

The second session of the legislature was this year convened at a period somewhat earlier than usual, in consequence of a controversy arising between this state and the general government, in relation to a seizure made by an armed privateer ship, belonging to citizens of this state, during the earlier period of the revolutionary contest.

Soon after the commencement of the war, several patriotic citizens of Portsmouth had fitted out a privateer ship, called the McClary, under the sanction of the legislature of the state. The McClary having captured an American merchant ship, called the Susanna, bound to an enemy's port, and laden with supplies, the vessel and cargo were regularly condemned in the courts of this state, and adjudged to the captors as their lawful prize. From this decision, the laws of this *then* sovereign state permitted no appeal. Elisha Doane and others, the owners of the vessel, subsequently entered a complaint before a committee

of congress, and the whole matter was referred to the court of appeals who reversed the judgment of the state court. After the adoption of the federal constitution, the district court of the United States confirmed the decision of the court of appeals, and ordered the value of the *Susanna* and cargo, with interest, amounting to \$32,721 36 in the whole, to be refunded to the original owners of that vessel. The legislature having already remonstrated against any interference of the general government in this case, as a "violation of the dignity, sovereignty and independence of the state," and the late owners of the *McClary* having petitioned for the "aid and advisement of the legislature in the premises," the governor declared that the council had concurred with him in requesting a meeting of the legislature before the time to which it stood adjourned.

The legislature, having taken the whole controversy into consideration, again prepared a spirited remonstrance against the interference of the courts of the general government in this affair, as a "violation of state independence, and an unwarrantable encroachment in courts of the United States." After stating, at considerable length, the facts above recapitulated, the remonstrance proceeds in the following spirited language :

"This state had a right to oppose the British usurpations in the way it thought best ; could make laws as it chose with respect to every transaction, where it had not explicitly granted the power to congress ; that the formation of courts for carrying these laws into execution, belonged only to the several states ; that congress might advise and

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recommend, but the states only could enact and carry into execution; and that the attempts, repeatedly made, to render the laws of this state in this respect null and void, is a flagrant insult to the principles of the revolution.

“Can the rage for annihilating all the power of the states, and reducing this extensive and flourishing country to one domination, make the administrators blind to the danger of violating all the principles of our former governments, to the hazard of convulsions in endeavoring to eradicate every trace of state power, except in the resentment of the people? Can the constitutional power of congress, in future, be no other way established, than by the belief that the former congress always possessed the same? Can the remembrance of the manner of our opposition to tyranny and the gradual adoption of federal ideas be so painful as to exclude, (unless forced into view,) the knowledge that congress in its origin was merely an advisory body; that it entirely depended upon the several legislatures to enforce any measures it might recommend?”

This remonstrance, strong and spirited as it was in language, and founded, as it was believed to be, upon an invasion of the rights of this state, seems to have produced no effect. But it demonstrated that this state, however federal it might have been in name, and however faithful it may at all times have shown itself to the constitution, was, from the beginning, jealous of the exercise of doubtful powers by the general government, and among the first to protest against every invasion of the reserved rights of the states.



In 1794, an extensive bridge was constructed over the Piscataqua river, in the vicinity of Portsmouth, which, in its cost and difficulty of construction, exceeded every enterprise of the kind which had been attempted in the country. It consisted of three sections, two of them horizontal and the third arched, extending from Newington to Durham, and presenting a surface of planking nearly half a mile in length. Its construction required five thousand tons of timber, eighty thousand feet of plank, twenty tons of iron, and eight thousand tons of stone, and cost the large sum of sixty-two thousand dollars. The work excited general admiration at the time, and had a favorable influence upon the commerce of Portsmouth, by diverting to it a portion of the country trade which had long been engrossed by the larger commercial towns of Massachusetts.

During the following year, (1795,) an academy was incorporated in Gilmanton, endowed with a fund consisting of six thousand dollars in money and seven thousand acres of land. A similar institution had been, the preceding year, established at Haverhill. Both institutions have remained in existence to the present time; both have received a steady and liberal support; and both have been eminently useful in the great work of disseminating useful knowledge in the community. Among the earliest literary establishments in the state, their patronage has since been divided with numerous seminaries of a similar character. But yet, as the landmarks of the early origin of a general interest in the cause of education in this state, these institutions, and the few of the same charac-

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ter which preceded them, deserve a particular notice in our history. They were not only honorable indications of that rising taste for education to which they owed their establishment, but active agents in its cultivation. Our early academies, by calling the public attention to the great benefits of a general system of instruction, and preparing a multitude of competent instructors, gave new life to our common school system, and diffused its advantages through every part of the state.

During the year 1795, the question of the ratification of Jay's treaty agitated this state, in common with the rest of the Union. Great Britain, while a controversy with France was pending, had adopted a series of arbitrary restrictions, almost entirely destructive of the American commerce with the French republic. At the same time, she had retained possession of several military posts in the western portions of our country, under color of a variety of unfounded pretences, and in open violation of the treaty entered into at the close of the revolution. For the purpose of arranging these difficulties, which had at one time threatened to result in open war, John Jay had been appointed an envoy extraordinary to the court of St. James. Mr. Jay having succeeded in negotiating a treaty, the senate was called upon, in 1795, to enter into a consideration of its merits. A long and angry discussion ensued. A senator from Virginia violated the injunction of secrecy which rested upon the senate during the debate, and procured its general publication in the newspapers of the day. It was at once denounced by many for its supposed partiality to Great Britain and injustice to

France. Some of its provisions were assailed in the most intemperate manner, and a general excitement prevailed throughout the country. At Portsmouth, in this state, a town meeting was holden, and voted an address to the president against the adoption of the treaty. A counter address having been prepared and signed by a large number of respectable citizens, a mob assembled in the streets, insulted many of the signers, broke their fences and windows, injured their ornamental trees, and attempted, by threats and violence, to gain possession of the counter address, and prevent its transmission to the president. The disturbance was, however, of short duration, and was succeeded by a more candid consideration of the merits of the treaty in question. The senate at length ratified it, by a vote of twenty to ten; the Honorable John Langdon, one of the senators from this state, voting against it. The president, after duly examining its merits, gave it his assent, and the result proved that, whatever objectionable features it might have contained, it was calculated to be highly beneficial in its influence upon the commerce and general interests of the country.

Considering the excitement which this subject created, it is a singular fact that the legislature of this state, at its session in November, 1795, passed, by an unanimous vote, an answer to the address of Governor Gilman, approving, in the strongest terms, of the treaty. In that document, they expressed an undiminished "confidence in the virtue and ability of the minister who negotiated the treaty; the senate who advised its ratification, and

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 X. of his country, who complied with this advice."

Tuftonborough, lying in that portion of the ancient county of Strafford, which is now known as Carrol\* county, and Danbury, in the county of Grafton, were this year incorporated. The former town stretches along the northeast shore of the Winnipiseogee lake, whose arms, extending far into the town, present, from the neighboring hills, some of the most delightful landscapes to be found in the country. It is diversified with an agreeable interchange of "rough and pleasant grounds," and presents a great variety of soil. It is washed on one side by a broad expanse of water, and divided between level grounds and abrupt elevations on the other. The scenery on the shores of lake Winnipiseogee has been delineated both with pen and pencil, and is destined hereafter to become celebrated in song, and to afford the richest subjects to the painter. The lake itself more than realises the impassioned description of Loch Katrine.† True, it has no barren wastes, of heath and rock, environing its shores; but it has a broad expanse of blue and limpid waters, sprinkled with cultivated islands, and surrounded with a belt of as luxuriant and productive soil as New England can boast. Its broad arms, extending in every direction, diversifying with mimic "promontory, creek and bay" the country upon its borders, and, ever and anon, flowing in a broad and unruffled current far into the interior, present, in a fine summer's day, some of the most agreeable pros-

\* Laws of New Hampshire, November session, 1840, p. 455.

† As described by Sir Walter Scott, in the "Lady of the Lake."

pects that ever delighted the eyes of the traveller. CHAP.  
“Now here, now there,” the beautiful congrega- X.  
tion of waters breaks upon his view—one moment  
partially lost sight of, as the road deviates from  
its banks—the next, bursting upon him in all  
its splendor. Something of the romantic charac-  
ter of this lake and the surrounding region has,  
doubtless, been sacrificed to the progress of agri-  
cultural improvement. When the verdant fields  
around it were the forest home of savage tribes—  
when the Indian’s canoe sprung unmolested over  
its bosom, and the smoke of his camping fires  
curled above its beautiful islands, it was a scene  
which his untutored imagination might readily  
have looked upon as the chosen residence of the  
Great Spirit. Not less agreeable must the prospec-  
t it presents at the present day appear to the  
eye of civilized man, who at once delights in the  
charms of nature, and rejoices in the progress of  
civilization and improvement in the neighborhood  
of her loveliest works.

On one side of the water rises Red Hill, which  
affords a prospect of the lake and all the surround-  
ing country. Scarcely a stone’s throw from the  
summit is the little lake Squam, its waters clear as  
crystal and sprinkled with green islands—some  
of them no wider than a small grass-plot—some  
spreading out into fields and pastures, with hills  
that send forth many a rivulet into the bosom of  
the lake. Ascending towards the summit of the  
mountain, the trees, unlike those on the White  
Mountains, which are gnarled and stunted, appear  
slender and graceful, and seem to stand for orna-  
ment amidst the blueberry and sweet-fern, which

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bear their fruit and fragrance almost to the mountain's top. For weeks the traveller may daily and hourly discover some new attraction in these sweet abodes of nature. To-day, a clear atmosphere presents everything in the brightest hues, and charms the mind with the distinctness of every object. To-morrow, a change of atmosphere lends to everything a change of hue, and flings over all a new enchantment. Nothing can exceed the splendor of sunrise on this mountain, in a calm summer's morning. The stillness of the place—the placid serenity of the waters—the varying positions of objects, as the morning mists rise, and change, and pass away before the sun, now brooding low on the waters, now sailing slowly over the islands, and wreathed in ever-varied forms around their green promontories; these and other features present to the mind a landscape abounding in that wild beauty which exists where art has not usurped dominion over nature. Here some bright basin is seen to gleam—and anon, the eye catches some islet, half veiled in mist and reddening with the first blush of morning. Sometimes, by a pleasing delusion, the clouds become stationary, and the island itself appears to move, and to be slowly receding from the veil of mist. The eye dwells with delight on the villages of the wide country, and the hundreds of farms and orchards which adorn the whole extent of the landscape. The fertile islands of the lake are scattered, as if to delight the eye; and when clothed in the deep green of summer, or waving with luxuriant harvests, they seem like floating gardens mirrored in the waters. The hills and woods, the shores and eddies, the coves and

green recesses—the farms and houses—sometimes retiring from the waters—sometimes approaching to the margin of the lake—all form a picture formed for the lover of nature to linger and dwell upon with varied and ever new delight. The course of the lake winds at last and is lost among the distant mountains.

One solitary family are the tenants of **Red Hill**—the lone sentinels of these romantic scenes. It is composed of a mother, a son and daughter. They gain a scanty subsistence by cultivating a few acres of land near the summit, which seem aliens among the rugged features of the mountain. The mother and daughter have descended from the mountain but a few times during their whole lives, and are unconscious of most of the important events of the world.

Such is a faint sketch of the scenery around lake **Wimmipiseogee**, where are exhibited, in fine contrast and bright association, the wild and rude with the beautiful—the austere with the lovely—widely extended fields, hills and mountains, embosoming a placid lake and islands. It may be doubted whether anything in Italian, Alpine, or Highland scenery exceeds the magnificence of the landscape which is here spread out. Yet the lake reposes, the mountain stands against the sky, the woods and fields bloom, and exhale and breathe their fragrance through year after year of the silent lapse of time, scarcely tempting a traveller's foot, or wooing an admiring eye, of the thousands that seek novelty and repose amidst the beauties of nature.

The political discussions of the preceding year, were not entirely without their influence upon the

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 X. organized opposition to the re-election of Gov-  
 1796. ernor Gilman, a considerable strength was arrayed  
 against him at the polls, and his majority was re-  
 duced to less than five thousand votes.

In 1796, the charter of the first New Hampshire turnpike, extending from Concord to the Piscataqua bridge, in the immediate vicinity of Portsmouth, was granted by the legislature. It was promptly commenced and completed, and was but the first of a long series of thoroughfares, of the same character, established by the enterprise of a few public spirited individuals, and branching into every section of the state. Sometimes lucrative, sometimes a heavy charge upon their proprietors, these early enterprises were conducted with a degree of vigor and economy seldom witnessed in such undertakings, when prosecuted at the public charge.

1798. During the year 1798, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. Nathan Smith, of Cornish, a medical department was connected with Dartmouth college. Without the benefits of early education, and yet possessed of distinguished skill, his talents and industry had given him a rank in his profession, which others, possessed of much greater advantages, have striven for in vain. For some years he was the only medical professor connected with the institution; and yet, difficult as the task must have been, unaided and with very limited pecuniary resources, he gave it a highly respectable character. The medical college, thus established and recommended to the public favor, has since maintained a permanent and useful existence. In



1810, by the aid of the legislature of the state, a neat medical college building was erected; and the medical school, furnished with an extensive cabinet, and a valuable chemical laboratory, and placed under the guidance of medical skill of the highest order, soon took rank with the most respectable institutions for medical instruction in the country.

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The act passed at the December session of the legislature for 1798, regulating the apportionment of public taxes, taken in connection with similar acts of a more recent period, shows some singular changes in the relative wealth of our towns. Portsmouth, our only commercial town of any importance, stood then, as now, at the head of the list, paying \$26,33 in the thousand, of all public assessments. Next, and in the following order, stood the fine agricultural towns of Gilmanton, Londonderry, Weare, and Barrington; the first paying \$19,58, and the last \$13,35, in the thousand. By the apportionment act passed in 1840, twelve towns pay more than ten dollars each, in every thousand of the state taxes. Weare, Barrington, and Londonderry are excluded from this list altogether, and eight towns now pay a larger proportion of the public expenses than Gilmanton. Dover now ranks second on the list, and Nashua, Concord and Claremont follow in their order. These changes, however, are far from indicating any reduction in the property of our agricultural towns. Towns, which in 1798 were either thinly settled or not settled at all, have advanced with rapid strides in wealth and population, and now sustain a large share in the burthen of taxation,

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which formerly rested on the agricultural sections of our southern counties. Our trade has increased, and large manufacturing establishments have sprung up among us; doubling, and, in some instances, more than quadrupling the wealth and population of our principal towns, and bringing upon them, with their increasing prosperity, an increased participation in the public burthens.

The insolent bearing of the French government towards our own, encouraging as it did constant aggressions upon our commerce, and manifesting the most hostile views, by peremptorily ordering its minister to demand his despatches and leave our country, had at this time produced a general excitement throughout the Union. Three American envoys having reached Paris, charged with the management of a pacific negotiation, had been met with a demand for money, as a prerequisite to its commencement. This insult roused the whole country. With scarcely a distinction of party, "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute," was the prevailing sentiment of the day.

1799. In this state of things, the legislature of 1799 adopted an address to President Adams, expressing the warmest resentment at the arbitrary course pursued by the French government. In the senate it passed unanimously. In the house, four individuals voted against it—not because they saw any palliation for the conduct of France, but because the prevailing party in the legislature had introduced into the address laudatory expressions, extending to all the acts of an administration, whose policy in many respects they could not approve.

In December, 1799, an act passed, providing for

the better observance of the Sabbath. It provided for the appointment of tything-men, and armed them with power to stop all persons travelling on the Sabbath, and interrogate them in relation to their business, names, and place of residence. Persons giving false answers were subjected to severe penalties. This law, exceptionable in itself, was rendered still more so by the officious insolence of many of the officers entrusted with its execution. Proud of a little brief authority, they seized upon the reins of the traveller's horse with an air of authority which sometimes approached nearer to the ungracious rudeness of highwaymen, than the mild deportment of conservators of religious observances and civil order. Scenes of arbitrary violence on the one hand, and of boisterous resistance or criminal evasion on the other, were of constant occurrence; and it soon became a matter of doubt, whether the law tended more to the proper observance of the Sabbath, or its shameless violation. Like many other laws, passed by pious and well-meaning men, whose zeal in the cause of virtue has for a moment blinded their judgment in relation to the proper means for its advancement; the law in question, though unquestionably established from pure motives, produced most unfortunate results. It became at first unpopular, then a nullity, and was soon stricken from the pages of the statute book by the general consent of the community. Such has been the general fate of laws, which have attempted, by fines and punishments and vexatious prosecutions, the correction of evils which are more properly left for correction to the untrammelled force of public opinion.

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So closed the eighteenth century—a period full of interesting events—an era which must take precedence over all others in the future history of our country. At its commencement, New Hampshire was a humble settlement, with a population thinly scattered along a narrow extent of seaboard, harassed by the attacks of a savage enemy, and dependent upon the will of a foreign government. At its termination, it had become a wealthy and populous state, extending from the ocean to the Canadian frontier, favored with peace and prosperity, and governed by the free suffrages of its own citizens. At its commencement, it was hardly able to defend itself against a few wretched Indian tribes; though “every fourth man fit to march, in the province,” was at times in the field; and judges of the courts were often “exposed as common sentinels, and sent out upon the scout, in small numbers, after the enemy.”\* At its close, its citizens, in common with their brethren in other states, were ready to wage war with one of the most powerful nations on the globe, for the protection of their national rights and the vindication of their national honor.

The death of George Washington had occurred on the 14th of December, 1799; and in this state, as well as every part of the Union, the twenty-second day of the succeeding February, the anniversary of his birth, was devoted to expressions of public sorrow for the decease of a man, who was emphatically “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

1800. The commencement of a new century brought

\* MS. “Minuitts of Governor and Council,” for 1703.

with it the commencement of a new era in the political history of the state. Hitherto its political conflicts had been few, and far from severe. The federal party had maintained its ascendancy by a majority which had discouraged opposition, and administered our affairs with a moderation little calculated to excite it. Indeed, the position assumed by our legislature, on many occasions, had been in strict accordance with the views and sympathies of the democratic party itself. The people, as a mass, had been zealous in the defence of their rights, hostile to every new assumption of power by the general government, and unyielding in their attachment to an economical administration of public affairs.

But the measures of the administration of John Adams had been of a character too little popular to enable him, revered as he was for his revolutionary services, to secure in any part of the Union that united support which had been accorded to his predecessor. Jealous and sensitive in the extreme, his distrust of foreigners and his nervousness under the criticisms of the press, led to the most fatal errors of his political career. These errors—the passage of the alien and sedition laws, and the outrages perpetrated under the sanction of their provisions—brought the democratic party, with a distinct and general organization, into the field in every state in the Union. The discussions thus excited, extended to New Hampshire, and for the first time the whole mass of its citizens were divided into those permanent political parties, whose frequent and exciting contests for the supremacy, scattered through the broad range of

CHAP. more than forty years, constitute so important a  
 X. part of its history.

1800. The contest of 1800 was conducted with great warmth and acrimony. Charges were promulgated, against both of the rival candidates for the presidency, which have been condemned, by the more candid judgment of later times, as the mere offspring of party violence. Charges of cowardice, immorality and infidelity, were everywhere circulated against the illustrious Jefferson. All the powers of eloquence, all the influence of the press, and all the blandishments of melody, were resorted to, to blacken his character and tarnish the unsullied brightness of his fame. Even a party badge was resorted to, to distinguish his enemies from those of their fellow-citizens who gave him their support. In some instances, and in some sections of this state, the "black cockade" was generally worn, as a mark of devotion to Mr. Adams, or a security against the violence of his friends.

On the other hand, allegations, of the same unjustifiable nature, were doubtless promulgated against Mr. Adams; a man, who, whatever might have been the errors of his administration, was entitled, by his patriotism through the whole course of our difficulties with Great Britain, to be ranked among the noblest benefactors of the land.

Important questions of principle, however, were at issue in the contest, involving the future prosperity of the country, and the success of its republican institutions. The dominant party had confided to the national executive full power to banish, at pleasure and on mere suspicion, every alien who

should land on our shores. It had empowered him to drag American citizens before partisan courts, and punish them with ruinous fines and ignominious imprisonments, for exercising the sacred rights of speech and the press in a manner personally obnoxious to himself or offensive to his supporters. The friends of a strict construction of the constitution, uniting themselves under the name of republicans, protested against these extensions of the executive power, as an infringement upon the principles of the constitution, dangerous alike to the rights of the states and the liberties of the people.

The result of the exciting discussions of the time soon appeared in the annual elections in New Hampshire. The opposition, hitherto so powerless, rallied under the influence of the prevailing excitement, and presented Timothy Walker, of Concord, as their candidate for governor. That gentleman, having been distinguished for his devotion to the cause of liberty, and his able services as a member of the revolutionary committee of safety, had been called by the people to a variety of important stations, and, among others, to that of chief justice of the court of common pleas. With a private character equally unimpeached with that of Governor Gilman himself, and a life, like his, endeared to the people, the contest was removed from the beaten ground of personal preferences by his nomination, and became almost purely a question between the principles acted upon by the administration of Mr. Adams, and those avowed by the friends of Mr. Jefferson. With all their original partialities and sectional feelings in favor

CHAP. of the former individual, it was not to have been  
 X. expected that a revolution would take place among  
 the citizens, sufficiently sudden, to transfer the  
 vote of the state to the latter. At the March elec-  
 tion, however, Judge Walker had six thousand  
 and thirty-nine out of the sixteen thousand seven  
 hundred and sixty-two cast, and Governor Gil-  
 man's majority was reduced to less than four  
 thousand.

The legislature of 1800, not caring to submit  
 the presidential election to the people at a time  
 when so much excitement prevailed against the  
 candidate it favored, passed a law by which the  
 choice of electors devolved upon itself. The result  
 was the election of Oliver Peabody, John Pren-  
 tice, Ebenezer Thompson, Timothy Farrar, Ben-  
 jamin Bellows and Arthur Livermore, who cast  
 their votes for John Adams, for president, and  
 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina,  
 for vice president.

1800, 1801. At the election of governor, in 1801, the same  
 candidates were in the field. The republicans  
 having relaxed their exertions, however, the result  
 was the re-election of Governor Gilman, by an  
 increased majority. But as soon, however, as the  
 administration of Jefferson had been established,  
 and begun to develop its policy, it gradually and  
 continually gained favor with our citizens, till,  
 within the short space of four years, an entire  
 political revolution had taken place.

The New Hampshire Missionary Society, the  
 earliest charitable society of a religious character  
 in the state, was incorporated in 1801. Its object  
 was to extend the advantages of religious instruc-

1801,  
 1802.



tion to the scattered inhabitants of the new settlements, and to churches whose limited means were inadequate to its regular support.

John Langdon, a man whose benevolence and patriotism, no less than his unspotted reputation, have endeared him to the citizens of this state, was the present year elected one of the representatives from Portsmouth, and was supported, unsuccessfully however, as the republican candidate for speaker.

In the spring of 1802, he was, for the first time, presented by the same party as a candidate for the office of governor. He received eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-three votes for that office; but Governor Gilman was re-elected, and it required a three years' struggle, during which the same gentlemen were candidates, to revolutionize the state.

On the 26th day of December, a destructive fire 1802. occurred at Portsmouth. It commenced, early in the morning, in the building occupied by the New Hampshire Bank, and before the alarm was communicated to any considerable number of citizens, it had burst through its sides, and already extended to some of the adjoining buildings. The flames spread with great rapidity, and, before their progress could be arrested, a large part of the town, including more than one hundred buildings, was reduced to ashes. Property to the amount of more than two hundred thousand dollars was destroyed by this unfortunate conflagration. And it is a circumstance which does no little honor to the liberal feelings of the time, that more than forty-five thousand dollars were raised by volun-

CHAP. tary contributions, mainly by citizens of this state,  
X. as a partial reparation of the loss.

The manufactures of this country were at this period in their infancy. Rhode Island had led the way, by the introduction of Arkwright's machinery for spinning cotton, as early as 1790. In 1803, the first cotton factory in New Hampshire was erected at New Ipswich. It was in a few years followed by similar establishments in Peterborough, Pembroke, Hillsborough and Jeffrey. The early adventures, however, in this branch of industry, were not destined to be attended with very brilliant success. The constant introduction of useful but expensive improvements in machinery, imposed a tax upon those who engaged in them, to which their capital, in many instances, proved wholly inadequate. Manufacturing enterprise, however, having once been excited in the country, gradually overcame all obstacles, and brought to its aid, in this state as well as elsewhere, an amount of capital equal to every emergency. In Dover, Somersworth, Nashua, Amoskeag, Newmarket, Claremont and Manchester, it has more recently planted itself with a foothold too firm to admit of its being shaken by any ordinary causes of embarrassment.

The increasing population of the state had long since reached to its extreme line on the north. From the southern extremity of its fertile intervals on the Connecticut, the tide of emigration had already reached the head waters of that beautiful and fertilizing stream. The gradual extension of the new settlements in the northern part of the state, and their great distance from the shire

towns of Grafton, led to the organization of Coos county, in December, 1803. Bounded on the north by Canada, and stretching laterally from Maine to Vermont, it possesses an extent of territory superior to that of any other county in the state. Its soil, however, is broken and divided between fertile valleys, productive swells of excellent soil, abrupt hills and gigantic mountains. This region has been appropriately styled the Switzerland of America. From the summits of the White Mountains, which, standing in the southern part of Coos county, present at a glance a view of the whole county, to the highlands of Canada on the north and the Green Mountains on the west, the prospect is one of the grandest in nature. Far as the eye can reach, it is met by a constant succession of hills and mountains—sometimes swelling gently in the distance and sprinkled with settlements to their summits—sometimes breaking into wild peaks, in summer crowned with bald ledges of granite and striped by the pathway of the avalanche, and in winter covered with an unbroken mantle of snow, and rising, like mounds of white and spotless marble, above the surrounding woods.

A scattered population had begun at an early period to diffuse itself among these mountains, upon the banks of the Connecticut, and along the borders of its tributary streams. Twelve years before the commencement of the revolution, a little settlement was commenced at Lancaster, and soon followed by others, of the same humble character, at Northumberland, Stratford and Dalton. In 1775, the population of the present county of Coos had

CHAP. increased to the moderate number of two hundred  
X. and twenty-seven persons, divided among six town-  
ships, of which Lancaster, with its sixty-one inhab-  
itants, was the most populous. In 1803, the whole  
population was a little more than three thousand,  
divided among ten incorporated towns.

At the same session of the Legislature, which granted the people in the northern part of the state a separate county organization, a turnpike road was established for their accommodation, beginning at the west line of Bartlett, and traversing the well known White Mountain Notch. It extended twenty miles in length, and was constructed at an expense of about \$40,000.

This road, winding as it does through one of the most sublime and romantic mountain passes in the universe, presents to the eye of the traveller scenes of natural majesty and beauty, unrivalled by any other mountain region in America.

## CHAPTER XI.

SAMUEL LIVERMORE—Matthew Thornton—Amendment of the federal constitution—Ascendency of the republican party—Laws—District schools—Iron mines—Franconia mountain scenery—The notch—Mount Lafayette—The basin—The flume—The Old Man of the mountain, or Profile rock—Ascent of mount Lafayette—Execution of Burnham at Haverhill—Removal of the seat of government to Concord—Commerce of Portsmouth—The effect of the embargo, the war of 1812, and other causes—Right of search—Orders in council—French decrees—The embargo—it is unpopular—The federal party again in the ascendency—George Sullivan—Aggressions of Great Britain—War becomes a probable event—Message of Governor Langdon—Debates in the senate and house—Speech of Gilman—Speech of Parrott—Lotteries—Banks—Election of William Plummer—his war message—Preparations for war—Madison calls an extra session of congress—Increase of the army and navy—The militia called out—Campaign of 1812—Daniel Webster—Progress of the war—Campaign of 1813—Change in the judiciary—Great fire at Portsmouth—Campaign of 1814—Battle of Chippewa—Battle of Bridgewater—Miller—M'Neil—Weeks—Machinations of the federal party—Battle of New Orleans—Peace—Debates in the legislature—Speech of Mr. Handerson—Speech of Mr. Parrott—Gov. Plummer's message—Change in the judiciary—Richardson—Bell—Woodbury—Pierce—Release of the poor prisoners—Project of a canal—Western emigration.

IN May, 1803, the Hon. Samuel Livermore, long a distinguished actor in the political affairs of the state, died at his residence in Holderness, at the advanced age of seventy-one years. He was born at Waltham, Massachusetts, about the the year 1732, and, twenty years afterwards, graduated at Princeton college. Having studied law, and risen at an early period to a respectable rank in his profession, he was for some time before the revolution, judge advocate of the court of admiralty in this state. In 1782, he was appointed

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judge of the superior court, which office he held for a period of eight years. For the same length of time, commencing in 1793, he was a member of the United States senate, and was associated in that body with many of the most distinguished patriots of the revolution.

Matthew Thornton, another of the most distinguished citizens of this state, also died during the same year. He was a native of Ireland, where he was born about the year 1714, and consequently was sixty-one years old at the commencement of that great and successful struggle for independence, in which he was a distinguished actor. Mr. Thornton first settled in New Hampshire, as a physician, at Londonderry. He accompanied Sir William Pepperell in his expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, and was president of the first provincial convention in this state, thirty years afterwards. He first took his seat in the continental congress in November, 1776, and, though too late to vote for the Declaration of Independence, he had the imperishable honor of subscribing that important document, together with Dr. Benjamin Rush, and several others, similarly circumstanced with himself. He was afterwards appointed a judge of the superior court, which office he retained till 1782. It was his fortune, in common with many of his compatriots of 1776, who, like him, staked their lives and property in the cause of independence, to go down to the grave covered with honors and full of years, leaving behind him an unspotted reputation, and the memory of a long line of services to his country, destined to be as enduring as its history.

The history of 1804 opens with an animated contest between the two rival parties for the ascendancy in the state. Governor Gilman was again, and for the eleventh time, elected, by a majority however of only one hundred and fifty votes, over John Langdon. It is a fact, which speaks volumes in favor of the personal popularity of both candidates, that all the votes, of more than twenty-four thousand cast at this election, were divided between them. There was not a scattering ballot thrown in the state. But while the federal party barely succeeded in the election of governor, the republicans secured a decided majority in both branches of the legislature. Governor Langdon, having been returned as a representative from Portsmouth, was elected speaker of the house, and Nicholas Gilman, afterwards a senator in congress, was chosen president of the senate.

The legislature of this year passed, by a majority of forty-seven in the house and two in the senate, a bill ratifying an amendment to the federal constitution, providing that the candidates for president and vice president, should be separately and specifically voted for. Under the original provisions of the constitution, each elector balloted for two persons; and that person who received the largest number of votes was to be president, and the person who received the next largest number was to be vice president. Under this provision, John Adams had been elected vice president in 1789, and Thomas Jefferson in 1797, neither having received a majority of the electoral votes. Under this provision, also, in 1801, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr having each received seventy-

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three votes and a majority of the whole number—though the former had everywhere been deemed the candidate of his party for the presidency and the latter for the vice presidency alone—the federal party, uniting with a few personal friends of Burr, supported him for the presidency through thirty-five successive ballotings, occupying no less than six days. On the thirty-sixth ballot, Thomas Jefferson was elected, by a revulsion of feeling in a portion of his opponents, against an attempt of so glaring a character to defeat the well-known wishes of the people.

To prevent the recurrence of such contests in future, the amendment above referred to was proposed and ratified by a sufficient number of states to secure its adoption. In New Hampshire, Governor Gilman interposed his veto and prevented its ratification; acting in accordance with the views of the federal party generally, who, having once availed themselves of the former state of things, in a strenuous effort to defeat the election of Jefferson, were naturally opposed to the change. The governor objected to the adoption of the amendment, mainly on the ground that, “if the alterations proposed should take place, the office of the vice president, who in certain events is to be placed at the head of the nation, may be deemed less respectable than heretofore.”

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Though, at the congressional election in August of this year, the federal ticket was elected by a small majority, the republicans gained a complete triumph, a few weeks afterwards, in the choice of seven electors, who gave their votes for Thomas Jefferson for president, and George Clinton for



vice-president. This was the first choice of presidential electors, by the people of this state; every former election having been made by the legislature. The republicans of 1804, having the control of the legislative power, passed, with singular magnanimity, a general law referring the presidential election directly to the people. They risked, upon the issue of an uncertain contest, a political triumph, which, in strict accordance with former precedent, they might have secured at once, to give a permanent privilege to the people, which had already been denied them too long. The result, which they could not with any certainty have foreseen, happily illustrated the maxim, that "honesty is the best policy," as well in the operations of governments as in the management of private affairs.

In 1805, after an exciting contest, the republican party, for the first time, gained an entire ascendancy in the state. More votes were thrown than at any former election, and John Langdon was elected governor by nearly four thousand majority. The prevailing party at the same time carried every branch of the government, electing Levi Bartlett, Joseph Badger and Benjamin Pierce to the council, and securing decided majorities in the house and senate. When the legislature assembled in June, Robert Alcock, one of the most inflexible patriots and ardent republicans in the state, was elected president of the senate. He declined accepting the office, however, and the Honorable Clement Storer was chosen in his place. At the same time, Samuel Bell was chosen speaker of the house, and changes were made in all the

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executive departments of the government. Phillip Carrigain was elected secretary of state, in place of Joseph Pearson, who had enjoyed that office for nineteen years in succession; and Nathaniel Gilman succeeded Oliver Peabody in the office of treasurer. Another change, yet more important, resulted from this political revolution in the state. The death of the Honorable Simeon Olcott, one of its senators in congress, created a vacancy, which was filled by the election of the Honorable Nicholas Gilman. Mr. Gilman was the first representative chosen to either branch of congress by the republican party, after its first distinct organization in the state. Indeed, the whole representation in congress from New England, with scarcely an exception, was composed of members of the federal party. The election, therefore, of a republican to the highest legislative body in the nation, was deemed a political triumph of no ordinary magnitude. The legislature, in the meantime, in their reply to Governor Langdon's address, adopted by a large majority in both branches, expressed "their utmost confidence in the virtuous and magnanimous administration" of President Jefferson, and condemned, in strong terms, "that spirit of malignant abuse" with which he had been assailed.

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Among the laws passed by the legislature of this year, which have stood the test of time, and still remain among the statutes of the land, are the acts prohibiting the issue of private notes as a circulation, and limiting all actions for the recovery of real estate, to twenty years. The last law provides, "that when any action shall be brought

against any person, for the recovery of any lands or tenements which such person holds by a supposed legal title under a *bona fide* purchase," and has peaceably occupied more than six years before the commencement of the action, a jury shall appraise the value of the improvements, which must be paid by the plaintiff before he recovers possession. Laws were also passed, regulating the manufacture and sale of bread, the inspection of beef, the taxation of costs before justices, the collection of damages done by the floating of lumber, and the appointment of guardians over persons who, "by excessive drinking, gaming, idleness, or vicious habits of any kind," should so squander their time and estates as to become exposed to suffering and want. Another law of this year provided for the division of towns into school-districts, and thereby established our common schools upon such a basis, as to extend their advantages to every citizen. No law of the state has done more for the diffusion of useful knowledge or the advancement of the general welfare. Under its provisions, school-houses have sprung up in every neighborhood in our most thinly settled towns, affording at once, in many instances, houses of worship for the scattered dwellers around them, and comfortable places of instruction for their children.

In such humble seats of learning as these, thousands of the young men of New Hampshire have laid the foundation for that business knowledge, or those extended acquirements, by which they have made themselves the leaders in honest enterprise, the authors of useful inventions, the masters

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of difficult arts, and the ornaments of the pulpit, the bar, the judicial seats and legislative halls of the country. There have been sown the seeds of prudent industry. There have been planted the germs of honorable enterprise. There has been first excited that noble thirst for distinction, which has taken the sons of our poorest citizens from the farm and the workshop, and sent them into the wide world, with no other capital than untiring energy and unspotted reputation, to carve out their own way to distinguished fortunes and exalted honors.

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The New Hampshire Iron Factory Company, incorporated at Franconia by the legislature of 1805, soon after established the extensive works at that place, to which it has been so greatly indebted for its prosperity. At first, these works consisted only of a forge, where bar-iron was made. In 1811 a blast furnace was erected, which has been kept in operation ever since. It produces from two hundred and fifty to five hundred tons of excellent iron per annum, of which from one hundred to one hundred and fifty per year is manufactured into bar-iron, while the remainder is sold in the form of castings. So lately as 1838, iron was produced to the amount of twenty-one thousand dollars per annum, of which sum at least twelve thousand dollars were paid for the labor of men engaged in mining, burning and drawing coal, and conducting the various operations at the furnace.

The ore, which is obtained from a mountain in Lisbon, at a distance of three miles only from the furnace, yields from fifty-six to sixty-three per cent. of pure iron, and was long considered the richest in the United States. The mine is appa-

rently inexhaustible. A single vein, of from three and a half to four feet in width, has been wrought forty rods in length and one hundred and forty-four feet in depth, and this vein has been found to extend along the hill-side into the valley below. The labors of the miners, often fruitlessly expended in unskilful searchings after additional veins of ore, have formed many curious caverns in the rocky sides of the hill. In one instance, a gallery of this character, one hundred and twenty feet in length, has been cut through the solid granite. These labors, however useless they may have been to the proprietors of the mines, have brought to light an abundance of interesting minerals, and the neighborhood has long been known as the richest mineral region in New Hampshire.

Nor are the attractions of this region confined to the searcher after curious mineral specimens alone. The sublimity of its mountain scenery has been admired by travellers from every part of the country. It is approached from the south through a mountain pass, second only to the White Mountain Notch in grandeur, and thronged with objects of curiosity and interest. As the traveller threads his way through the entrance of this solitary defile, his vision is limited by a long range of dark hills on one side, and a huge and almost perpendicular cliff of bare and shelving granite extends a long distance on the other. Suddenly, after a series of devious windings, in which the prospect is ever and anon obscured by the forest trees that skirt the way, he finds himself in the midst of a vast amphitheatre of mountains, their sides clothed with dark evergreen, broken here

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Poem  
by Har-  
ry Hib-  
bard.

“And full and fair those features are displayed,  
Thus profiled forth against the clear blue sky,  
As though some sculptor’s chisel here had made  
This fragment of colossal imagery,  
The compass of his plastic art to try;  
From ‘Adam’s Apple’ to the shaggy hair  
That shoots in pine trees from the head on high—  
All, all is perfect—no illusion’s there  
To cheat the expecting eye with fancied forms of air.”

The Old Man is seen casting a bold look upward towards the east, with his head partially inclined towards the little lake which lies below him embosomed in the surrounding mountains, and sweeps with its limpid waters the base of the throne on which the Old Man seems to repose. To the north of the notch road, lies another crystal lake, its

\* From its exact resemblance to the human face, it is called “The Old Man of the Mountain.”

margin tracked by the wild deer, from the middle of which, in a boat, the voyager may catch a glimpse of the summit of mount Lafayette, standing aloft between two contiguous mountains, resting against the clear blue sky, or sublime amidst the storm, with clouds piled upon its top and hanging in black and heavy masses down its sides. Passing below the Old Man, the eye no longer distinguishes a profile; and mount Jackson, with its bold front of bare rock, frowns over the silent lake, and affords a picture of ruggedness and sublimity. In the ascent up mount Lafayette, the traveller enters a dense forest opposite the Old Man; and passing upward in a winding path, is afforded a glimpse of mount Jackson. As he advances, his ears are saluted with the noise of Lafayette brook, which rolls through the woods below with a solemn roar. After proceeding three miles, over cliff and crag, he emerges suddenly upon mount Pleasant, which is a small plain, cut as it were in the mountain side, from which is afforded a view of the surrounding heights, the villages far below, and the valley of the wild Ammonoosuck. At his feet, southward, lies Pleasant pond, the hillocks around it partly covered with stunted firs, partly bare and partly clothed with a thick moss of the brightest green. Full before him, to the east, is the summit of Lafayette; the clouds slowly sweeping along its sides, or curling around the top, as they sail majestically upon the air, or rush upon the wings of the blast. From Pleasant pond, whose waters are sweet, and spotted by the yellow lily, the path upward leads first through a grove of dwarf firs, which have been

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blasted by fire, and, having bleached white, they stand with craggy arms, like a group of skeletons ; but when seen from the summit of the mountain, present the appearance of a field covered with bones. Upward, the traveller proceeds over a stairway of stone, stepping from rock to rock, as they lay scattered over the mountain. Even on the summit he has not passed beyond the hum of the bee, the only insect of this vast height. Vegetation has long since disappeared, save the small white blossom springing up amongst the moss—the solitary flower of the mountain. Below, to the east, stretch interminable ranges of mountains. To the north, the White Hills bound his view. South, is the valley of the Pemigewasset ; south-westward, mount Jackson, Black pond and Field's pond ; and northwest, the valley of the Ammonoosuck. The rocks, which at mount Pleasant were white, have now changed to dark gray, spotted with black and dull yellow, intermingled with specs of green moss, which adheres to them in scales. Descending from the mountain, not the least interesting object to the weary traveller is the Franconia Notch Hotel, which stands completely wedged in between the heights. There is hardly room around it for a garden and narrow fields, which are bordered and environed by mountains. The cold breezes preserve here, through the summer months, a refreshing coolness, like the atmosphere of May, or September ; and the fierce heat of summer is unknown. To the north, immediately in the rear of the hotel, rises a high peak, in the form of a sugar loaf, and it takes that name. A ride of four miles southward,



through a shaded road running along the Pemigewasset, brings the traveller to the Basin; and three miles farther, to the Flume. Yet in this space of seven miles there is not a house or a human habitation. Northward, the nearest dwelling stands at the distance of three miles; and thus, in the space of ten miles, the cheerful mansion where the traveller rests, stands alone, embosomed amidst the lofty mountains which are the object of his pilgrimage.

The Basin and Flume are among the objects in this vicinity, which invite the attention of the traveller. The first is a broad, round, deep cavity, scooped out in the solid rock by the road-side, by the revolving waves of the mountain stream, which supplies the head waters of the Pemigewasset. The second lies at some distance to the right of the road, through the mountains, as it enters the defile from the south. It is a long, deep and yawning fissure in the rock, presenting a general appearance sufficiently indicated by its name. During the freshets of spring, the little rill, which ripples through it in summer, swells to a mountain torrent, which, tumbling over loose rocks and broken crags, grows white with foam, and dashes through the giant channel, flinging its spray upon its massive walls, and thundering in the hollow caverns it has worn below.

On the 25th of December, 1805, the Honorable Russell Freeman, once speaker of the house, and five years a member of the state council, having been imprisoned in the jail at Haverhill, was murdered, with a companion in misfortune, by Josiah Burnham. Burnham was their fellow-prisoner, an

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Papers  
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CHAP. occupant of the same cell. Debt was the com-  
 XI. mon offence, both of the murderer and the men  
 he slaughtered; and the complaints of his victims,  
 who had suffered great inconvenience from his  
 gross manners and ravenous appetite, were the sole  
 incentives to his crime. Near the close of the  
 following year the murderer expiated his crime  
 on the gallows, at Haverhill; and the law, under  
 the rigorous provisions of which this tragedy  
 occurred, was afterwards—unfortunately *long* af-  
 afterwards—expunged from the statute books of the  
 state.

The decisive result of the election of 1805,  
 established the political character of the state for  
 several years. In the meantime, Governor Lang-  
 don, favored with legislatures whose views were  
 in accordance with his own, discharged his execu-  
 tive duties with firmness and moderation, respected  
 even by his opponents, and escaping much of that  
 violence of attack, with which so many of his suc-  
 cessors have been assailed.

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At the spring election of 1806, there was scarce-  
 ly the appearance of a contest; and in August of  
 the same year, five republican representatives to  
 congress were elected, while, a few months after-  
 wards, the Honorable Nahum Parker, a republi-  
 can also, was chosen to fill the remaining seat in  
 the senate.

1806.  
 Whiton.

On the 16th of June, in the same year, the sub-  
 lime spectacle of a total eclipse of the sun was  
 witnessed by the citizens of New Hampshire, in  
 common with millions of others. For a time the  
 obscuration was complete, the stars were visible,  
 and the darkness of night shadowed the earth at

mid-day. The return of light was instantaneous; one side of the sun suddenly presenting a luminous thread, of incomparable brilliancy. A scene so sublime and unusual, which, a century before, would have been regarded as the sure presage of wars and calamities, even at this time excited an interest which has made it an era in the lives of many who witnessed it, and who, if still living, refer to the "great eclipse" as the date from which all their recollections of that period are reckoned.

For a period of nearly ninety-five years, extending from 1680 to 1775, and from the administration of John Cutts to that of Meshech Weare, the seat of government had been permanently fixed at Portsmouth. From the beginning of the revolution to the year 1807, the legislature had adjourned from town to town, holding several sessions in Portsmouth, Exeter, Concord and Hopkinton, and one each in the towns of Dover, Amherst, Charlestown and Hanover. As a compliment to Governor Langdon, the December session of the legislature for 1805 was holden at Portsmouth. In 1806 and 1807 the June sessions were holden at Hopkinton. At the close of the first session for 1807 the legislature adjourned to Concord, in which town, though it has never been established by law as the seat of government, its sessions have ever since been uniformly holden.

The year 1807 may be regarded as the close of the brightest season of commercial prosperity which Portsmouth, the only considerable maritime town in New Hampshire, has ever enjoyed. Its exports during that year amounted to \$680,022;

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1807.

Whi-  
ton.

1807.

MS.  
Letter  
of Alex-  
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Ladd,  
Esq.

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Reports  
on the  
Finan-  
ces.

and, during the five preceding years, sometimes rising above and sometimes sinking below that sum, had maintained an average not far from it. Its imports, during the same period, had probably exceeded \$800,000 per annum. On the 31st of December, 1806, its tonnage amounted to twenty-two thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight tons, while, during the same year, one hundred and three vessels cleared from its harbor for the West Indies alone, and its total exports were valued at \$795,263.

In this connection, a somewhat extended view of the commercial operations of this ancient town, may not be entirely out of place. Before the commencement of the revolution, the commerce of Portsmouth consisted principally in the trade to Great Britain and the West Indies, and a small coasting trade to the southern states. The same abundance of lumber in our forests and of fish on our coasts, which invited the first settlement of the state, together with live stock, still constituted the great staples of its trade. Ship-building was extensively carried on upon the banks of the Piscataqua, and the large number of vessels annually fitted out at Portsmouth were laden with these simple, but exceedingly useful staples of the country, and despatched to the British West Indies. There an exchange was effected for sugars and other articles suited to the markets of the mother country, where both vessels and cargoes were very commonly sold, and the returns made in British manufactured goods and such productions of other foreign countries as we were forbidden to import by a direct trade. The smaller vessels, after sell-

ing their cargoes in the West Indies, usually returned with the produce of those islands to Portsmouth. CHAP.  
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At that period, the commerce of Portsmouth, compared with that of other commercial towns, was of much greater relative importance than at the present time. But, whatever its extent, it was annihilated by the revolution, and at its close, in 1783, it had not a single square-rigged vessel in a seaworthy condition.

The recovery of its commerce from the general ruin was gradual. It was impeded at first by the loss of a foreign market for ships built on the Piscataqua, and the imposition of restrictions by Great Britain on its West India trade. In a short time, however, its commercial enterprise, partially excluded from its accustomed channels, sought out new ones for its employment. Its fisheries were prosecuted with greater vigor, its tonnage increased, and its foreign trade rose to a more respectable standard. The breaking out of a general war in Europe gave to American trade the advantages of neutrality. Business again quickened into life, and Portsmouth shared largely in the general prosperity. Her exports, as entered upon the books of her custom-house, swelled to the respectable amount already stated; and a large portion of her business, conducted through other ports, added greatly to the real, though nothing to the nominal amount of her trade. The experiment of the employment of a regular packet-ship in the trade with Liverpool, was commenced in 1806, with every prospect of success, but, in December, 1807, the embargo set the seal of death upon this, in common with every other commercial enterprise.

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The repeal of the embargo, in 1809, was followed by a brief season of prosperity. In spite of British orders and French decrees, our ships once more unfurled their sails in every sea, and bore the American flag to every quarter of the globe.

This momentary sunshine was but the prelude of the storm. The war of 1812 again swept our commerce from the ocean.

The return of peace brought with it the general pacification of Europe. We enjoyed the advantages of neutrality no longer. The direct foreign trade of Portsmouth has never again recovered its former vigor. The forests in its vicinity no longer yield those stores of lumber, once deemed inexhaustible. Its commerce with the British West Indies has given way, under the active competition of the government of which they are dependencies, and the restrictions which that government has imposed.

Reduced as the foreign trade of Portsmouth has been, its coasting trade has increased in nearly the same proportion. A large number of manufacturing establishments have sprung up around the tide waters of the Piscataqua. The consequent demand for flour, grain, coal and cotton, has furnished a profitable employment for a very considerable tonnage. At a port where, thirty years ago, two hundred bales of cotton would have been an ample supply for a year, there is now an average demand for eleven thousand bales per annum. Its trade, from this and other favoring impulses, is regularly increasing, and its business streets are again beginning to exhibit tokens of reviving prosperity.

The year 1808, as we have already seen, commenced a period of severe commercial restrictions and great national excitements. The conflicting powers of Europe had long regarded the advantages of our neutral position with jealousy. Sailing under the only flag which was not arrayed among belligerent powers, our ships gathered a golden harvest in every sea. Carrying the products of England and her dependencies to the ports of France on one hand, they returned, freighted with French goods, to the marts of Great Britain on the other.

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The British cruisers, however, had long claimed the right to board our ships and impress our seamen. The arbitrary enforcement of this claim was soon followed by other aggressions. By a series of orders in council, Great Britain interdicted our trade with France. France, in retaliation, prohibited our trade with Great Britain. Our commerce was subjected to the common plunder of both nations, and hundreds of our vessels, engaged in a lawful trade, were captured by their cruisers and condemned by their courts. At length, our harbors were blockaded by British fleets, and one of our national vessels, reposing on our own waters, was fired upon by a British ship of war, of superior force. From these causes resulted the embargo. Its object was, by detaining our ships in our own ports, to protect them from the piratical aggressions of Great Britain and France, and, at the same time, to compel those nations to respect our rights, by depriving them of the advantages of our trade.

However patriotic were the motives which 1808.

CHAP. induced the adoption of this measure, it was  
XI.            unsparingly assailed. It added to the feeling of discontent by which the federal party had long been pervaded, that excitement which is so easily and sometimes so unjustly created by the loss of trade, the derangement of business, and the temporary decline of the internal prosperity of the country. Motives of patriotism alone sustained the embargo. The clamors of interest were everywhere raised against it.

Nor were these clamors without effect. Though in the spring election in New Hampshire there was scarcely a contest; though a legislature was elected which concurred with President Jefferson in sentiment, and adopted an address, approving his measures and sustaining the embargo; the federalists rallied at the subsequent elections, made use of all the means of agitation which fortune had placed in their hands, and again recovered, by a small majority, and after a hard contest, their ascendancy in the state. A federal delegation in congress was once more elected from New Hampshire, and its electoral votes were secured to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the unsuccessful rival of James Madison in the presidential contest.

1809. These triumphs gave new courage to the federal party. In the spring of 1809 it again entered the field in full force. It was opposed with a vigor corresponding to the attack. The republicans of that time, ever ready to sustain any measure, however burdensome, which they deemed necessary for the vindication of American rights and American honor, never sunk desponding and discouraged under the pressure of defeat. Nearly thirty-one



thousand votes were cast for governor, and Jeremiah Smith, the federal candidate, was chosen by little more than two hundred majority. The council still remained in the hands of the republican party. The federalists carried both branches of the legislature. Upon its meeting, in June, the work of political revolution was prosecuted still further. Moses P. Payson was elected president of the senate, and George B. Upham, speaker of the house. Nathaniel Parker, of Exeter, was chosen secretary of state, in place of Philip Carri-gain, and Thomas W. Thompson, afterwards senator in congress, succeeded Mr. Gilman in the office of treasurer. The federal party was once more in full power in New Hampshire.

But while that party was enjoying the rewards of victory, there were causes already in operation which were destined to secure its defeat. The continued aggressions of England, the perfidy with which she had repudiated an amicable arrangement concluded with one minister, and the insults offered to our government by another, had roused a feeling of patriotism in the country, like that which preceded the revolution. A modification of the non-intercourse policy of the administration had removed, to a great extent, the foundation for the clamors which had been raised against it; and a feeling of indignation against the movements of the British government rallied thousands of its former opponents around our own. If it was assailed with unbridled license on the one hand, it was supported with warm enthusiasm on the other. If an appeal to selfish interests was sometimes, for a moment, successfully used against it, the time

CHAP. was never far distant, when the people, inspired  
 XI. with patriotism and burning to avenge the insults  
 1809. offered to our national honor, rallied again to its  
 support.

1810. The revolution of a single year found the republican party of New Hampshire again in power. In March, 1810, John Langdon was again chosen governor, by more than one thousand majority in an increased vote. The republicans, at the same time, carried every branch of the government. William Plummer, once a member of the federal party, but then become distinguished for his services in the republican cause, was elected president of the senate, and Charles Cutts, of Portsmouth, was chosen speaker of the house, and afterwards elected, during the same year, a member of the United States' senate.

The same party triumphed in the congressional election, in August. Four of the candidates of the republican party were elected. The remaining seat was filled by the election of George Sullivan—a federalist it is true, but still a pure-hearted and patriotic man, whose opposition to the administration in power, never led him to participate in factious attempts to embarrass its measures. He opposed the declaration of war; but when the war was begun, when a foreign enemy threatened our coast and invaded our frontiers, he uniformly gave his vote in support of every measure essential to the public defence. It was his distinguished honor so to conduct at that important crisis, as to excite the approbation of his political opponents, without forfeiting the respect of his political friends.

These elections exerted an important influence upon the country. Had the federal party retained its ascendancy in the state, the election of a senator and members of congress opposed to the administration, would have embarrassed many of its measures, and defeated, very probably, the declaration of war itself.

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Upon the result, therefore, of the elections of 1810, among the hardy and independent yeomanry of New Hampshire, the success of that great measure in a good degree depended—a measure which vindicated our honor, and asserted our rights, by the thunders of our cannon upon the sea and the valor of our soldiers upon the land—a measure which has given to so many of our military and naval commanders a deathless name in history, and secured to our national flag the respect of every nation on the globe.

Party excitement now glowed too fiercely to subside under the influence either of victory or defeat. No sooner had one political campaign been concluded in this state, than another was commenced. Governor Langdon, a man whose spotless character had hitherto preserved him, amid the furnace of party rage, unscathed by its flames, became, in these exciting times, the object of unfounded calumny and unsparing abuse. Benevolent, irreproachable in his morals, and thus far universally respected for his services in the revolution, he was now publicly burned in effigy and loaded with execrations. It was from a partisan feeling, of a kindred character, that a leading journal in New Hampshire, at the same period, declared that “if Thomas Jefferson had a thou-

CHAP. sand lives, he deserved to be hung a thousand  
 XI. different times, as high as Haman."

1811.

The contest between the rival parties had now become a question of peace and war. On one side it was said that the administration was hostile to commerce, unjust to Great Britain, and criminally subservient to France. On the other, it was asserted that the opponents of war, in their zeal against France, seemed to have entirely overlooked the outrages of Great Britain. "They could see," said an able republican writer of the day, "the detention of a few seamen in France, engaged in illicit commerce; but they could not discern the detention of thousands by England. They could see the millions of property seized by France; but to the seizures and captures of England, their eyes were shut. They could see the disavowal, by the English government, of the murderous attack on the Chesapeake; but they could not see the promotion of the admiral who ordered the attack. They could see the treachery of France, in not abiding by her contract to rescind her decrees; but they were blind to the perfidy of England in the arrangement with Erskine."

"Caius  
 Brutus," in  
 N. H.  
 Patriot,  
 1811.

While the federal party imputed the most honorable intentions to Great Britain, and declared that she had done us "no essential injury," the republicans pointed to the impressment of our seamen, the plunder of our commerce, and the insult to our flag, by which the career of that haughty power had long been distinguished. By one party she was pointed to with reverence, as the "bulwark of our holy religion;" by the other, denounced as the ruthless invader of our rights. As war became a

probable event, its opponents arrayed all its frightful consequences before the people—our armies slaughtered—our people famishing—the ashes of our cities stained with blood, and trampled beneath the feet of victorious invaders. On the other hand, it was urged, that, with a righteous cause summoning us to arms, and stout hearts to defend it, we dishonored the fair fame our fathers had won in the conflicts of one war, by shrinking with these craven forebodings from another.

Upon such issues as these, the election of 1811 depended. A spirit of jealous resistance to British aggression still burned among the hardy agriculturists of New Hampshire. The glorious scenes of Bunker's hill and Bennington still dwelt in their remembrance. They dreaded not the foe they once had conquered. The republican party triumphed once more, and triumphed as the party of resistance—resistance unto blood, if necessary—to the arbitrary assumptions of Great Britain.

Governor Langdon, re-elected by a majority of nearly three thousand votes, was again favored by the election of majorities of his political associates to every branch of the government. His message upon the meeting of the legislature, though written in plain style and moderate language, exhibited something of that warmth of feeling which was then universal. He complained that at that "eventful moment," when the "difficulties and perplexities the general government had to contend with would seem to demand the assistance and support of every patriotic citizen," there were so many who seemed ready to oppose and indulge a spirit of resistance against it.

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The legislature adopted a reply, still more spirited in its tone, denouncing that "defiance to our laws and government," "that call to resistance," which it declared to be "the more alarming, as it was manifested at a time when the nation ought unitedly to afford sanction to its laws and energy to its government."

Report  
of de-  
bate, in  
New  
Hamp-  
shire  
Patriot.

This expression of opinion did not pass without opposition. An exciting debate preceded its adoption in the house. Governor Gilman, then a member of that body, threw the weight of his influence against it. "There are men," said that gentleman, "who do not believe that this government—if by government is meant the present and past administrations—is the best that ever existed. Look at the nation. What is its character? It is not respected abroad. It does not stand on that high ground that it did in the time of Washington federalism. We have no navy, except a few gunboats, in dry docks, covered with boards, which are of no use. We are despised by foreign nations."

Mr. John F. Parrott, of Portsmouth, afterwards senator in congress, replied. "In respect to the various administrations, he did not mark the difference in the same light with the gentleman from Exeter. Our nation and flag had never been respected by the British. Great Britain had agreed, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the American government the western posts, and had retained those posts for eleven years. She had insulted our flag, robbed us of our property, and impressed our seamen. These things she did during the administration of Washington; and all would agree

that no blame attached to him. In one instance, *forty men* had been impressed from one ship, during the administration of Adams. He respected Washington, he respected Adams, and he might be allowed to respect Jefferson and Madison. There was one point in which he presumed the house would agree. All would condemn the conduct of France—all would detest her outrages on our rights. But when we come to the injustice of Great Britain, the sensibilities of a party were touched. Do we not find men, who, if they do not always justify, at least palliate all the wrongs of Great Britain? Do we not find men who say she has done us no injury? And is not this a disgrace to our country, whose authors merit the frowns of its every friend? Is it not an encouragement to that nation to persevere in its injustice?"

George B. Upham, David L. Morrill, and Ezeziel Webster, participated in the discussion, and the address was carried in the house by a majority of twenty-six, and passed by a decided vote in the senate.

It appears by a report spread upon the legislative journals of this year, that the drawing of a lottery, formerly granted for the construction of a road in Dixville, in the extreme northern part of the state, had at length been completed. Tickets had been issued to the amount of more than two hundred and forty thousand dollars, exceeding the amount of prizes paid by the large sum of thirty-two thousand one hundred and four dollars. Nearly six thousand dollars of this sum were lost by the failure of venders in Boston; and adding to

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this the expenses and the loss on tickets retained by the lottery, less than fifteen hundred dollars remained, as a net profit, to be applied to the road. From this time, the system of defraying public burthens by lotteries was abandoned by the state, as alike injurious to the people and perplexing to the government. The road was nearly completed, however, by the aid of such funds as had been realized from this unprofitable enterprise.

The failure of three of our banks had at this time created a general excitement; and a considerable portion of our legislative sessions was occupied in an investigation of their affairs. The Hillsborough, Cheshire, and Coos Banks, having issued a much larger amount of bills than their charters warranted, had become embarrassed, and stopped payment very nearly at the same time. The former bank had refused to submit its books for examination. The two latter, having, as was generally supposed, redeemed a large share of their circulation, through the intervention of brokers and at a heavy discount, had still an outstanding circulation of about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The great public loss upon the depreciated paper of these banks, severely as it was felt at the time, has induced a more cautious legislation in relation to this class of institutions.

1811. During this year a law passed changing the compensation of judges of the court of common pleas from an uncertain amount, depending upon fees, to a stated salary; a change which was afterwards so extended as to embrace nearly every important office in the state. By this means it was wisely judged that the temptation to unrea-



sonable exactions would be entirely removed; and that, while the compensation of public officers would be fixed upon a just and permanent basis, the cost of the government would be greatly diminished to the people.

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With the commencement of 1812, terminated a period of peace, which had existed, with little intermission, for nearly twenty-nine years. That period, though marked with frequent fluctuations in our commerce and depressions in our currency, though it found a heavy burthen of debt resting upon the people at its commencement, had witnessed a gradual but constant increase, in this state, in wealth, business, and institutions of learning; in its means of communication, and the number of its inhabitants. Flourishing manufacturing establishments had arisen upon the banks of our principal streams. Academies had been established in places which, at the close of the revolution, had scarcely the means to maintain a respectable common school. More than five hundred miles of turnpike roads had been constructed, at an expense of six hundred thousand dollars. Upon these great thoroughfares, uniting upon the centre of the state, and thence spreading in every direction, and extending to its extremities, the people found a direct communication with every market. A code of laws, simple in their form, and generally adapted to the wants of the people, had grown up with the exigencies of the times. Justice was promptly administered in the courts. The civil and political rights of man were carefully guarded. Wrong sometimes won its way to the attainment of its ends, it is true; but yet crime seldom stalked

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among us unpunished, and honest worth had little to fear from oppression in the laws or corruption in the courts. Such was the general condition of New Hampshire, when, in common with the country at large, it was subjected to the burthens and uncertain chances of war.

The same political discussions were agitated before the election of March, 1812, which had decided that of the previous year. John Langdon having declined a re-election to the office of governor, the republican party presented a new candidate, in the person of William Plummer. He was a member of the bar; and, intimately connected as he then was with the republican party, had, at a period not very remote, been a supporter of the administration of John Adams, and a champion of federal principles. A knowledge of his former sentiments alienated some members of the republican party from his support; and the unpopular points of his profession were eagerly seized upon by his political enemies to excite a popular prejudice against him. A close contest was the result. The federalists once more brought John Taylor Gilman, the most popular man of their party, into the field as a candidate, and he received a small plurality of the votes, though not a majority of the whole number. The republicans, however, carried every other branch of the government, and elected William Plummer in the legislative convention. Strong as the opposition to his election had been, his opinions seem to have had great weight with the legislature. In no less than three instances, during the current year, he deemed it necessary to veto measures which had passed tri-

Jour.  
House,  
June  
Sess.,  
p. 90.  
Do.  
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pp. 47,  
145.

umphantly through both houses. In each instance, upon a consideration of the reasons which induced this course, it was sanctioned by a unanimous vote.

In his message to the legislature, the governor communicated his views upon the subject of corporations :—

“Acts of incorporation of various kinds,” said he, “have within a few years greatly increased in this state ; and many of them, being in the nature of grants, cannot with propriety be revoked without the previous consent of the grantees. Such laws ought, therefore, to be passed with great caution ; many of them should be limited to a certain period, and contain a reservation authorizing the legislature to repeal them, whenever they cease to answer the end for which they were made, or prove injurious to the public interest.”

The message of the governor recapitulated, with much spirit, the wrongs our country had sustained from the aggressions of Great Britain, and urged upon the consideration of the state the importance of a firm and united support of the policy of the general government. In a reply, adopted by a very decided majority, the legislature used the following spirited language :—“Is our independence now assailed?” they asked. “Are our maritime rights denied, our national privileges infringed, our commerce obstructed, and our citizens impressed? And are we called upon to decide the painful alternative, *submission* or *manly defence*? Permit us, sir, to aver for ourselves and the good citizens of New Hampshire, that we are all AMERICANS ; that we will cordially unite in maintaining

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our rights, in supporting the constitutional measures of our government, and in repelling the aggressions of every invading foe.”

Whi-  
ton.

The State Prison at Concord, a large granite building, was this year constructed, at an expense of thirty-seven thousand dollars. It was placed under the immediate supervision of the governor and council, and ranked, at an early period, among the best regulated prisons in the country. An entire revision of the criminal code of the state followed its erection. Those laws which imposed whipping and the pillory upon persons guilty of minor offences—laws always revolting to every sentiment of humanity—were abolished; and of eight capital offences, six were made punishable by imprisonment only. Henceforth, murder and treason alone were deemed crimes of sufficient turpitude to be visited with the severest retribution which human laws can inflict.

Hale's  
U. S.

1812.

Meanwhile, events tending to hasten the declaration of war were in constant progress. The American frigate *President*, while cruising off the coast of Virginia, had been wantonly fired upon by the *Little Belt*, a British sloop of eighteen guns. This outrage, which gives no unfair idea of the general insolence of the British cruisers at that time, met with that prompt and severe retribution it merited. Every effort of our government to obtain a satisfactory arrangement upon the subject of impressments had been unavailing. The British orders in council were still wantonly enforced; and upon the restoration of our commerce with France, large numbers of our vessels, bound with rich cargoes, were seized by Great Britain.

During a period of nine years only, nine hundred American vessels had been captured by her cruisers and condemned in her courts.

At an extra session of congress, summoned by President Madison in November, 1811, laws were passed, authorizing an augmentation of the navy and an increase of the regular army to thirty-five thousand men, and otherwise providing for the public defence.

Congress was employed in preparations for war, until late in the month of May, 1812. Information having been obtained from London, which convinced the American government that they could no longer entertain any reasonable hopes of redress, on the 18th day of June, an act passed declaring war against Great Britain.

When the legislature of New Hampshire assembled, in November, active hostilities had already been commenced. In the meantime, hundreds of her sons had already rallied round the standard of their country, and five companies of her militia, had been detached for service within her own limits. Of these, four were stationed at Portsmouth under the command of Major Bassett, to aid in the defence of that harbor; while the fifth, under the command of Captain Mahurin, was posted at Stewartstown, to protect the frontier from predatory excursions from Canada, and check a contraband trade, there too common, which at once defrauded the revenue of the country and furnished its enemies with supplies.

Governor's  
Message,  
Nov.  
1812.

The operations of the American army, during the campaign of 1812, were attended with little success. The disgraceful surrender of Hull, and

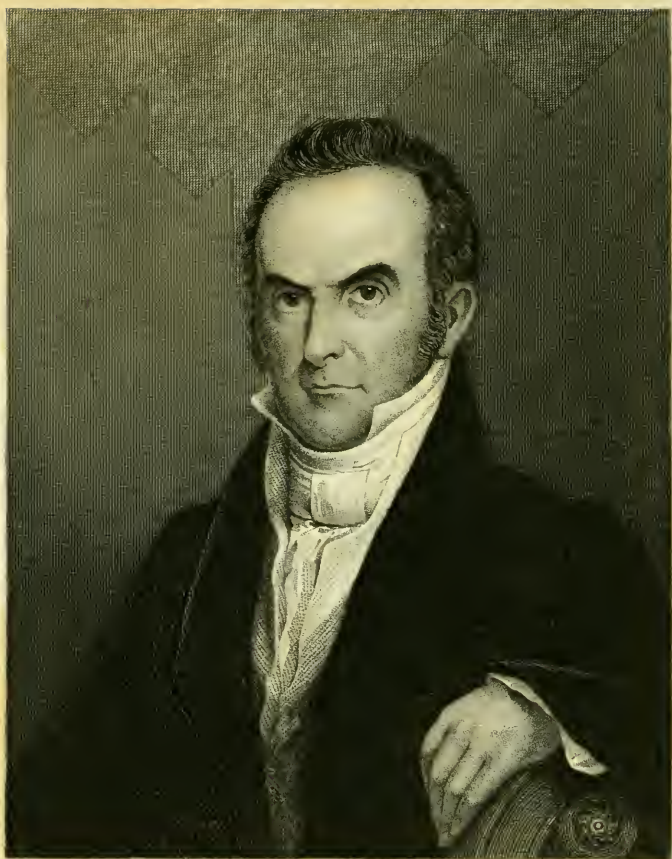
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the failure of our operations upon the Canadian frontier, were sources of mortification to the friends of the war and new objects of attack to its enemies. The exploits of the American navy, however, even at the commencement of the war, softened the disappointment occasioned by our reverses upon land, and taught the vaunted mistress of the ocean, that she was no longer invincible on that element, where her naval heroes had gained her so many laurels.

Papers  
of the  
day.

Upon the eve of the autumn elections of this year, the Hon. John Goddard, one of the candidates of the republican party, suddenly renounced its principles, declared himself to be strongly opposed to the war, and suffered his name to be instantly placed upon the federal electoral ticket. Such an event could not fail to paralyze, to some extent, the movements of that party which he had so suddenly abandoned, and, at the same time, to give new courage to its enemies. After a warm contest, the federal tickets for electors of president and members of congress were elected, by an average majority of not far from fifteen hundred votes. Daniel Webster was one of the congressional delegation at this time chosen; a man who, though then young, soon ranked among the ablest opponents of the administration and the war, and gained that high reputation as a cool, powerful and eloquent debater, which he has maintained, during a service of twenty-five years, in one branch or other of the American congress. Thirty years before this time, he was born by the side of the Merrimac—the son of a farmer. At school and in college he sometimes composed poetry, and displayed in his





*Daniel Webster*



prose compositions a gorgeous fancy; but his first efforts at the bar were marked by a close, vigorous and mature style, which indicated a preponderance of the reasoning powers over the imagination, and determined his character as a powerful logician, kindling but occasionally with the fires of imagination. He rose with a rapid flight—dazzling and astonishing—convincing and conquering. The bar acknowledged him as its head—the rival leaders of his own party made way for him in the race for distinction, and he was ushered forward at once to the first stations of responsibility and honor which they had in their power to bestow. Most of his mature years have been passed in the halls of legislation. He has discussed, either for the purpose of opposition or support, most of the important measures of government; and though his views have often failed to gain the popular support, and the correctness of them has been questioned by the ablest minds in the nation, yet he has left impressed on the memory of man, and stamped upon the records of public affairs, so many of those touches of genius, which, in an age of intelligence, will be preserved from oblivion, that the name of Webster, though he be consigned to the grave, cannot fall into forgetfulness. Amidst all the vicissitudes of human affairs, the traces which genius leaves behind it will survive, and will rise above the conflict of interests and the shock of opinions, to be admired, when time shall have corrected the errors of human belief, and the transitory prejudices of the day shall be forgotten.

The federal party, after a strenuous contest,

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maintained in the spring of 1813 the ascendancy which they had gained at the election of the preceding autumn. John Taylor Gilman, after a retirement of eight years, was again elected governor of New Hampshire by a majority something less than five hundred votes. The federal party gained the control of both branches of the legislature, and upon its meeting in June, elected Thomas W. Thompson speaker of the house and Oliver Peabody president of the senate. The ascendancy thus gained, they succeeded in preserving through the sharp and doubtful contests of the two succeeding years.

Still, these facts show no instability of opinion in the freemen of New Hampshire. True, it favored the declaration of war, and, after it commenced, elected a delegation to congress and a state government opposed to that war. But were its elections, during this period, a fair indication of the views of a majority of its freemen? It should be remembered, that at the very commencement of the conflict, hundreds of the people abandoned their peaceful pursuits, and gave up their right of influencing the result of our elections by their votes, to sustain the cause of their country, in many a hard-fought battle both by land and sea.

The people of New Hampshire contributed no less to the success of the war than they did to its commencement. Its hardy citizens were to be found in every hard-fought field. Its seaboard contributed its weather-beaten seamen to man our navy, and sent whole companies to mingle in the conflict which raged on our frontiers. Recruits swarmed to the seat of war from every part of the

state. Every village furnished its squad. Every scattered settlement among the mountains contributed its man. In some instances whole families came forward at the call of their country; and father and son left their little homestead in the wilderness and marched to the post of danger together. Had these brave men remained quietly by their own firesides, and left to others the noble task of defending their country, far different would have been the result of the elections at home; and far different, too, there is reason to believe, the result of some of those fierce conflicts on the frontier, in which the American flag floated in triumph over bloody fields and vanquished enemies.

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In 1814, Gilman's actual majority was less than six hundred votes, and, in 1815, it sunk to five hundred and fourteen.\* Had the brave New Hampshire men, who battled under Perry in the glorious conflict on lake Erie, and with the equally brave Macdonough on lake Champlain—who marched, fearless, up to the cannon's mouth under the command of Miller and McNeil—the crews of our gallant privateer ships, and our hardy seamen serving in nearly every vessel in the American navy, mustering as they did more than two thousand brave men and stout hearts—been present at these elections, the republican party would have controlled the destinies of the state from the beginning to the end of the war.

At the June session of the legislature of 1813, a nominal change was made in the judiciary system of the state, which resulted in an annihilation of

\* This statement includes a few votes rejected for informality in the returns.

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the offices of the existing judges, and gave to the dominant party an opportunity to appoint their successors upon the bench. The name of the highest court in the state, which had been styled the "superior court of judicature," was by the new law changed to the "supreme judicial court." Arthur Livermore, chief justice of the former court, was retained as an associate justice in the new one. Jeremiah Smith, of Exeter, who had resigned his seat on the bench to accept the office of governor, was again appointed chief justice. The remaining seat was filled by Caleb Ellis of Claremont, a young but distinguished member of the bar.

The republican party strenuously denied the constitutionality of this measure, contending that judges commissioned to hold office "during good behavior," could be removed only by impeachment, or upon an address to the governor by both branches of the legislature. The federalists, on the other hand, insisted, that the legislature had an undoubted right to abolish any office which it had created. The controversy upon this subject produced a very general excitement. Upon the first meeting of the court in Rockingham county, the sheriff took his seat as usual, but refused to obey the orders of the new court; while Richard Evans and Clifton Clagget, the two judges whom the new system had displaced, appeared, and "directed the person whom they called their clerk, to administer the oath to the grand jurors—they, the jurors, no otherwise regarding than with astonishment." In Hillsborough county, the sheriff sent some of his deputies to attend upon the new

Gov.  
Gil-  
man's  
Mes-  
sage,  
October  
session.

court, and escorted, in person, the two former judges to the court-house; so that, deprived of the use of that building, the new court "performed the business of the session in a school-house." Upon this court, however, the members of the bar, as well as parties, jurors and witnesses generally attended.

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House  
Journal,  
p. 45.

In consequence of the confusion resulting from this unsettled state of things, Governor Gilman convened the legislature on the twenty-seventh day of October, several weeks earlier than the day to which it had adjourned. At an early period of this session, Josiah Butler, sheriff of the county of Rockingham, and Benjamin Pierce, sheriff of Hillsborough, were removed by address; the measure having been adopted by a strictly party vote.

The legislature of this year incorporated the Kimball Union Academy, at Plainfield. It had been endowed with a permanent fund of forty thousand dollars, by the munificent bequest of the Honorable Daniel Kimball, and has ever since its establishment remained in a flourishing condition, fully accomplishing the benevolent designs of its founder.

An extensive fire, near the close of the year 1813, added to the embarrassments under which Portsmouth already labored from the destruction of its fisheries and foreign trade. It broke out on the evening of the twenty-second of November, and spreading rapidly in every direction, raged with great violence till three o'clock in the morning. One hundred and eighty dwelling-houses, and sixty-four other buildings, occupying a space of fifteen acres, were entirely destroyed. Prop-

Adams'  
Annals  
of  
Portsmouth,  
p. 355.

CHAP. XI. erty to the amount of nearly three hundred thousand dollars was lost by pillage and the flames. The public, on this occasion, as it had done on a former one, came forward with generous contributions in aid of the sufferers, amounting to more than seventy-seven thousand dollars.

In the meantime, the war had been conducted with various fortune. During the campaign of 1813, Gen. Winchester had been taken, with five hundred American troops, at Frenchtown, and Gen. Wilkinson defeated in an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to Montreal. On the other hand, York, in Upper Canada, had been captured by General Brown; the British repulsed with great loss in their attempts on Sackett's Harbor and Craney Island; Proctor routed, and Tecumseh killed on the Thames, and the American standard once more planted upon the ramparts of Detroit. During this year, also, on the 10th of September, the illustrious Perry achieved his victory over the British squadron on lake Erie, and gained an undisputed possession of its waters.

1814. The events of 1814 shed still greater lustre upon the American arms. On the 5th of July, the American troops, under the command of Gen. Brown, attacked a strong British force, commanded by General Riall and stationed at Chippewa. The two armies met in the open field, and after a long and bloody conflict, in which at some periods the troops fought man to man, contesting every foot of ground with the bayonet, the Americans were victorious, and the enemy were driven behind their intrenchments, with a loss of five hundred men. In the battle of Chippewa the

British and Indians fought with the courage of desperation. They were formed in order of battle on the banks of the Niagara, their left resting on the river, their right on a wood. The American position was the reverse of this. Their right rested on the river, their left on the wood. Early in the morning the light horse of the enemy were seen hovering round, and scouting parties appeared in the distance. The battle commenced by the firing of small arms. This increased, and the artillery began to play with effect, until at length the forces on both sides were closely engaged. A dense cloud of smoke now hung between the two armies. Suddenly the British fire slackened, and the Americans immediately ceased their fire. As the veil of smoke slowly rose from before them, a trampling was heard, and as the Americans bent forward to look under the smoke, the feet of the British soldiers could be distinctly seen advancing. It was apparent that they were charging. But as their left was closing to charge the American right, the terrible fire which the Americans were enabled to pour upon their flank threw them into disorder and drove them from the field. They retreated, and were closely pursued to Chippewa creek, which they crossed, taking up the bridge after them.

In this battle, General John McNeil, then a major, was second officer of the eleventh regiment; but before it had taken its place in the line he had succeeded to the command by the fall of Colonel Campbell. He was attached to the forlorn hope,\*

\* Scott's brigade, composed of Leavensworth's, Jessup's, and Campbell's regiments, the 9th, 11th, and 25th.

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Gen.  
Jes-  
sup's  
letter,  
MS.  
Wil-  
kin-  
son's  
Me-  
moirs.

a single brigade, which was obliged to pass the bridge over Street's creek under the fire of a British battery. General McNeil was observed to wield his force at this point with the greatest coolness and self-possession. Under the galling fire which poured death amidst his ranks, his line was formed with the accuracy of parade; and the loud word of command which he gave, rising above the din of battle, and going forth so distinctly as to be heard by those far beyond his command, inspired resolution in all, and seemed to declare, in its deep tones, that the field of deadly combat arouses the energies of mind and body to a level with the dangers and appalling difficulties of the occasion. For his distinguished and gallant conduct in this battle he was breveted a lieutenant-colonel.\*

From the field of Chippewa the American army passed down the Niagara, and took a position opposite the cataract.

Soon after this event, General Riall abandoned his defences and retired to the heights of Burlington. Here General Drummond joined him with a large reinforcement, and assuming the command, the combined troops again advanced towards the American camp. On the twenty-fifth, was fought the battle of Niagara,† which, commencing a little before sunset, continued till midnight. This battle was fought hard by the cataract of Niagara, whose thunders were heard at intervals amid the roar of cannon and the clash of arms; the moon

\* Report of a committee of the senate, made Jan. 20, 1841. See Congressional Journals for 1841.

† Sometimes called the battle of Bridgwater or Lundy's Lane.



ever and anon shining brightly upon the combatants, and then, obscured by clouds and smoke, leaving them to pursue the work of death in darkness.

It was in the dusk of the evening, while the gallant brigade of Scott was sustaining nearly the whole force of the enemy's attack, and waiting while General Ripley marched three miles to their assistance, that they were cut to pieces, and nearly all the officers killed or wounded. At this critical juncture McNeil rode forward to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He had but just returned, and was cheering his men on to the fight, when he received a shot\* in his knee from a carronade. He, however, clung to his horse and his command, urging his men on to the conflict. He remained on the field until he became weak from the loss of blood, which some of the men observing, offered to assist him to withdraw; which he rejected, and remained clinging to the mane of his horse, until he several times fainted, and finally was reluctantly compelled to be led from the field.

The British artillery, posted on a commanding height, had annoyed our troops during the earlier part of the battle. "Can you storm that battery?" said General Ripley to Miller. "I'll try, sir," replied the warrior; then turned to his men, and, in a deep tone, issued a few brief words of command. "*Twenty-first*, attention! Form into column. You will advance up the hill to the storm of the battery. At the word, '*Halt*,' you will deliver your fire at the port-light of the artil-

\* Report of a committee of the senate, Jan. 20, 1841. Congressional Journals, 1841. Wilkinson's Memoirs. Jessup's letter, Ms.

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De-  
scrip-  
tion in  
N. Y.  
Ameri-  
can,  
1841.

lerymen, and immediately carry their guns at the point of the bayonet. Support arms—forward—march!” Machinery could not have moved with more compactness than that gallant regiment. Followed by the *twenty-third*, the dark mass moved up the hill like one body—the lurid light flickering on their bayonets, as the combined fire of the enemy’s artillery and infantry opened murderously upon them. They flinched not—faltered not. The stern, deep voice of the officers, as the deadly cannon-shot cut yawning chasms through them, alone was heard—“Close up—steady, men—steady.” Within a hundred yards of the summit, the loud “*Halt*” was followed by a volley, sharp and instantaneous as a clap of thunder. Another moment, rushing under the white smoke, a short, furious struggle with the bayonet, and the battle was won. The enemy’s line was driven down the hill, and their own cannon mowed them down by platoons. This brilliant success decided the fate of the conflict, and the American flag waved in triumph on that hill, scorched and blackened as it was by the flame of artillery, purpled with human gore and encumbered by the bodies of the slain.

The contest now shifted to fort Erie, where, in an unsuccessful assault and a brave sortie of the American troops, the British commander lost nearly two thousand men. In these fierce conflicts the New Hampshire troops were present in large numbers and gained imperishable honor. While McNeil and Miller gained, as they deserved, unfading laurels in these battles, scarcely less honor

was due to Weeks,\* who, like them, was a son of New Hampshire. The services of these three men present a bright page in the history of the war, and give them solid claims to the lasting gratitude of their country.

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During this season the British gained possession of Washington city, burning the capital and destroying public property to an immense amount. The mortification occasioned by this calamitous event, however, was more than removed by the gallant reception which our brave troops gave the enemy at Baltimore and Plattsburg, by the victory of Macdonough on lake Champlain, and the chivalrous exploits of Porter on the ocean.

Late in the summer, a powerful British naval force entered Penobscot Bay, and gained possession, with scarcely a show of opposition, of several towns upon its borders. The dangerous proximity of this force created no little apprehension for the fate of our own seaboard. The governor of this state, therefore, partly on his own authority, and partly in obedience to directions received from the general government, detached large bodies of militia from the several divisions in this state to Portsmouth, to assist in the public defence. So great was the number of volunteers, that compulsory service was rendered almost entirely unnecessary. "Whole companies, from various parts of the state," volunteered their services and marched to the seat of danger together. The enemy, however, finding our harbor too well defended, prudently declined venturing upon an attack.

Governor's  
Mes-  
sage,  
June,  
1815

The embarrassments and privations naturally

\* General John W. Weeks, of Lancaster.

CHAP. attendant upon the war, had stimulated its oppo-  
XI. nents to an opposition, of a character so violent  
as hardly to admit of palliation, and much less  
of defence. They urged that the administration  
had employed all its resources upon idle schemes  
of conquest, and left the New England seaboard  
almost entirely destitute of the means of defence,  
thereby forfeiting all claim to the confidence of its  
citizens. Many even went to the bold length of  
maintaining that the militia of the eastern states  
and the revenue accruing in their ports, should be  
retained, in defiance of the general government, to  
provide for their separate defence. A separate  
peace with the enemy and a separate union of the  
1814. northern states, were general and public subjects  
of discussion; and this, too, in the midst of the  
war, when the ashes of our frontier towns, the  
ruins of our capitol, and the butchery of our  
soldiers under Winchester, after their surrender,  
demanded an exertion of the united resources of  
the whole country to visit a proper retribution  
upon the enemy. At this time, in the midst of  
such exciting discussions as I have mentioned,  
a convention of delegates, chosen by the federal  
legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and  
Connecticut, assembled in secret conclave at  
Dec. 15. Hartford. Mills Olcott and Benjamin West ap-  
peared in that body from New Hampshire, not  
like their associates, as the accredited agents of a  
state, but in the less imposing capacity of dele-  
gates, chosen by informal meetings of their party  
in the counties of Grafton and Cheshire. Gover-  
nor Gilman was desirous of summoning a special  
session of the legislature, for the purpose of secur-

ing a more formal representation; but a majority of the council, belonging to the republican party, disapproved of and defeated the design. The origin of this convention—the fierce declamations of those who favored it, against the government—the seditious tone of many of the federal presses at the time of its meeting, and the secrecy which attended its deliberations, have thrown a suspicion upon its character, which time seems unlikely to remove.

For years after the convention, annually, on its return, the public journals continued to notice its anniversary, and to describe it as a day of dark design and conspiracy against republican institutions, and to proclaim that, on Thursday, Dec. 15, 1814, a convention was holden at Hartford to organize resistance to the government—to dissolve the Union—to array different sections of the Union in hostile arms against each other—and to place the New England states finally under the protection of the kingdom with which we were then at war. The names of all the members were printed in staring capitals, and held up to public execration—so that whoever should dare to meditate disunion and the destruction of the constitution—whoever should act publicly and openly with a foreign enemy against his own native land—whoever should meditate treason against the government, against the people, and against liberty, might be constantly reminded of the Hartford convention, and the fate of the politicians by whom the convention was advocated and countenanced. The voice of a large majority of the people soon condemned its motives, and a general

CHAP. unpopularity and odium have, in most parts of the  
 XI. country, rested upon the names and memory of the  
 ~~~~~ members.

Brad-
ford's
Hist.
Mass.
p. 408.

Brad-
ford,
p. 409.

Brad-
ford,
p. 408.

On the other hand, in some parts of the country, particularly in Massachusetts, the state which originated and recommended the convention, it has been defended warmly, and its advocates and even its members continued in public favor, and raised to high offices. They have contended that the design of the convention was not fully understood, or not candidly and fairly represented—that it was composed of men who deemed the war not a war for defence, but for the conquest of Canada—that the people of Massachusetts and other states on the coast had suffered extremely from the war, and that the Hartford convention assembled to devise means of protection and relief—that it never plotted treason, nor conspired against liberty, nor contrived a dissolution of the Union. Such are the apologies for the Hartford convention. They have been repeated and urged by the ablest advocates. But the people seldom fail to render a righteous verdict, when the means of judging are fully before them. The Hartford convention has been condemned by a large portion of the people throughout the United States. It was composed, without exception, of members of that party who took their name originally as defenders of the constitution, but were violent opponents of the war.

They maintained that it was in vain to contend against so powerful a nation as Great Britain—

that she never would yield what we fought for—that the Americans were weak—destitute of resources—that they could not raise an army—and, if one were raised, that it could not subsist. They appeared at the recruiting stations and about the military encampments of volunteers, and endeavored to dissuade the men from enlisting. When other means failed, they purchased demands against soldiers, and brought suits and thrust them into jail. This was done at Concord and Haverhill, and many other places. They denounced the war as “unjust,” “unnatural,” “abominable,” and “wicked.” They were, in some cases, detected in a treacherous intercourse with the enemy; as also were some professed advocates for the war. They addressed the people in public meetings, and told them that Britain was clement and merciful—“the protector of the Protestant religion”—“the bulwark of the faith we profess.” In some instances they openly rejoiced in the defeat of American arms, and justified or palliated the brutalities of the British soldiery. To deter the people from the contest, they arrayed before them the vast expenses of the war, and brought it home to each locality and every citizen, by an exact computation of the cost to each town and to every individual.

Their policy seemed to be to oppose everything calculated to give energy to the war, or to lead to the negotiation of an honorable peace. By an organized opposition they dissuaded capitalists from loaning money to the government, and sowed distrust everywhere.

If the war with England was “unnatural,”

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the conduct of the federalists was still more so. American patriots were filled with sorrow, and foreign nations were struck with astonishment, to see "the Yankee states," covered with the glories of revolutionary valor, yet now seemingly ready to kneel to a nation whom they had once vanquished, and sacrifice on the altar of avarice the honors of Bunker hill and Lexington, and all the fame of that revolution which had rendered them illustrious throughout the world.

The momentary shock which the war gave to the people at its commencement—the burdens of taxation and the terrors it occasioned, had given the federal party in many states a sudden ascendancy. But deep reflection awoke the people to see the necessity and duty of sustaining the government, and so rapid was the republican gain everywhere that it promised to consign the opponents of the war, in every state, to inevitable defeat. The tillers and owners of the soil rallied fast to its defence. Many of the federalists began to look back and to see with regret the folly and madness of their course. They saw that they had aided the enemy; for a mere refusal to carry on the war, after it is begun, tends inevitably to that result. When the question of war is pending, and the contest is not yet resolved upon, an honest opposition to it is but freedom of opinion and action, and it is the right of every freeman. But when the war is actually begun, every act of opposition to it is an act of treachery to the government and the country; for it aids indirectly the country's invaders.

Such was the view which the federalists had be-

gun to take of the subject, when, on the 8th of January, 1815, occurred the battle of New Orleans, resulting in a victory to American arms, which will be remembered so long as the Mississippi bears the tribute of its waters to the ocean. General Packenham led the attack, at the head of an army of veteran troops, inspiring them with the promise of "beauty and booty," and anticipating an easy triumph. The American lines, drawn up at no great distance from the city, were slightly protected by embankments of earth and piles of cotton-bags, thrown up for the occasion. General Jackson, the American commander, with a force inferior in numbers and composed in part of militia, calmly awaited the event. No sooner had the enemy, marching in solid columns, approached within a few rods, and attempted to deploy into line, than one continuous sheet of fire, pouring from every part of the American works, arrested their movements and drove their shattered ranks, confused and panic-stricken, from the field. Again the bold attempt was made, in the face of the same destructive fire, and with the same fatal results to the enemy. General Packenham fell, together with two distinguished officers who successively assumed the command. When, at length, the invaders hurried defeated to their ships, from a conflict in which the Americans had lost scarcely a dozen men, they left two thousand of their best troops, either killed or desperately wounded, on that field, which they had entered with so many bright visions of unbounded triumphs, unrestrained riot, and profitable plunder.

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Eaton's
Life of
Jack-
son.

The news of this brilliant victory was soon suc-

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ceded by the intelligence of an honorable peace, concluded between this country and Great Britain. It was everywhere received with joy, and spread through the country with the speed of the wind. The great body of our troops, disbanded at once, returned to their quiet homes, to exchange the fatigues and dangers of the war, for the peaceful employments they had abandoned at its commencement. Our merchant ships, spreading their white sails to the breeze, again rode securely upon the ocean, and bore unmolested, to every port on the globe, our flag, now rendered respectable in the eyes of all nations by the splendor of those naval conflicts over which it had so often floated in triumph.

Thus the war closed—leaving to the republican party the cheering conviction that they had fought well, and to the federalists the mortifying reflection that their ill-timed opposition to the government had materially assisted the enemies of their country. In some parts of the country the war had received the most enthusiastic support. Many a father, fired with more than Spartan patriotism, viewed the fall of a son as scarcely a calamity; and, forgetting his grief in his patriotism, deemed it no sacrifice, so that he fell for his country. “When we connect our naval deeds,” said an orator in congress, “with the other events of the war, who will say this has been an inglorious war?—An inglorious war! Insult not the gallant men who have fought and bled in your battles, and yet live with high claims to your applause. Tread not so rudely on the ashes of the heroic dead. Could the soul of Lawrence speak from

Speech
of
Lang-
don
Chee-
ves.

the cerements which confine his mouldering body, in what appalling language would he rebuke the man who should assert that the contest in which he so nobly died was an inglorious war? * Will you tell that worthy man † who fills, with so much fidelity and usefulness, a station in your service on this floor, that this is an inglorious war? He has beheld one son triumph ‡ over his country's foe, and live to hear and receive the applause and gratitude of his country. He has seen another § fall in the arms of victory, heroically aiding in an achievement which, if it be not unparalleled, is certainly not exceeded in the annals of history. Happy father!—yet I would call him a miserable and hopeless man, were this an inglorious war. But I must call him a happy father, for God and nature have implanted in our bosom a principle which elevates us above the love of life and friends, and makes us think their loss a blessing, when they are yielded up in the cause of a beloved country, on the altar and in the spirit of patriotism. It is this principle which makes that excellent father reflect, not merely with composure, but with pleasure, on the child of his love giving up his life in battle—his blood mingling with the wave, and his body entombed in the bosom of Erie. Yes, he would rather feel the consciousness that his gallant boy fought with Perry, and died in the glorious battle of the tenth of September, than

* Capt. Lawrence, commander of the Chesapeake, who fell in action with the Shannon, near Boston harbor.

† Mr. Claxton one of the officers of the house.

‡ Lieutenant Claxton, who was on board the Wasp when she captured the Frolic.

§ Midshipman Claxton, killed in the battle on lake Erie.

CHAP. now embrace him in his arms—again animated
XI. with the strong pulse of life—again pouring into the parental bosom his filial duty, and lighting up a father's pride and joy."

Upon the meeting of the legislature in June, Governor Gilman, still hostile to that policy which originated the war, after congratulating the people upon the return of peace, introduced the following language in his message: "The calamities of war," he said, "have been severely felt; the loss of the lives of multitudes of our countrymen; the expense of treasure; depreciation of national credit, a large debt and multiplied taxes. What have we gained?"

On the other hand, at an early period of the session, Mr. John F. Parrott, of Portsmouth, introduced a series of spirited resolutions in the house, eulogizing the various military and naval commanders who had distinguished themselves during the war.

Mr. Phineas Handerson warmly opposed the adoption of the resolutions, and moved their commitment. "He should never approve," he said, "of the preamble and resolutions as they were. They carried on their face approbation of the late unnecessary and foolish war. They would say to the world, what a majority of the house would never concede, that the war was a politic and just measure, and that it was wisely and prudently managed. What have we acquired by the war? What have we gained by the treaty of peace? We have gained nothing." * * * He was willing to compliment the men who had fought, but he was unwilling to acknowledge that the country had gained anything by their fighting.

Mr. Parrott opposed the commitment. “Gentlemen,” he said, “who wish for commitment, say the language is too strong; admitting, however, at the same time, that the officers and men in the army and navy have deserved the highest commendations of their countrymen! What do gentlemen wish? Will they ‘damn with faint praise,’ in the fear of committing themselves in favor of the war? Will they deny that these men have done much—nay, everything for their country? Will they deny that the victories of 1814, on lake Champlain, at Plattsburg, at Bridgewater and Chippewa, have been the salvation of the nation? Will they deny that ‘veteran skill has yielded to the rugged powers of intrepid freemen?’ Will they deny that these brave men have given to the Americans ‘a name and a praise among the nations?’”

After an extended debate, the resolutions were committed by a majority of six votes only. They were, however, reported and adopted in a new form, so modified as better to suit the taste of the majority, and yet convey a high compliment to the brave men who had participated in the hardships, dangers and triumphs of the war. They declared that “the legislature, in common with their fellow-citizens, duly appreciated the important services rendered to their country, upon the ocean, upon the lakes, and upon the land, by officers, seamen and soldiers of the United States, in many brilliant achievements and decisive victories, which will go down to posterity as an indubitable memorial that the sons of those fathers who fought the battles of the revolution, have imbibed from the

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1815.

Journal of
House,
June,
1815,
p. 158.

CHAP. XI. same fountain that exalted and unconquerable spirit which insures victory, while it stimulates the exercise of humanity and courtesy to the vanquished."

1816. Governor Gilman having declined the support of his friends for a re-election, and taken a final leave of public life, the federal party, upon the approach of the spring election of 1816, presented James Sheafe, of Portsmouth, as a candidate for the office of governor. He was a man of extensive property and respectable abilities, and had already been elevated, by the favor of his party, to a seat in the United States senate. The republicans still adhered to William Plummer, who had received their zealous but unsuccessful support throughout the whole period of the war. The contest was waged with great violence, and resulted in the election of the republican candidate for governor, by a very decisive majority. The republicans at the same time gained an entire ascendancy in the state; an ascendancy which the federalists, in that name, were destined never to regain.

Upon the meeting of the legislature, William Badger was elected president of the senate, and David L. Morrill speaker of the house. In his message, Governor Plummer recommended legislative action in the affairs of Dartmouth college, a repeal of the judiciary law of 1813, and a general reduction in the expenses of the state.

1816. "Our public offices were made," said the governor, "not for the emolument of the officer, but to promote the public interest; and by the constitution *frugality* is considered as indispensably

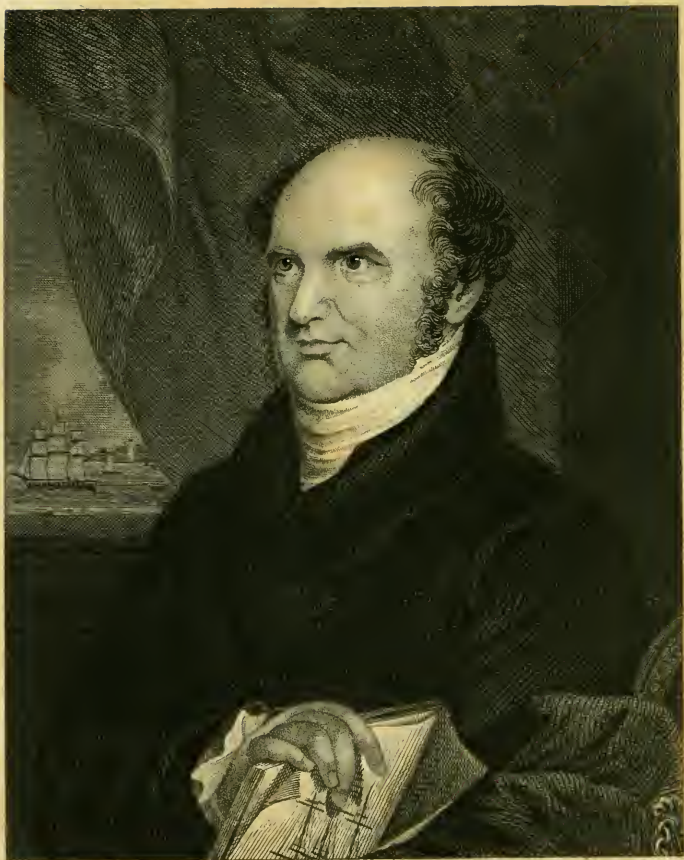
necessary, and *economy an essential virtue to the state.* The great mass of our citizens are agriculturalists and mechanics, and live on the products of manual labor; and from this class of people is collected the principal portion of taxes paid into the public treasury. Under such a government and from such a people, justice and sound policy equally require that the salaries of their public officers should be moderate, not exceeding an adequate compensation for the actual services they perform." * * "Whenever the salaries in a republic are raised so high as to excite the spirit of avarice, and induce men to seek office from sordid motives, it has a direct tendency to extinguish public spirit, and to destroy the laudable ambition of holding office for the noble purpose of promoting the public good. It tends to multiply the number of office-seekers, increase intrigue and corruption, produce extravagance and luxury in the officers; and their influence insensibly leads others to imitate their pernicious example. It was the observation of a man, not less eminent for his talents as a statesman than his knowledge as a historian, *that high salaries are evidences of the decline of republicanism in a state.*"

The law of the federal legislature of 1813, establishing the supreme judicial court, was promptly repealed, and the former superior court of judicature was again revived. The judges who owed their places to the party innovations of the period referred to, were sent into retirement. William Merchant Richardson, of Chester, was appointed chief justice, and Samuel Bell and Levi Woodbury were associated with him on the bench—

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three gentlemen of talents and high legal attainments, of whom the former retained his responsible station till his death, a period of twenty-two years, while the others resigned only to accept of still higher honors.

Mr. Woodbury was at this time but twenty-six years of age; but he had distinguished himself in college as a scholar, and was already a leading member of the bar. He was also still more distinguished as an ardent and powerful advocate for the war of 1812, and a firm supporter of the government. So responsible an office conferred upon one so young, drew general attention to the manner in which his duties were discharged. But his reach of thought, his research, and ready apprehension, seemed to supply the place of experience, and rendered his services on the bench of the highest value, and his legal opinions of undoubted authority. Seven years from this time he was elected governor of the state, and afterwards passed into the senate of the United States, and finally he became successively secretary of the navy and of the treasury. But whether on the bench or at the bar—in the senate or the cabinet—he has displayed that integrity, diligence, and weight of talent, by which not a few of the young men of America have risen from obscurity to distinction, and won immortal honors for themselves and their country. Untiring effort and judicious method—the great secret of success—both in his private studies and official duties, have enabled him to rise step by step to all the high stations of honor and public trust which he has been called upon to fill. During the intervals between the



Levi Woodbury

Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury

sessions of congress he has continued to practise at the bar, and has moved, not without honor to himself, amidst that bright constellation of lawyers for which New Hampshire was at this period celebrated throughout the United States. Webster, unanswerable in argument—Mason, Smith, Bell and Fletcher, all famous for legal acuteness—Sullivan, unequalled in the music of his voice and the charms of his persuasive address—Bartlett, master of all the graces of action, speech and thought, yet strong in argument—these were the associates and competitors of Mr. Woodbury. Disciplined in such a school, he became strong amongst the strong men by whom he was surrounded; and by his characteristic industry, zeal and habits of systematic arrangement, made himself felt as a man of distinguished ability at the bar, and in all the various and high public stations which he occupied.

Benjamin Peirce, who had been removed from office, for his sturdy refusal to recognise the new court, only to be elected four years in succession to the council, was ultimately again appointed sheriff of Hillsborough county.

The enormous abuses of the power of creditor over debtor were exciting the attention of the people, and calling forth execrations from the philanthropic and liberal everywhere. In some instances, the father of a poor family was for years immured in a dungeon for the amount of the prison charges, and his family, meanwhile, were reduced to pauperism and beggary. No age, no condition, was exempt. The poor and decayed veteran, whose best years had been spent in the

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service of his country, was often confined with felons, and year rolled on after year, leaving him in hopeless confinement. In Amherst jail were three aged prisoners, one of whom had groaned in confinement almost four years. A way was now open for their deliverance. General Benjamin Peirce had been appointed sheriff of the county by Governor Plummer. In his character were united the generosity of the soldier with the liberal sentiments of enlightened philanthropy. He had fought for liberty and had enjoyed it. He was a man who lived not for himself alone; and he could not endure that three old men, for no crime but honest poverty, (which, though not a crime, was punished as such,) should be shut out from the air, and close their days in a dungeon. When he found every other means for their release ineffectual, he at once resolved to pay their debts himself. He gave them notice to this effect, and appointed the day for their deliverance. The inhabitants thought the occasion worthy of public demonstrations, and assembled to witness the release. On liberating the prisoners the veteran general thus addressed them:—

“Moses Brewer, Isaac Lawrence, and George Lancy. By the return made me by Israel W. Kelly, Esq., my predecessor in the office of sheriff for the county of Hillsborough, it appears that you, Moses Brewer, was committed Dec. 13, 1814; and you, Isaac Lawrence, was committed Dec. 27, 1815; and you, George Lancy, July 2, 1817.

“My unfortunate fellow-citizens: the feelings excited by a view of your situation, are inexpressible. That those heads, silvered by age and hard-

ship, and those hearts, throbbing with kindly emotions, should be held for this long period of time, by their fellow-citizens, without the imputation of a crime, in a captivity unparalleled even in the annals of the French Bastile, or Algerine slavery, always viewed by us with sentiments of inexpressible horror, is more than my nature is able to endure. To be immersed in a dungeon, standing on the very soil of liberty and in the midst of men boasting its high privileges, is in my mind, with which the ideas and the value of freedom are closely interwoven, infinitely worse than to be enslaved in a foreign land, by enemies and barbarians, from whom nothing better could be expected. But, as an officer of the county, I have a duty to perform. I must either be governed by the law, and suffer you still to remain, the devoted victims of unavoidable misfortune and honest poverty, shut out from the genial light of heaven and the vital air, God's equal gift to all; to endure, perhaps perish under, the privations incident to your situation and the stern ravages of approaching winter; forlorn and destitute, with no friend to comfort, no society to cheer, no companion to console you—or, I must be directed by the powerful impulse of humanity; pay the debt myself, and bid you leave this dreary and gloomy abode.

“ My unfortunate fellow-citizens;—my duty to myself will not suffer longer to remain here an old companion in arms, who fought for the liberty of which he is deprived, for no crime but that of being poor. My duty to my country, whose honor is deeply implicated by your sufferings—and it is one of my first wishes it should be untar-

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nished—and my duty to my God, who has put it into my power to relieve, irresistibly urge me to the latter course. This, I am sensible, takes from me a large sum of money, however the liberal and generous people, among whom it is my happy lot to reside, may participate; if not, none but my children will have any right to reproach me; and I am confident they will do no more than say their father was generous to a fault. In this view, go; receive the uncontaminated air, which is diffused abroad for the comfort of man; go to your families and friends, if you have any. Be correct in your habits. Be industrious—and if your tottering and emaciated frames are so far exhausted as to prevent your getting a comfortable support, apply to the good people for relief—and may the best of heaven's blessings accompany you the remainder of your days.”

This liberation took place on the 20th of November, the more grateful to the prisoners that it happened at the coming on of winter.

Sixty-one years before this time General Peirce was born at Chelmsford in Massachusetts, and was the son of a farmer. On the memorable nineteenth of April, 1775, while he was ploughing in the field, a horseman rode up to the door, and having delivered a brief message, hastened onward to alarm the country. It was the news of the battle of Lexington which the stranger was commissioned to proclaim. Leaving the plough, Peirce immediately set out on foot for Lexington. He found, on his arrival, that the British troops had fallen back upon Boston, and he proceeded to Cambridge. It was here that young Peirce, then





Benjamin Perce

but eighteen years of age, enlisted as a private in the army of the revolution, and attached himself to the regiment of Colonel Brooks. He was in the midst of the battle of Bunker's hill; and from that time to the close of the revolution, he followed the fortune of his regiment, fought whenever it was called into action, and was invariably distinguished and commended, by his superior officers, for his gallantry and good conduct. He rose from the ranks to the command of a company, which he held at the disbanding of the army, in 1794. He returned to his native village and found that his nine years' pay, in continental money, had so much depreciated that it would not suffice for the purchase of a farm. He was, therefore, obliged to go into the wilderness, where lands were cheap, and begin the cultivation of wild land. Here he made a clearing and erected a rude habitation, felling the trees with his axe, and procuring food for sustenance with his gun. In the autumn of 1786, President Sullivan, having resolved to form the militia of the county of Hillsborough into a brigade, sought out the veteran soldier, then far in the woods, and commissioned him as a brigade major. He immediately took the necessary steps for the perfect organization and discipline of the several regiments. He had already served more than eight years in the regular army, and he continued to serve in Massachusetts and New Hampshire for twenty-one years in the militia; leaving it finally in the capacity of brigadier general. The regiment which furnished a Miller and a McNeil was for many years commanded by him; and many other valuable officers, who have distin-

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Jacob
B.
Moore's
Life of
Peirce,
in the
Biogra-
phical
Annual,
p. 92.

Moore's
Life of
Peirce,
in the
Biogra-
phical
Annual,
p. 95.

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guished themselves in the public service, have been proud to say that they received the first lessons of military discipline from the veteran General Peirce, in the militia of Hillsborough.

It was from principle that General Peirce was attached to the institution of a citizen soldiery. He distrusted standing armies, and regarded the militia as the right arm of the nation's defence, and not liable to become an instrument in the hands of executive power to overawe the people and destroy liberty.

From 1789 to 1802, he was a representative to the general court, and in 1803 was first elected to the council, where he continued six years; five of which were passed in the council of Governor Langdon. It was not till 1827, that he was elected governor of the state; and was re-elected in 1829, having been omitted one year on account of his opposition to John Quincy Adams. At the commencement of the last war with Great Britain, his spirit entered into the contest; but the infirmities of age admonished him that he could hasten no more to the battle-field. Two of his sons, with his consent and advice, entered the public service. Endowed by nature with a strong mind, Governor Peirce had overcome the obstacles springing from a want of education, and by practice and perseverance had acquired a knowledge of business and a skill in the conduct of public affairs. It was not from his high public station that he obtained a commanding influence, but from his integrity of character, his benevolence, hospitality, and love of justice. Cheerful in his disposition, and delighting to contribute to the happiness of all

around him, youthful vivacity found in him a congenial spirit, while sedate manhood and sober age discovered in his conduct nothing to reproach. When he was removed by death, the public felt the loss of a man who had sincerely loved and faithfully served his fellow-men and his country.

Clifton Claggett, one of the proscribed judges, and Josiah Butler, one of the refractory sheriffs of 1813, were nominated by the republican party for seats in the ensuing congress. If Evans, the fourth and not the least deserving of those individuals, whom, in an evil hour, party violence had attempted to degrade in the public estimation, received in this new state of things, no distinguished marks of public favor, it was because, under the influence of a hopeless disease, engendered by the laborious application of a studious life, he was fast going down to an untimely grave.

The feasibility of a canal, connecting the waters of the Merrimac and Connecticut rivers, had long been a matter of discussion. It had been supposed that such a work, starting at the Merrimac, at the junction of the Contoocook, might be extended to the waters of lake Sunnapee, and thence along the valley of Sugar river, to the Connecticut. During the year 1816, a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, with which the Honorable Henry B. Chase, of Warner, was associated by our own, made a thorough survey of the contemplated route. The lake was found to be elevated more than eight hundred feet above the level of the two rivers whose waters it had been proposed to connect, and the enterprise was abandoned as wholly impracticable, excepting by such

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Biographical
Annual,
1841,
p. 99.

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XI. pay.

During the year, David L. Morrill and Clement Storer were elected to the United States senate, in place of Jeremiah Mason and Thomas W. Thompson ; six republicans were elected to the lower branch of congress, and the electoral vote of the state was given to James Monroe.

This year was marked by an unusual prevalence of cold weather during the summer and autumn, and has ever since continued to be referred to as the *cold season*. Snow fell in the southern part of the state on the 9th of June. August was the only month of the year entirely exempt from frost. A scanty harvest and a general scarcity of bread, the natural results of a season of such unusual rigors, gave a new impulse to western emigration. Hundreds of farmers, discouraged by the scanty reward of their toil at this unfortunate period, gave up their farms, and sought, in the fertile wilds of a distant land, for that bright sunshine of prosperity, which, in most cases, would have smiled far more surely upon them on their own native hills.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTROVERSY with Dartmouth College—Message of Governor Plummer—The state assumes jurisdiction—The trustees refuse to submit to the law—they are summoned to meet at Hanover—A quorum do not obey the summons—they declare the law unconstitutional—Second message of Governor Plummer—Wheelock reappointed president—Charges against the professors—their address to the public—Death of President Wheelock—Trial of the Dartmouth college case—Arguments of counsel—Opinion of Chief Justice Richardson—overruled by the supreme court of the U. S.—President Monroe—The toleration act—Toleration in Connecticut—Bill of rights—Act of 1791—Vexatious lawsuits brought against dissenters—Toleration in Maryland and Vermont, Pennsylvania and Maine—Speech of Dr. Whipple—Bill of rights—Speech of Dr. Whipple—Speech of Henry Hubbard—Dr. Whipple in reply to Mr. Parker—Speech of Ichabod Bartlett—The toleration act is assailed—it passes—is again assailed violently—finally becomes popular—The Methodists—The Baptists—The Universalists—Scenery of New Hampshire—Ascent up Moosehillock mountain—Owl's Head—Scenes in the valley of the Connecticut—View from Moosehillock—from Catamount hill—from Haverhill corner—from mount Pulaski—Appearance of an American forest in Autumn—Route to the White Hills from Haverhill through Bethlehem and Franconia—from Lancaster—The Notch—Valley of the Saco—Scenery about Indian Stream and the country near the Magalloway—Dixville Notch.

THE trustees of Dartmouth college, (so called from the name of its founder and patron, the Earl of Dartmouth,) had for a considerable time pursued a course calculated to render them unpopular with a majority of the people. Possessing, under their charter from George III., the power of removing members of their board and appointing their own successors, they had confided the exclusive control of an institution, designed for the common benefit, to members of a single religious sect and a single political party. Funds, bequeathed to the college for the establishment of a professorship, had been applied to purposes partaking of a sectarian character. John Wheelock, himself a liberal

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benefactor of the college, and the son of its illustrious founder, had been removed by a summary exercise of the power of the trustees, and a man more subservient to their views appointed in his place.

Entrusted with the care of a great public seminary, designed to promote the general good, the trustees were accused of using the influence it gave them for ambitious and selfish purposes. Controlling an institution established by the bounty of all sects and all parties, they were believed by many to have perverted it from its true purposes, and made it a powerful instrument, in the hands of a particular class, for the diffusion of its own peculiar opinions. Patronised by people of every shade of opinion, and favored at times with liberal grants from the legislature of New Hampshire, the people could see no reason to justify the sectarian position which it had assumed.

It was from such views as these, that the legislature of 1816, believing that the trustees had adopted a policy in direct conflict with the charter from which they derived their powers, determined to claim jurisdiction over this institution, in behalf of the state, for whose "benefit" only it had been created. They accordingly passed two laws upon this subject, increasing the number of trustees from twelve to twenty-one; empowering the governor and council to appoint the nine additional trustees, and fill all vacancies which should occur in the board, previous to its next annual meeting, and changing the name of the institution from Dartmouth college to Dartmouth university.

In executing the duties devolving upon him under this law, the governor conducted with great moderation, appointing several of his political op-

ponents among the new members of the board of trustees. It had been neither his design, nor that of his party, to make the college subservient to any particular interest. On the contrary, it was the wish of the legislature of 1816, by introducing men of different religious and political opinions into its government, to secure an impartial extension of its advantages to every sect and party. They believed it to be no part of the proper business of such an institution to inculcate the favorite dogmas of any one class in that community for whose common benefit it had been established. They wished, rather, to place the only college in the state in such a position—a position that it should be regarded not as an engine to stamp a peculiar creed upon the minds of its citizens, but as the fountain of that correct knowledge which enables men to reason for themselves—in such a position, in short, that it should deserve the equal favor and equal patronage of the whole community.

At the opening of the June session of the legislature, June 6, 1816, Governor William Plummer thus called the attention of the legislature to the subject of Dartmouth college :

“ There is no system of government where the general diffusion of knowledge is so necessary as in a republic. It is, therefore, not less the duty than the interest of the state to patronise and support the cause of literature and the sciences. So sensible were our ancestors of this, that they early made provision for schools, academies, and a college, the good effects of which we daily experience. But all literary establishments, like everything human, if not duly attended to, are subject to decay.

Journal of
the
Senate,
1816,
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the
Senate,
June
session,
1816,
p. 25.

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“Permit me, therefore, to invite your consideration to the state and condition of Dartmouth college, the head of our learned institutions. As the state has contributed liberally to the establishment of its funds, and as our constituents have a deep interest in its prosperity, it has a strong claim to our attention. The charter of that college was granted Dec. 30th, 1769, by John Wentworth, who was then governor of New Hampshire, under the authority of the British king. As it emanated from royalty, it contained, as was natural it should, principles congenial to monarchy. Among others, it established trustees, made seven a quorum, and authorized a majority of those present to remove any of its members, which they might consider unfit or incapable; and the survivors to perpetuate the board, by themselves electing others to supply vacancies. This last principle is hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government. Sound policy, therefore, requires that the mode of election should be changed, and that trustees, in future, should be elected by some other body of men. To increase the number of trustees, would not only increase the security of the college, but be a means of interesting more men in its prosperity. If it should be made, in future, the duty of the president, annually in May, to report to the governor a full and particular account of the state of the funds; their receipts and expenditures; the number of students and their progress; and generally the state and condition of the college; and the governor to communicate this statement to the legislature, in their June session; this would form a check upon the proceedings of

the trustees, excite a spirit of attention in the officers and students of the college, and give to the legislature such information as would enable them to act with greater propriety upon whatever may relate to that institution.

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“ The college was formed for the public good ; not for the emolument of its trustees ; and the right to amend and improve acts of incorporation of this nature has been exercised by all governments, both monarchial and republican. Sir Thomas Gresham established a fund to support lecturers in Gresham college, in London, upon the express condition that the lecturers should be unmarried men, and upon their being married, their interest in the fund should absolutely cease ; but the British parliament, in the year 1768, passed a law removing the college to another place, and explicitly enacted that if the lecturers were married, or should marry, they should receive their fees and stipend out of the fund, any restriction or limitation in the will of the said Gresham to the contrary notwithstanding. In this country, a number of the states have passed laws that made material changes in the charters of their colleges ; and in this state, acts of incorporation, of a similar nature, have frequently been amended and changed by the legislature. By the several acts incorporating towns their limits were established ; but whenever the legislature judged that the public good required a town to be made into two, they have made the division, and in some instances against the remonstrance of a majority of its inhabitants. In the charter of Dartmouth college it is expressly provided that the president, trus-

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tees, professors, tutors, and other officers, shall take the oath of allegiance to the British king ; but if the laws of the United States, as well as those of New Hampshire, abolished by implication that part of the charter, much more might they have done it directly and by express words. These facts show the authority of the legislature to interfere upon the subject ; and I trust you will make such further provisions as will render this important institution more useful to mankind.”

These views of Governor Plummer met the approbation of a majority of both senate and house. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1816, a law was passed assuming to the state of New Hampshire complete jurisdiction over the college, and changing its name to Dartmouth university.

To this law the trustees refused to submit.

In obedience to the law the governor summoned the trustees and overseers of Dartmouth university to meet at Hanover on the twenty-sixth of August, 1816. But a quorum did not obey, nor did they answer the governor's request. Two days after, they declared that the law of the state, to amend the charter and enlarge the corporation of Dartmouth college, was, in point of precedent and principle, dangerous to the best interests of society ; that it subjected the college to the arbitrary will and pleasure of the legislature ; that it contained palpable violations of their rights ; was unconstitutional ; and that they would not recognise or act under its authority.

At the opening of the November session their proceedings were laid before the legislature, and upon them Governor Plummer thus remarked :—

Journal
of the
Senate,
Nov.
session,
1816,
p. 12.

Journal
of the
Senate,
Nov.
session,
1816,
p. 13.

“It is an important question, and merits your serious consideration, whether a law, passed and approved by all the constituted authorities of the state, shall be carried into effect ; or whether a few individuals, not vested with any judicial authority, shall be permitted to declare your statutes dangerous and arbitrary, unconstitutional and void. Whether a minority of the trustees of a literary institution, formed for the education of your children, shall be encouraged to inculcate the doctrine of resistance to the law, and their example tolerated in disseminating principles of insubordination and rebellion against government.

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“Believing you cannot doubt the course proper to be adopted on this occasion, permit me to recommend the passage of a bill to amend the law respecting Dartmouth university. Give authority to some person to call a new meeting of the trustees and overseers ; reduce the number necessary to form a quorum in each board ; authorize those who may hereafter meet to adjourn from time to time till a quorum shall assemble ; give each of the boards the same authority to transact business at their first, as they have at their annual meetings ; and, to remove all doubts, give power to the executive to fill up vacancies that have or hereafter may happen in the board of trustees ; and such other provisions as will enable the boards to carry the law into effect and render the institution useful to the public.”

During the year, two of the original board of trustees, together with the nine who had received their appointments from the executive of the state, constituting a majority of the whole number, as-

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sembled at Hanover. They reappointed John Wheelock to the presidency, and elected William H. Woodward, Esq., treasurer of the university. Thus Dr. Wheelock was finally restored to the presidency of the Dartmouth university, to the great joy of the friends of science and liberal principles. Thus did the veteran president, after years of persecution, springing from the intolerance of a religious sect, return again to his post in the field of literature. His friends hailed his return as "a triumph of liberty and justice over intolerance and oppression." To the use of the university the trustees committed the use of all the college buildings; and entrusted the records, books of account, and other property of the institution to the treasurer they had appointed. In the meantime, three fourths of the old board of trustees, claiming the exclusive and absolute control of the college property under their charter, and declaring the law to be an invasion of their constitutional rights, refused to accept of its provisions. Under their direction, the officers of the old college, retaining a large majority of the students, continued their usual course of instruction, in apartments procured for the purpose.

Thus we had two conflicting institutions in the same town, a university and a college, each claiming the control of the same property and each coming in active competition with the other.

The old trustees and professors busied themselves in writing volumes of abuse against the state government and Governor Plummer. Previous to the March election of 1817, they published the most inflammatory and treasonable

appeals to the people, with the hope of influencing the popular vote. The natural effect of this was to give the republicans a great gain, especially in the vicinity of Hanover.

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When the committee, appointed by the legislature to take possession of the buildings and apparatus of the university, applied to President Brown, he refused to surrender the keys, and the committee were obliged to break open the buildings. Brown and the professors then withdrew to other buildings, taking with them such of the students as chose to follow them, and then organized classes and continued to instruct them during the existence of the university.

The trustees of the university, early in February, 1817, assembled at Concord and preferred charges against President Brown and Professors Shurtleff and Adams; the substance of which was, a refusal to yield obedience to the late act of the legislature; and cited them to appear before them on the twenty-second of February, to show cause why they should not be removed. On the twentieth of February, they sent to the board an answer, refusing to comply with the citation, but couched in courteous terms, and setting forth their resolve to appeal to the highest judicial tribunals. On the twenty-eighth of February, they published an address to the public, in the same tone, declaring the votes of the university trustees, removing them from office, as wholly unauthorized and destitute of any legal effect; and affirming that they were still, as they had uniformly claimed to be, officers of Dartmouth college, under the charter of 1769—

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Feb.22.

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and that they had resolved to assert their corporate rights. They frankly stated that they had taken into consideration the act of June, and had voted "not to accept its provisions." They refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and to the state of New Hampshire. Their charter required them to take an oath of allegiance to the British crown; but this they had omitted to do since the American revolution.

They disclaimed any intention to offer forcible resistance to the laws, but intimated plainly in their address that their rights of conscience had been invaded, and oppression practised upon them to such an extreme degree as to greatly endanger or defeat the great ends of civil government—that in the act of June the legislative branch of government had transcended its legitimate power, and had assumed to perform certain acts which the constitution had assigned to the province of the judicial branch. This address and answer was signed by Francis Brown, Ebenezer Adams, and Roswell Shurtleff. The people read it and were greatly exasperated. It seemed to them that the professors—entrenched behind a British charter, and actuated by a preference for monarchy—were impudently defying the constituted authorities of the state, and trampling upon the constitution and the laws. Denunciation was showered upon the professors from all quarters. The papers of the day attacked them with violence, and denounced them as an "Orthodox junto," &c. The professors in return poured forth volleys of epithets upon the state government and upon Gov-

ernor Plummer; stigmatizing them as “agrarians,” “infidels,” “democrats,” “French jacobins,” “villains,” and “sans-cullotes.”

The papers in the interest of the college described the committee sent by the legislature to take possession of the college, as a gang of unprincipled villains, who had risen up in defiance of law and had wantonly broken open and taken possession of the college buildings.

The papers of the people promptly returned the attack; and compared the charter professors to the infuriated bigots of popery in the dark ages—as “a set of abominable intolerants,” “aspiring not only to the sole direction of our literature, but to the management of our government”—as “the gangrened persecutors of President Wheelock,” “like the Jews who had sworn not to eat until they had killed Paul”—as “hunting up evidence against Wheelock,” and having the expense “clubbed against them,” and when they had failed of procuring evidence, “hurling him from his station, without the sanction of the usual ceremony.” Such was the tone of public discussion. The popular voice was loud against the professors; and they, in their turn, poured forth, if possible, louder execrations and more bitter vials of wrath upon the people.

In the heat of the contest, in April 1817, President Wheelock died, at the age of sixty-three, lamented even by his persecutors:—a ripe scholar—a liberal Christian—an ornament to literature—an unrivalled instructor—a good man—vigorous in intellect—assiduous in toil. The most industrious of his pupils, in the vigor of youth and inspired by

CHAP. emulation, vainly strove to outwatch the midnight
XII. lamp of their instructor. All admitted that his virtues demanded a durable monument.

Meanwhile the contest continued. The leading members of the legislature, who advocated the state authority and approved of the course pursued by the legislature, were denounced by the college papers as "vipers," "slanderers," and "executioners." The professors having failed to affect the people, next sought to intimidate the superior court by proclaiming that the act of the legislature could be regarded in no other light than as a war against religion; and if the judges should sustain it, "the execrations of this age and posterity awaited them." In this movement the professors were equally unsuccessful.

The old board of trustees brought an action of trover against the treasurer of the university, for the recovery of "books of record, charter, common seal and books of account," which they alleged to be their property. The defendant set up as a defence, the laws of 1816, and his appointment; by virtue of which laws and appointment he claimed a legal right to hold the property in controversy in his possession. The general question was, whether the acts referred to were binding on the plaintiffs without their assent.

When the case came on for final adjudication in the superior court of New Hampshire, the Honorable Jeremiah Mason, as counsel for the plaintiffs, maintained that these acts were not binding.

1. Because they were not within the scope of the legislative power.
2. Because they violated certain provisions of the constitution of New Hamp-

shire. 3. Because they violated the constitution of the United States. CHAP.
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In June, the case was argued in Grafton county, by Smith and Mason for the college, and by Sullivan and Bartlett for the people; but was continued for a further hearing in Rockingham county in the following September. It was finally decided in the superior court of the state, at Plymouth, in Grafton county, on the sixth of November. Chief Justice Richardson gave the opinion of the court, drawn up in that lucid and cogent style for which he was distinguished, and which made the opinion celebrated for its elegance as well as for its learning, and for its harmony with the popular opinion. 1817.
June.

Sept.

Nov. 6.

In delivering his opinion, Chief Justice Richardson commenced by adverting to the distinction between public and private corporations; the latter constituted for the immediate benefit of individuals—the former for the advantage of the whole community. Dartmouth college, in the language of its charter, was established “to encourage the laudable and charitable design of spreading Christian knowledge among the savages of our American wilderness, and also *that the best means of education* be established in the province of New Hampshire *for the benefit of said province.*” The trustees had no greater interests in these objects than any other individuals in the community. They had no interest in the institution which they could sell or transfer. Should all its property be lost, there would be no private loss to them. The franchises of the college were exercised for the public benefit; and for the public benefit its char-

CHAP. ter was granted. It must be regarded, therefore,
XII. as a public corporation.

“In order to determine the question submitted to us,” said he, “it seems necessary, in the first place, to ascertain the nature of corporations.—A corporation aggregate is a collection of many individuals united into one body under a special name, having perpetual succession under an artificial form, and vested by the policy of the law with the capacity of acting in several respects as an individual, and having collectively certain faculties, which the individuals have not. A corporation considered as a faculty, is an artificial, invisible body, existing only in contemplation of law: and can neither employ its franchises nor hold its property, for its own benefit. In another view, a corporation may be considered as a body of individuals having collectively particular faculties and capacities, which they can employ for their own benefit, or for the benefit of others, according to the purposes for which their particular faculties and capacities were bestowed. In either view it is apparent that all beneficial interests both in the franchises and the property of corporations, must be considered as vested in natural persons, either in the people at large, or in individuals; and that with respect to this interest, corporations may be divided into *public* and *private*.

“*Private* corporations are those which are created for the immediate benefit and advantage of individuals, and their franchises may be considered as privileges conferred on a number of individuals, to be exercised and enjoyed by them in the form of a corporation. These privileges may

be given to the corporators for their own benefit, or for the benefit of other individuals. In either case the corporation must be viewed in relation to the franchises as a trustee, and each of those, who are beneficially interested in them, as a *cestui que trust*. The property of this kind of corporations, and the profits arising from the employment of their property and the exercise of their franchises, in fact belongs to individuals. To this class belong all the companies incorporated in this state, for the purpose of making canals, turnpike roads and bridges; also banking, insurance and manufacturing companies, and many others. Both the franchises and the property of these corporations exist collectively in all the individuals of whom they are composed; not however as natural persons, but as a body politic, while the beneficial interest in both is vested severally in the several members, according to their respective shares. This interest of each individual is a part of his property. It may be sold and transferred, may, in many cases, be seized and sold upon a fieri facias, and is assets in the hands of his administrator. This is by no means a new view of this subject. The supreme court of Massachusetts, in the case of Gray vs. the Portland Bank,* most evidently viewed corporations of this kind in the same light. In the case of the Bank of the United States vs. Devaux,† the supreme court of the United States decided, that in determining a question of jurisdiction depending upon the citizenship of the parties, and a corporation being a party, they could look to the citizenship of the individual corporators as of the

* 3 Mass. Rep. 379.

† 5 Cranch, 61.

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XII. witness, in cases where the corporation is a party,
on the ground of private interest, is a matter of familiar practice in all our courts.

“*Public* corporations are those which are created for public purposes, and whose property is devoted to the objects for which they are created. The corporators have no private beneficial interest, either in their franchises or their property. The only private right which individuals can have in them, is the right of being, and of acting as members. Every other right and interest attached to them can only be enjoyed by individuals like the common privileges of free citizens, and the common interest, which all have in the property belonging to the state. Counties, towns, parishes, &c., considered as corporations, clearly fall within this description. A corporation, all of whose franchises are exercised for public purposes, is a public corporation. Thus if the legislature should incorporate a number of individuals, for the purpose of making a canal, and should reserve all the profits arising from it to the state, though all the funds might be given to the corporation by individuals, it would in fact be a public corporation. So if the state should purchase all the shares in one of our banking companies, it would immediately become a public corporation. Because in both cases all the property and franchises of the corporation would in fact be public property. A gift to a corporation created for public purposes is in reality a gift to the public. On the other hand, if the legislature should incorporate a banking company for the benefit of the corporators,

and should give the corporation all the necessary funds, it would be a private corporation. Because a gift to such a corporation would be only a gift to the corporators. So, should the state purchase a part of the shares in one of our banks, it would still remain a private corporation so far as individuals retained a private interest in it. Thus it seems, that whether a corporation is to be considered as public or private, depends upon the objects for which its franchises are to be exercised; and that as a corporation possesses franchises and property only to enable it to answer the purposes of its creation—a gift to a corporation is in truth a gift to those who are interested in those purposes.

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“Whether an incorporated college, founded and endowed by an individual, who had reserved to himself a control over its affairs as a private visitor, must be viewed as a public or as a private corporation, it is not necessary now to decide, because it does not appear that Dartmouth college was subject to any private visitation whatever.

“Upon looking into the charter of Dartmouth college we find that the king ‘being willing to encourage the laudable and charitable design of spreading Christian knowledge among the savages of our American wilderness, and also that the best means of education be established in the province of New Hampshire, for the benefit of said province,’ ordained that there should be a college created in said province by the name of Dartmouth college, ‘for the education and instruction of youth of the Indian tribes, in this land, in reading, writing and all parts of learning, which should

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appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing children of Pagans, as well as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youth and any others ;” and that there should be in the said Dartmouth college, from thenceforth and forever, a body politic, consisting of trustees of Dartmouth college. He then ‘made, ordained, constituted and appointed’ twelve individuals to be trustees of the college, and declared that they and their successors, should forever thereafter be a body corporate, by the name of the trustees of Dartmouth college ; and that said corporation should be ‘able, and in law capable *for the use of said college*, to have, get, acquire, purchase, receive, hold, possess and enjoy tenements, hereditaments, jurisdictions and franchises, for themselves and their successors, in fee simple or otherwise ;’—and ‘to receive and dispose of any lands, goods, chattels and other things, of what nature soever, *for the use aforesaid* ; and also to have, accept and receive any rents, profits, annuities, gifts, legacies, donations or bequests of any kind whatsoever, *for the use aforesaid*.’ Such are the objects, and such the nature of this corporation, appearing upon the face of the charter. It was created for the purpose of holding and managing property for the use of the college ; and the college was founded for the purpose of ‘spreading the knowledge of the great Redeemer’ among the savages, and of furnishing ‘the best means of education’ to the province of New Hampshire. These great purposes are surely, if anything can be, matters of public concern. Who has any private interest either in the objects or the property

of this institution ? The trustees themselves have no greater interest in the spreading of Christian knowledge among the Indians, and in providing the best means of education, than any other individuals in the community. Nor have they any private interest in the property of this institution,—nothing that can be sold or transferred, that can descend to their heirs, or can be assets in the hands of their administrators. If all the property of the institution were destroyed, the loss would be exclusively public, and no private loss to them. So entirely free are they from any private interest in this respect, that they are competent witnesses in causes where the corporation is a party, and the property of the corporation in contest. There is in Peake's cases at Nisi Prius, 154, an authority direct to this point. It is the case of Weller against the governors of the Foundling Hospital, and was assumpsit for work and labor. Most of the witnesses called on behalf of the defendants, were governors and members of the corporation. Lord Kenyon was of opinion that they were nevertheless good witnesses, because they were mere trustees of a public charity, and had not the least personal interest. The office of trustee of Dartmouth college is, in fact, a public trust, as much so as the office of governor, or of judge of this court ; and for any breach of trust, the state has an unquestionable right, through its courts of justice to call them to an account. The trustees have the same interest in the corporate property, which the governor has in the property of the state, and which we have in the fines we impose upon the criminals convicted before this court.

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Nor is it any private concern of theirs, whether their powers, as corporators, shall be extended or lessened, any more than it is our private concern whether the jurisdiction of this court shall be enlarged or diminished. They have no private right in the institution, except the right of office—the right of being trustees, and of acting as such. It therefore seems to us, that if such a corporation is not to be considered as a public corporation, it would be difficult to find one that could be so considered.”

The acts in question could affect only *public* and *private* rights. No clause, in the constitution either of the state or United States, protected the *public* interest in the institution from legislative interference. All *private* rights connected with it, belonged to those who founded or endowed it; to the officers and students; or to the trustees. The trustees were the only parties to the action, and upon their rights alone, the court were called to decide.

Did then these acts unconstitutionally impair any private rights of the trustees? The addition of new members to a corporation did not destroy it. It still retained the title to the common property. The old members in this instance had no personal title to be infringed upon. The new members acquired none. If new members could not be added to a corporation, no new duties could be imposed upon it, and the people must be denied the right of legislating for these institutions at all without their consent.

The plaintiff contended that the acts of 1816 had impaired their right to manage the affairs of

this institution, in violation of that clause of the bill of rights which declares that "no subject shall be despoiled or deprived of his immunities or privileges, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land." That the right to manage the affairs of the college, was a privilege within the meaning of this clause was certain. But how a privilege could be protected from the operation of a "law of the land," by a clause in the constitution declaring that it should not be taken away but *by* the "law of the land," was not very easily understood.

It had been urged that the charter of 1769 *was a contract*, the validity of which was impaired by these acts, in violation of a clause in the constitution of the United States, which declares that "no state shall pass any law impairing the obligations of contracts." This clause was obviously intended to protect private rights of property only. It could not be construed to embrace contracts in the mere nature of civil institutions nor grants of a state to individuals for public purposes. The charter of Dartmouth college was not such a contract as this language of the constitution referred to.

But admitting the charter to have been such a contract—what was that contract? Could the king have intended, when he chartered this institution, to bind himself to the corporators and their successors forever, that they alone should control it, free from all legislative restraints, however strongly such restraints might be required by the public interest? Such a contract would have been repugnant to all the principles of just government. Neither the king nor the legislature possessed the power to make it.

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Having thus glanced at the points of the case, in an argument of which the above is but an imperfect outline, in concluding, Judge Richardson used the following language:—

“I have looked into this case with all the attention of which I am capable, and with a most painful anxiety to discover the true principles upon which it ought to be decided. No man prizes more highly than I do, the literary institutions of our country, or would go farther to maintain their just rights and privileges. But I cannot bring myself to believe, that it would be consistent with sound policy, or ultimately with the true interests of literature itself, to place the great public institutions, in which all the young men, destined for the liberal professions, are to be educated, within the absolute control of a few individuals, and out of the control of the sovereign power—not consistent with sound policy, because it is a matter of too great moment, too intimately connected with the public welfare and prosperity, to be thus intrusted in the hands of a few. The education of the rising generation is a matter of the highest public concern, and is worthy of the best attention of every legislature. The immediate care of these institutions must be committed to individuals, and the trust will be faithfully executed so long as it is recollected to be a mere public trust, and that there is a superintending power, that can and will correct every abuse of it. But make the trustees independent, and they will ultimately forget that their office is a public trust—will at length consider these institutions as their own—will overlook the great purposes for which their

powers were originally given, and will exercise them only to gratify their own private views and wishes, or to promote the narrow purposes of a sect or party. It is idle to suppose that courts of law can correct every abuse of such a trust. Courts of law cannot legislate. There may be many abuses, which can be corrected by the sovereign power alone. Nor would such exemption from legislative control be consistent with the true interests of literature itself, because these institutions must stand in constant need of the aid and patronage of the legislature and the public; and without such aid and patronage, they can never flourish. Their prosperity depends entirely upon the public estimation in which they are held. It is of the highest importance that they should be fondly cherished by the best affections of the people; that every citizen should feel that he has an interest in them, and that they constitute a part of that inestimable inheritance which he is to transmit to his posterity in the institutions of his country. But these institutions, if placed in a situation to dispute the public will, would eventually fall into the hands of men, who would be disposed to dispute it; and contests would inevitably arise, in which the great interests of literature would be forgotten. Those who resisted that will would become at once the object of popular jealousy and distrust; their motives, however pure, would be called in question, and their resistance would be believed to have originated in private and interested views, and not in regard to the public welfare. It would avail these institutions nothing that the public will was wrong, and that their right

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could be maintained in opposition to it, in a court of law. A triumph there might be infinitely more ruinous than defeat. Whoever knows the nature of a popular government, knows that such a contest could not be thus settled by one engagement. Such a triumph would only protract the destructive contest. The last misfortune which can befall one of these institutions, is to become the subject of popular contention.

“I am aware that this power, in the hands of the legislature, may, like every other, at times be unwisely exercised ; but where can it be more securely lodged ? If those, whom the people annually elect to manage their public affairs, cannot be trusted, who can ? The people have most emphatically enjoined it in the constitution, as a duty upon ‘ the legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of the government, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries and public schools.’ And those interests will be cherished, both by the legislature and the people, so long as there is virtue enough left to maintain the rest of our institutions. Whenever the people and their rulers shall become corrupt enough to wage war with the sciences and liberal arts, we may be assured that the time will have arrived, when all our institutions, our laws, our liberties must pass away—when all that can be dear to freemen, or that can make their country dear to them, must be lost, and when a government and institutions must be established, of a very different character from those under which it is our pride and happiness to live.

“ In forming my opinion in this case, however, I

have given no weight to any considerations of expediency. I think the legislature had a clear constitutional right to pass the laws in question. My opinion may be incorrect, and our judgment erroneous, but it is the best opinion, which, upon the most mature consideration, I have been able to form. It is certainly, to me, a subject of much consolation, to know that if we have erred, our mistakes can be corrected, and be prevented from working any ultimate injustice. If the plaintiffs think themselves aggrieved by our decision, they can carry the cause to another tribunal, where it can be re-examined, and our judgment be reversed, or affirmed, as the law of the case may seem to that tribunal to require."

Judgment was rendered for the defendant. The case was then carried up to the supreme court of the United States, where, in 1819, judgment was pronounced in favor of the trustees, reversing the decisions of the courts below. This judgment was based upon the opinion that the college charter was a contract within the meaning of the constitution; an opinion, which, had it remained unquestioned, would have given to our chartered corporations a supremacy over the laws of the land, which nothing short of revolution could extinguish. Such, however, was not the result. Our federal courts have gradually adopted different rules of construction, under which chartered rights have sometimes yielded to the public welfare.

The decision of Chief Justice Richardson was sustained generally by public opinion in New Hampshire and throughout the United States.

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The farmers, merchants, and mechanics, adopting common sense views without much reflection or research, could not perceive that when their fathers threw off the British yoke and established a republican government, there yet remained within their territory a vestige of that other government which they had rejected—the offspring of royalty—with power to perpetuate itself forever—yet protected from all responsibility and control; that while every town and every citizen in his individual capacity, and every other corporation, was obliged to submit to the state laws, yet that a college might set those laws at defiance and stand aloof from accountability; and that the revolution, which changed the relations and rights of the citizen, yet wrought no change in the rights of a college chartered before the revolution; that while the revolution swept every vestige of royalty away, yet that a college remained as a fortress of royal rights—and, while deriving its authority from the crown, might be seeking to destroy liberty, or might, in any other respect, pursue a course of ever so great wickedness and unlawfulness, without being subjected to either punishment or restraint. They thought there was a manifest difference between a corporation granted for the private advantage of its members and one instituted and continued in existence solely for the public good; that though, in the former case, the corporators may have vested rights, because they have an interest in the income of the corporation, yet, in the latter, as there is no such interest, so no such rights exist; that, in the one case, the members may justly seek their own emolument—in the

other, the public welfare should be their sole object; that the trustees of Dartmouth college, therefore, could justly have no private interest in their offices, but were the mere servants of the public, to carry into effect the objects of the legislature and the people, in patronising that institution; that public sentiment is greatly influenced, if not entirely regulated, by the liberally educated; that the liberally educated imbibe their sentiments from their instructors and the books studied in the course of their education; that it is, therefore, a matter of the highest public concern that these instructors and books should teach sentiments congenial with republican institutions; and that the certain attainment of this object requires that colleges and public seminaries should be directly or indirectly within the control of the legislature.

Whoever should consult the newspapers of the college, the Dartmouth Gazette and the Portsmouth Oracle, and adopt their opinions, would deem the legislators and the people the most absolute agrarians and assassins. Whoever should consult the New Hampshire Patriot and other papers of the people, would infer that the charter professors and their abettors were little better than "Spanish inquisitors." Both sides were partially wrong. The people were not assassins, nor were the charter professors with strict justice compared to Spanish inquisitors; but a question had arisen, of great public concern on the one side, and of private interest and ambition on the other. It was but natural that the people should be irritated by what they deemed a factious opposition to con-

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1816.

stitutional laws, and that the college should cling tenaciously to its long enjoyed interests and powers. It was but natural that bitter animosity should be engendered by dispute, and that passion and prejudice should rule the hour.

The decision of the superior court of New Hampshire was finally overruled and reversed by the supreme court of the United States; and thus the laws of the state were crushed under the wheels of the general government. When it was known at Hanover that the decision of the state court had been reversed at Washington, the students of the old college riotously entered the university and seized the books by force. The professors of the university were assailed with clubs and threatened with death; and when they attempted to defend themselves, they were complained of as criminals. The students of the old college found a magistrate of the village subservient to their purpose; and the university professors, for attempting a feeble defence against overwhelming numbers, were arrested and carried before him for trial and punishment. They were then burnt in effigy.

1816.

While such were the proceedings of the students, the people received the decision of the United States court, although they believed it to be wrong, with the utmost dignity and moderation of conduct. Indeed, it afforded a new and convincing proof of their patriotism and love of order that they submitted to a decision which they deemed to be manifestly at variance with the constitution and the laws, and an arbitrary encroachment of the general government upon the rights

of the state. The doctrines of the court in this case have met with a growing disapprobation in all parts of the country, and are now regarded as of very doubtful authority. But it is not to be denied that the people acted wisely in yielding to the established tribunals of the country, and awaiting the slow operation of time to correct the errors of human judgment. It is believed by many that the day is not far distant when the Dartmouth college case will be subjected to an entire revision, and the institution be placed under the control of the legislature.

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During the summer of 1817, James Monroe, having been elected to the presidency by a large majority, made a tour to the northern states. He visited Portsmouth, Dover, Concord, and Hanover in this state, and here, as everywhere else, was received with distinguished tokens of respect. Both parties united, with equal zeal, in the generous preparations which were everywhere made for his reception. And, indeed, a suspension of that political warfare which had so long agitated the country, commencing amid the festivities which everywhere attended the progress of the chief magistrate of the Union, and favored by the pacific policy of his administration, continued with little interruption to its close.

The state-house at Concord was this year erected—a neat, spacious and beautiful building of hammered granite, from the extensive quarries of the same town. Its expense was more than eighty thousand dollars, a considerable portion of which was sustained by the citizens of Concord. During the same year the Athenæum was 1817.

CHAP. established at Portsmouth; an institution which
XII. now possesses a valuable cabinet of minerals,
an extensive collection of antiquities, and one of
the largest and most valuable libraries in the
state.

1819. Governor Plummer having declined a re-election, the Hon. Samuel Bell was, in March, 1819, elected his successor in the chief magistracy. The Hon. William Hale, of Dover, received the votes of the federal party, which, on this occasion, made only a very feeble opposition. The seat on the bench of the superior court, which Mr. Bell had resigned to enter upon his duties of governor, was filled by the appointment of Samuel Green, Esq., of Concord.

The passage of the *toleration law*, in 1819, was by far the most important measure of this administration. It for the first time placed all religious sects in the state upon equal ground, and made them dependent upon the free contributions of the people for their support.

From the first establishment of a few infant settlements in this state, the people had been disposed to resist the imposition of all restraints upon their religious opinions, and all unnecessary burthens upon their property. The first settlers were men who sought to better their condition by the use of such humble resources as our woods and waters afforded. These were soon followed by religious non-conformists, flying from the persecutions of the puritans. The former class thought more of their fisheries, their searchings after mines, and their trade, and the latter of secluded homes and religious liberty, than of the doubtful advan-

tages to be derived from the exclusive establishment of a particular sect. Here Quakers and non-conformists were safe. Religious distinctions were unknown in public affairs. And as a natural consequence, when our little settlements were annexed to Massachusetts, the religious tests which the rigid rulers of that colony had established, were entirely dispensed with, so far as related to citizens of New Hampshire. They were authorized to vote, and their deputies were allowed to sit in the general court, even when they did not claim to be members of that church, to which, in Massachusetts, all such privileges were confined.

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Descending from such a stock, and representing ancestors of every possible creed, there was never any general feeling among the people averse to the religious rights of any portion of the community. From a regard, however, for religion in the aggregate, rather than the interests of any particular sect, the early legislators of this state had enacted a law, empowering the several towns to raise money, by taxation, to build churches and support a Christian ministry.

The progress of new sects, gradually springing up in the state, soon produced a great diversity of religious sentiment among its people. Over these new and feeble divisions of the religious community, a single denomination held the supremacy in nearly every town. The dissenters from this prevailing sect, divided among themselves, were seldom strong enough to support a ministry of their own. In this event, they were liable to be pursued with all the rigors of the law, if they failed to pay the established clergy a full share of the

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expenses incurred in their support. Thus many of the people were compelled to pay for the erection of churches they never entered, for teachings they never heard, and clerical labors which they conscientiously regarded as tending only to perpetuate the dominion of religious errors over the public mind. A law, undoubtedly established in the first instance from pure motives and for the public benefit, had thus become converted into an engine of oppression.

Its repeal, however, met with a very decided opposition. It was declared that it would at once be destructive of religion and the public morals. Such objections have ever been raised against measures designed to extend the liberties of mankind. But when the toleration bill had once gone into operation, equalising the privileges of the different sects, and promoting harmony of feeling among their members, it gained additional respect for the sentiments of all religious denominations, and operated injuriously upon the interests of none. Churches have grown up under its provisions in every neighborhood, and a numerous ministry, dependent upon the voluntary contributions of the people, have been sustained with the most honorable liberality. The people have given twice as much, of their own free will, as could be wrung from them under the old law, and it seems long since to have been conceded that the true interests of every sect have been promoted by its repeal.

Before the passage of the toleration act, the people had borne, with astonishing patience, the support of the congregational order by law. Year

after year had the honest Quaker, the Baptist, the Universalist, been taxed for the support of a religion in which he did not believe; and when he refused payment, was sent to a dungeon, or ruined by a never-ending lawsuit. The courts were tinctured with orthodoxy, and corruption appeared upon the bench. The jury were secretly "culled"—dissenters were taken off, and their places supplied with those whose well known orthodoxy afforded a guaranty that the law, right or wrong, would be enforced.

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While such was the state of things at home, the people of New Hampshire had seen a revolution progressing in Connecticut, similar to that which was now beginning among themselves. Ever since the first settlement of Connecticut, the people had groaned under an oppressive system of religious intolerance. It was a complete and most odious union of church and state. None but the standing order of clergy could there obtain a legal support; and the laws for the support of that order were such a direct violation of the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, that by many they were deemed "disgraceful to humanity." Often was the parish collector seen robbing the humble dwelling of honest poverty of its table, chairs and andirons, or selling at vendue the cow of the poor laborer, on which the subsistence of his family depended, in order to load with luxuries the table of an indolent priest, or clothe in purple those who partook with him of the spoils of the poor. All ministers not of the standing order were viewed as thieves and robbers—as wolves in sheep's clothing—who had

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gained a dishonest entrance into the fold, and whom it was the duty of the standing order to drive out. In 1818, a bill was reported to the convention of that state, confirming freedom of conscience to all. Every man possessed of real independence and enlightened views, rejoiced at a revolution which sundered so monstrous a union of the church and the state in Connecticut. The clergy of the standing order deprecated—mourned—threatened, and exclaimed, “Alas! for that great city!” But the vast concourse of the people joined in thanksgiving for its destruction. Such was the change which the people of New Hampshire had witnessed in a neighboring state. They themselves were bound by a system less odious in the degree of practical evil which it inflicted, but in principle essentially the same. The act of the 13th of Anne, empowered towns to hire and settle ministers, and to pay them a stipulated salary from the town taxes. This was not directly a union of church and state; but it operated most oppressively. Each town could select a minister of a particular persuasion, and every citizen was compelled to contribute toward the support of the clergyman and to build the church, unless he could prove that he belonged to a different persuasion and regularly attended public worship elsewhere on the Lord’s day.

Bill of
Rights,
Art. 6.

The bill of rights declares, “that no person of any one particular religious sect, or denomination, shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination, and that no subordination of any one sect or denomination, to another,

shall ever be established by law." Notwithstanding these clear provisions, the statute of Anne continued substantially to prevail. The act of 1791 changed the form but not the nature of the oppression. It vested in the selectmen of the towns the powers (essentially) which had before been vested in the body of the citizens. The selectmen could still settle a minister and tax the people for his support. They could build a church, and search the pockets of dissenters for the funds. They could prefer whatever persuasion they pleased, and thus compel the people to bow to whatever image man might set up. How could a dissenter avoid paying the tax? Only by proving that he belonged to another sect. The proof was often difficult to obtain, sometimes impossible. When a suit was instituted against him for the tax, and he was brought into court, he was met by able counsel, employed by the selectmen, well versed in law, and ready to quibble at the slightest lack of proof, and vex him by nice legal distinctions. Mr. Smith and Mr. Mason, in one case, contended that the defendant, whose defence was that he was a Baptist, could not avoid the payment, because he had not proved that he had been *dipped*. Neither is he a Congregationalist, replied Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Bartlett, because he has not proved that he has been *sprinkled*.

Such was the vexatious nature of the suits to dissenters themselves. But if they could not avoid the tax, how must it be with those who belonged to no religious sect? For them there was no escape. They were compelled to pay, notwithstanding the plain declaration of the constitution of the United States.

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Were it not for the general intolerance of that day, it might be a subject of wonder that the people should submit to a law thus unconstitutional and void, as well as oppressive, for the space of twenty-eight years. Yet such was the period of their submission and such the provisions of the law. But they manifested an increasing dissatisfaction. They had seen the poor man cast into prison, and the obstinate man after spending his fortune in a fruitless resistance to the claims of the selectmen, overpowered at last, when perhaps the destitute wife and children needed the little fortune he had thus squandered in an unsuccessful contest. The *New Hampshire Patriot*,* a popular paper at the seat of government, had spoken warmly against the oppressive exactions of the old law. Many of the most enlightened minds in the state were known to be its opponents.

Besides the revolution in Connecticut, they had seen the representatives of France vote down a proposition to enforce respect to the established religion of the French empire and to punish outrage against it. They had read of those movements in Maryland, in which the name of Breckenridge had become famous for a speech which he had made on the Jew bill, and in which he brought out, and set in lucid and beautiful order, the great doctrines of civil and religious liberty. The state of Vermont had commenced, in 1791, the same system established in New Hampshire. In 1803, it was relaxed, and any person declaring to or writing to the selectmen, that he was not of the same religious sect with the majority of the town,

* Then conducted by Isaac Hill.

was exempt from taxation. In 1807, the compulsory law was wholly abolished. Yet the state of Vermont was not ruined by the change, as had been predicted by the advocates for compulsion. In Connecticut the laws had been abolished which compelled uniformity of religion, by obliging every town to support a clergyman, and allowed to no man the right of suffrage, unless he was in full communion with the church. All this was swept away, to give place to complete toleration and equality—yet neither vice nor crime increased. The state of Pennsylvania never compelled the support of religion; yet the people were not wanting in piety, and they had little of the clamor of religious faction.

The constitution of Maine, formed about this time, seemed to embody the liberal sentiments which began everywhere to prevail. Her bill of rights, modelled after that of New Hampshire, declared that there should be no religious test as a qualification for any office—that no person should be hurt, molested or restrained in his person, liberty or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience. Such was the progress of opinions abroad, when the toleration act of New Hampshire came up on its final passage in the house of representatives. It was a favorite maxim with the anti-tolerantists, that “every man ought to be compelled to pay for the support of religion somewhere;”^{*} and they contended that this was implied by the constitution. The tolerantists denied both the constitutionality and the expediency of the doctrine, and contended for absolute

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1819.
Constitution
of
Maine.

Bill of
Rights.

Speeches
of
Hub-
bard,
Pitman,
and
Parker.

Speeches
of
Whip-
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Bart-
lett,
and
Butters.

* Hubbard's Speech.

CHAP. XII. freedom and voluntary contribution. The opponents of toleration maintained that it was the design of the framers of the constitution that every citizen should be compelled to contribute his just and equal proportion for the maintenance and support of the ministry. They also gravely contended, and with much sincerity argued, that the passage of this law would produce the dire effect to "make young people walk in the fields and associate and visit much together on the Sabbath"—that it would introduce confusion—that it would discourage preachers of the gospel, by making them too dependent.

Hubbard's
speech,
June,
1819.

On the other hand, the advocates for toleration maintained that the law of 1791 was an attempt to compel uniformity of religious faith, and that such attempts were destructive to liberty and disastrous to religion. They endeavored to prove that by the constitution neither the selectmen nor the courts had any right to require evidence of a man's religious faith, beyond his own declaration—that his own deliberate avowal of his belief should be the highest evidence required, and should excuse him from paying the tax. "Have we," said Whipple, "any tribunal to which, as a standard of faith, men's consciences can be referred for decision and regulation? Has our constitution provided any such? How then, sir, is this question to be settled, but by the individual's declaration, concerning his own religious belief? And, sir, do not your existing laws in effect establish such an inquisitorial tribunal? They authorize the selectmen to assess monies voted by towns for the support of ministers, and for building and repairing meeting-houses. In this assessment they

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of Dr.
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ple.

necessarily exercise their judgments, and assess those whom they deem liable; your collectors are armed with strong powers; no barrier is interposed between the delinquent's property and their grasp; property is taken, exposed to public sale and the tax satisfied. The only remedy left the oppressed citizen is an appeal to his peers—under the direction of judicial officers, where his conscience is submitted to the arbitrament of jurors, and of jurors too, perhaps, under the influence of strong religious prejudices! After struggling for years against the combined influence of the town, the prejudices of the jurors, the corruption of witnesses, the ingenuity of counsel, disposed to perpetuate the oppression, and the 'glorious uncertainty' of the law; after spending the means on which his family depend for support, ruining his fortune and reducing himself to beggary; he may recover the amount of tax and cost. For, sir, let it be remembered that unless he shows corruption in the selectmen, or assessors, or a design to tax wrongfully, he can recover no exemplary damages. But even this pitiful redress is not certain. Instances have frequently occurred when jurors could not agree, and the man wrongfully assessed has been dismissed from the tribunal, where 'drowsy justice still nodded upon her rotten seat, intoxicated by the poisonous draught of bigotry prepared for her cup.'"

It was not enough for a man to declare to the selectmen that he was not of the established religion. This denial, far from pacifying, rather served to inflame the agents of the dominant creed,

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Whip-
ple's
speech,
June,
1819.

CHAP. who were never satisfied until the dissenter was
 XII. arrested and committed to prison.

Bill of
 Rights,
 Art. V.

The fifth article of the bill of rights declares, that "every individual has a natural right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason; and no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments or persuasion; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship."

Notwithstanding this plain declaration of the bill of rights, no Christians but Congregationalists were recognised as a religious sect. There was but one sect known to the law of 1791. Universalists, Methodists, Baptists, were indiscriminately classed with the Orthodox, and when they pleaded their difference of sentiment as a reason why they should not be taxed, they were told that they were not acknowledged by the laws as religious denominations, and that the assessors therefore might assess them with Congregationalists. The courts even sanctioned this doctrine; and, for the first time, perhaps, the confidence of the people in the judiciary was shaken. After having been "molested" by the most oppressive taxes, contrary to the express language and plain meaning of the bill of rights for thirteen years, the Freewill Baptists procured an act of the legislature to be passed in 1804, recognising them as a religious denomination! The Universalists did the same in 1805, and the Methodists in 1807.

Re-
 cords
 of Acts,
 Dec. 7,
 1804;
 June 13,
 1805;
 and
 June 15,
 1807.

In the course of the discussions which arose upon this vitally important question, the opponents of toleration strenuously contended that it was the duty of the state government to establish and enforce uniformity of religion. This position was assailed in a most powerful manner by Dr. Whipple.

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“This attempt at uniformity,” said he, “has in all governments and countries produced that very state of public depravity and moral desolation so much deprecated by the opponents of this amendment. The requirement in a foreign government,* that any individual shall have partaken of the sacrament, before the exercise of any civil trust, is directly calculated to produce hypocrisy and irreligion. For this reason you see men arising from the the sacred emblems of the blood and body of our Lord, to drunkenness, lewdness and profanity. It was this spirit which kindled the fires of the Inquisition—collected the fagots, and emboldened the horrid inquisitor to chant ‘*expurgat Deus,*’ around the consuming corse of the human victim. This was the spirit, sir, which, under the mask of Christianity,

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ple.

‘With Heaven’s own thunders shook the world below,
And played the God an engine on his foe.’

“It was the indulgence of this spirit which fixed a stain on the character of Calvin, which not all his excellent virtues, nor time, nor oblivion can wash out. To this idol, Servetus was sacrificed as a burnt offering. To glut this monster, the blood of Balzac flowed; and to slake his thirst for revenge, the amiable, learned and industrious Cas-

* Connecticut.

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talio was slandered, traduced and exposed to suffering. It was this, sir, which caused the bloody Mary to sacrifice her hecatombs of human victims in the sight of Heaven, in the sight of that God who has declared himself the common Father of us all.

“This spirit, sir, caused our forefathers, who themselves fled from persecution, to banish Quakers, whip dissenting females, persecute Baptists, and to do other enormities which have stained the pages of our history. And is none of this spirit left among us? Is it extinct? No, sir—this spirit now operates. It is this which causes those who advocate the cause of religious freedom to be stigmatized with the opprobrious epithets of *deist*, *atheist*, and *men of no religion*.”

After this speech was delivered, the antagonists of Dr. Whipple sharpened their weapons anew, and prepared to make another and stronger appeal to the prejudices and fears of the legislature.

Hubbard's
speech,
1819.
July.

“Pass the bill now on the table,” said Mr. Hubbard, “and the temples now consecrated to the worship of the Saviour of the world will soon be deserted and forsaken.”

Par-
ker's
speech,
July,
1817.

The opponents of the bill carried the minds of their hearers back to the epoch of the French revolution, and informed the house that the bloody scenes of that drama commenced by treating with contempt the institutions of religion.

Yet so rapid was the change of public sentiment in favor of the bill, and so poorly did the objections raised against it bear the test of examination, that even some of the ablest opponents* of the bill,

* Among these was Mr. Hubbard.

while it was under discussion, voted in the affirmative on the question of its final passage.

The remaining opponents of the law, however, endeavored to convince the house that some of the most bloody scenes in history had been caused by a want of respect for the clergy. It was for Dr. Whipple to reply to arguments like these, by illustrations drawn from the same sources. "Has the gentleman," (Mr. Parker,) said he, "forgotten the day of St. Bartholomew, at Paris, when, in one fatal night, sixty thousand dissenters were murdered in cold blood, under the direction of the officers of the established church? Has he forgotten the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in the reign of Louis XIV., by which measure fifty thousand dissenting families went into exile and numbers perished? Or can it be said, that those scenes, so shocking to humanity, so repugnant to the pure principles of the Christian religion, happened from any want of respect for the clergy of that day? No, sir; the church was then abundant in her revenues, splendid and imposing in her worship, and the clergy dictated the government itself. These outrages originated, sir, not in a want of respect for the clergy, nor in sectarian influence; but in that desire for uniformity, that itch for splendid external worship, which in all ages and in every country has produced domination and cruelty in the clergy and stupidity and slavery in the people. We neither ridicule nor oppress the clergy. We commend their virtues and value their labors, while directed to the great and important purposes of teaching that religion which is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be en-

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Journal of
House,
June
session,
1819.

Dr.
Whip-
ple's
speech.

CHAP. XII. treated, full of good works, without partiality and without hypocrisy. But, sir, when we see them anxious to amass power, wealth, *worldly honor*, rather than that which cometh from above; when we see them endeavoring to establish 'the splendor of the church upon the misery of the citizen'—heady, high minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of truth, justice, mercy and charity; when, like Thomas A. Becket, they are aiming at the civil authority—then shall we have reason to exclaim, in the language of the litany, from such men 'good Lord deliver us!'"

This speech was replied to at great length, and ably, by the advocates for intolerance, who lost no opportunity to show that the law was unconstitutional and subversive of religion. Their arguments were met by Ichabod Bartlett, a young but distinguished advocate, of Portsmouth.

Speech
of Ichabod
Bartlett,
July,
1819.

Constitution
of New
Hampshire.

Bill of
Rights,
Art. V.

"It is objected," said he, "that the bill before the house permits every person to settle the question for himself, what denomination he is of—that his consent is necessary, to be subjected to any denomination, and his dissent frees him. Praised be God, that the wisdom of our fathers has so ordained—for thus I undertake to say it is decreed in our constitution. This is apparent, in the first place, from *the nature of the evils* intended to be guarded against by the provisions of that constitution. Their object was not only to secure the perfectly free exercise of religious opinions, but to remove all *pretence* for disturbing or annoying any in the enjoyment of it. The intention was not merely to authorize a defence against oppressors, but to disarm bigotry and fanaticism—not only to

interpose the shield of charity and toleration, but to wrest from the hand of persecution the sword that would be used to perforate it. The framers of that instrument had learned, by fatal experience, the truth of Lord Mansfield's declaration before the house of peers, that 'conscience is not controllable by human laws; nor amenable to human tribunals. Persecution or attempts to force conscience can never produce conviction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or martyrs.' They had learned the outrages of religious infatuation when countenanced by law. History had told them of the horrors of the civil power, under the pretence of pious purposes, which were practised upon the followers of our Saviour. They had seen, with the cruelty, the inefficacy too of the civil government upon this subject. They had seen an army of seven hundred thousand men, for religious purposes, making prisoners and victims, but never converts or Christians. They had seen its absurdity in 'solemn convocations' upon the most frivolous pretences. They had not only seen the effect of the stake and fagot in the reign of Mary; they had not only looked upon the condition of the sufferer, but had themselves passed through the fires of persecution. They had encountered the savage beasts and savage men of the wilderness, to escape the more savage fury of religious intolerance. And, such is the effect of fanaticism, they had seen those yet bleeding with the stripes and wounds of persecution, themselves become persecutors; and even the legislative records of a neighboring colony stained with an act authorizing the putting to death, without even the

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form of a trial, 'any Quaker, Adamite, or heretic.' Disgusted with the follies and absurdities, shocked at the horrors, and bleeding with the wounds, which religious bigotry, armed with civil power, had inflicted, the framers of our constitution determined to guard against the repetition of such scenes. They had become convinced, too, that the pure religion of the gospel would ever flourish best unencumbered with legal pains and penalties; that every effort of compulsion and force reacted upon the movers; and that even should an external observance of any particular creed be enforced by the civil authority, it could at best command but a hypocritical service; that tenets, enforced by an officer of the law, or the point of the bayonet, could produce no salutary influence upon the mind. And while experience had taught them the inefficacy of such attempts, revelation proclaimed that the principles of the gospel were their own best support; and that the work, 'if it were of God, would prevail.' With such convictions, they determined to remove every pretence for violence—and that the arm of civil power should in no case interfere where the peace of civil society was undisturbed.

“Those evils, sir, are not guarded against; the views of those who framed our constitution are not accomplished upon any other construction of that instrument than the one adopted by this bill. Say to the majority of any town that they may tax, not only their own sect, but all, who, they may please to say, do not belong to some other sect; and deprive the person so assessed from deciding that question; and what is the consequence? Do

we want new evidence of the propensity of any dominant sect to assume to itself all claim to correctness—to dispense indiscriminately the title of infidel and heretic to all who differ? Do we not know that the privileges and powers of the constitution, thus interpreted—

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‘Like saving faith, by each would be applied
To one small sect, and all are damned beside?’

“Did those who sought the blood of our forefathers believe they were sending to the scaffold and stake persons of any religion? Never. Take from the dissenter the power of determining his faith for himself, and the sect in power, while they levy their contributions upon him, will claim the merit of seizing the goods of infidels for the support of religion; as the executioners of our ancestors did the praise of destroying their bodies to save their souls from heresy.

“It may perhaps be thought that in the present age there can be no danger in putting a construction upon this provision of the constitution, which shall give the majority a right to decide upon and control the religious opinions of the minority. Has human nature changed? Has it ceased to be true that like causes produce like effects? Give to religious bigotry the power, and you shall again hear the thunders of the Vatican denouncing all dissenters. You shall soon see a second edition of the famous *unam sanctam*, declaring a universal assent to the exercise of omnipotence by some particular sect, in matters of faith, essential to salvation. They may not perhaps again clothe those they condemn as heretics in garments of pitch for

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a conflagration, or in the skins of wild beasts to be devoured by dogs! but they will enrol them in their tax lists, to support doctrines which may be thought of a pernicious tendency, and set upon them a no less ravenous race of blood-hounds. 'Fanaticism,' said Sir James M'Intosh, 'is the most incurable of all mental diseases, because, in all its forms, it is distinguished by a mad contempt for experience.' Not the enemies, but the friends of religion have too much reason, with regard to the leaders of different denominations, without distinction, to describe each in the language of an eloquent divine of the present day, as 'arrogating all excellence to his own sect, and all saving power to his own creed; sheltering, under the name of pious zeal, the love of domination, the conceit of infallibility, and the spirit of intolerance; and trampling on men's rights under pretence of saving their souls.'"

These and similar speeches went forth to the people—were eagerly read and loudly applauded by all but the Congregational order. The soundness of their arguments produced great effect. Indeed, so evident are most of their positions, and so apparent, that at the present day the only wonder is that they should ever have been doubted, or should ever have found opponents. These opponents constantly sought for historical proofs of the danger of multiplying sects. But had they sought to find illustrations of the danger of swallowing up all minor sects in one predominant order, they would have been much more successful in their researches.

Against the toleration act fanaticism fought

with its usual ferocity. By the enlightened portion of the people it was hailed with joy. By the orthodox it was loaded with anathemas. The clergy feared that their tithes would be diminished when the people were no longer compelled to pay them. The ignorant and bigoted mourned over the change with well-meant sorrows. "Alack! Alack!" quoth they, "religion! we have none of it. Our general court at Concord have put away our religion. The godly folk there fought hard and long for religion, but the wicked ones outnumbered them, and religion is clean gone." The clergy had instilled into the minds of the ignorant that the wicked ones (who composed a majority of the legislature) had destroyed a law without which religion could not exist.

After the passage of the toleration act, a clamor was raised throughout the state, with the hope of producing a reaction against the bill and thus influencing the elections. Some declared it to be "a repeal of the Christian religion;" others said that "the Bible is abolished;" others that "the wicked bear rule." The truth perhaps was that the dominant sect could no longer support their system by extortion and oppression, that all sects were placed upon a level—so that it was not religion which was abolished, but the power of the Congregational order.

In the passage of this law the friends of religious liberty found cause for rejoicing. They regarded it as an auspicious era in the history of New Hampshire, and believed that it would be viewed with peculiar interest throughout the country, and with pride and pleasure by their

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posterity. They rejoiced that a law, which they regarded as a stain upon the statute book, had at length been wiped away—and that every citizen might now worship in the manner and season most agreeable to him, without being driven to a confession of faith before a jury, or to the necessity of expending hundreds of dollars in a court of law to recover back an illegal assessment of a few shillings.

Notwithstanding all the clamors raised against the toleration act, no sooner had it gone into operation than religion began to be supported more liberally by voluntary contribution than it had before been by compulsion. When this fact was apparent, and stood clearly revealed by the light of experience, the bitter censures which had been passed upon the friends of the law, began to be withdrawn, and the severest strictures were dealt out freely to its opponents. Thus it happened that the men, who, at the outset, while the law was unpopular, put their political character and success at stake by their fearless and decided conduct, gained finally their reward, while the honest dupes of fanaticism, and the timid and time-serving politicians who stooped to gain popularity by compromising principle, met with the odium which was their due, and with the distrust which their conduct inspired—thus illustrating the wise saying of Governor Bell, that “the statesman who takes the constitution for his guide, and faithfully adheres to its spirit, may confidently indulge the assurance that he cannot materially err; and though prejudice or self-interest may misrepresent and censure his official acts, time, with

Message of
Gov.
Bell.

that candid and dispassionate consideration which it never fails to bring, will eventually do justice to his motives and his conduct.”

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During the toleration contest, the Congregational order levelled their sharpest weapons against the Methodists; a sect then comparatively feeble and possessed of but limited means to make their real doctrines known. The Orthodox denounced them as “antichrist” and immoral; and affirmed that their church government was a monarchy. Time has shown that whatever may be the faults of their system of church government, no denomination of Christians has done more to improve the morals of society. Their distinguishing characteristic is humility—the substance without the show of godliness. They seem to take no pride in collecting large funds, erecting costly churches, and passing in splendid pageantry before the world. Their preachers receive but a scanty livelihood, and expect no more. Is a Methodist clergyman rich? it is in the treasures of another world. Incessant in labor, plain in his garb, and meek in his deportment, he moves through the humble sphere of his labors, visiting the abodes of the poor as well as the mansions of the rich, imparting comfort to the dying and the destitute, encouraging the disconsolate, rebuking the proud, and holding out a free salvation, without partiality and without hypocrisy, to the whole family of man. When these humble Christians first appeared with their doctrines, they were described as “disturbers of the peace”—“brawlers”—“disorderly persons,” and “enemies to learning;” and their arduous and honest labors were treated by the Congrega-

CHAP. tional order with proud contumely and vaunting
XII. reproach.

Nothing intimidated by this undeserved censure, they continued their labors, which at first began with the poor, but gradually spread through the wealthier portions of society. If they have not disarmed the hostility of opposing sects, they have commanded respect by their increasing numbers intelligence, and power. They have commended themselves to all men by their ardent love for humanity, by the genuine simplicity of their faith, and by their attachment to liberty and the rights of man. The coldest skeptic can hardly deny that they have been successful imitators of Christ; and it would be difficult for the most jealous republican to discover that their system of church government has thus far had any practical tendency to monarchy.

The hostility which had been displayed towards the Methodists, was directed with equal severity against the Baptists, and was equally undeserved.

The Universalists, a sect then much weaker than either of the others, and distinguished by essential differences of opinion from both, did not escape the general attack.

The doctrine of Universalism was first preached in New Hampshire, in 1773, by Mr. Murray. In 1802, Christopher Erskine, of Claremont, having been sued for parish taxes, by the Congregationalist society in that town, asked advice of the general convention of Universalists. The judges of the supreme court had decided that Congregationalists and Universalists were the same sect in the eye of the law; and thus Erskine was called upon to comply with the demand of the parish, in

which he lived. If this decision was to abide, suits without number might be brought against Universalists. The convention appointed Rev. George Richards to present a memorial to the judges on the subject. In 1803, the profession of belief and plan of the convention was declared. A special address was also sent out from the convention to the Universalists of New Hampshire, "occasioned by the decision of the judges of the supreme court of said state, adjudging the payment of ministerial taxes to Congregationalist ministers." "They complain that by this decision a whole body of professing Christians in that state, are blotted from the volume of legal existence." The points of faith in which Universalists and Congregationalists differ are pointed out, by which it is shown that they cannot be one and the same denomination. The sufferers are persuaded to submit peaceably as good citizens, until redress should be had of the legislature. The profession of belief was drawn up to show that Universalists differed from all others, and were necessarily a distinct sect.*

The "profession of belief" declared by the convention in 1803, is as follows. It has never been altered, and is satisfactory to the denomination.

"ART. I. We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest and final destination of mankind.

"ART. II. We believe that there is one God, whose nature is love; revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of grace; who will

* Whittemore's Modern History of Universalism.

CHAP. finally restore the whole family of mankind to holi-
 XII. ness and happiness.

“ART. III. We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected; and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order, and practise good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men.”

The Universalists were recognised as a distinct sect, June 13, 1805.

Rev. Hosea Ballou, a leading and distinguished minister of this denomination, was born in Richmond, in this state. He has in his day acquired great distinction as a minister and theological controversialist.

The denomination of Universalists has gradually increased in New Hampshire, as in other states of the Union. There are now in the state one convention, six associations, eighty-two societies, besides churches, sixty-six meeting-houses, owned wholly or in part by Universalists, and thirty-five ministers.

The doctrine which they preach is sometimes called “UNIVERSAL RESTORATION,” but more commonly Universalism; and places in a most attractive light the paternal character of the Deity. It is a doctrine of extended charity, infinite benevolence and boundless love. It teaches that the sorrows of man cease with his mortal career*—that pain may die and every wo may find an oblivion—but that joy and hope (in which fear is not mingled,) that life and love are immortal; that infinite goodness watches over the life and the des-

* Some of the Universalists, called “Restorationists,” believe in a limited punishment after death.

tiny of man; and that when the trials of a brief existence are past, the Deity will finally bring all men to a state of felicity, sublime in its nature, infinite in duration.

Such is the doctrine of Universalism. When first taught, it was violently assailed by many of the best men of every faith. By some it was not understood, and by others it was deemed hostile to morality and dangerous to the good order of society. Yet, in its progress and development, it does not appear to be distinguished by any of those practical evils which were apprehended from the efforts of the few followers by whom it was first propagated.

It was at this period that the scenery of New Hampshire began to attract increased attention, and travellers came in greater numbers to view those features which are peculiar to the mountains and lakes of this state.

Proceeding northward from Orford, where the intervals are narrow, the traveller enters a broad and fertile valley at Haverhill, which is spotted by villages, watered by abundant streams, and surrounded by picturesque hills, swelling into mountains along the eastern horizon, and rising to lofty heights at the south and west. The route to Moosehillock from Haverhill leads by Owl's Head, an abrupt mountain, which presents its bald and rugged face at the road side which winds along the Oliverian. The sombre green foliage of the black alder fringes this wild stream, mingled with the sprightlier leaves of the birch, maple and white ash, with here and there a willow or a slender mountain ash. From this stream a rude

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foot path has been cleared, which winds up the mountain's side. Your approach to the summit becomes visible by the diminished size of the trees, and by their naked, dead and gnarled aspect. They are pine, spruce and fir—the only one that retains its greenness is the mountain ash, which seems to flourish at an elevation where all others die. The mountain sorrel, which adorns the path with its delicate white bell, striped with red, appears to be the attendant of the trees, and ceases where they disappear. At last they sink to craggy dwarfs, and are destitute of foliage. Approaching the summit, the moss becomes thicker and thicker, until near where the trees disappear it covers the ground with a carpet of the brightest green. Emerging at last from a forest of small firs, the summit of the mountain rises before you, bearing no forest tree, but bare and seemingly composed of ledges and loose blocks of granite. The blueberry and harebell lie hid amid the cranies of the rocks, and the low and knotted vines of the mountain cranberry run over them, even upon the extreme summit; where also the same small and solitary white flower, which flourishes on mount Lafayette, springs up amidst the thick beds of moss. From the summit of this mountain, which is elevated four thousand six hundred and thirty-six feet above the level of the sea, far to the eastward a vast expanse of forest stretches away over hills thickly covered with hemlock and spruce, to the purple islands of lake Winnipiseogee, which is distinctly visible. Westward, the prospect is bounded by the rolling ranges of the Green mountains. Southward hills rise o'er hills, far as

the eye can see; and to the north, the Franconia mountains and the more majestic peaks of the White Hills rise and lose themselves in the clouds. The broad valley of the Connecticut is the charm of this landscape. Its numerous villages, its hundreds of farms and orchards, and all the tributary streams that swell the river, may be traced in their devious windings by the naked eye.

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Another and more charming view of this valley may be seen from Catamount Hill, which is a more moderate elevation one mile from Haverhill Corner. This view commands twenty miles of the valley, bounded by the green hills of Vermont and the parallel range of New Hampshire mountains, which seem to form the outer walls of this fine amphitheatre of nature.

A nearer view of the valley, and by many deemed more delightful, is afforded from the tops and the upper windows of the hotels at Haverhill Corner. This village is built on a noble swell or broad table of land, in the midst of the valley. The houses are neatly arranged on the four sides of the public square, which is a fine level green, ornamented with trees. The houses on the western side are built on the ridge of a declivity which leads quite down to the meadows which border the river. The height of this declivity, together with the height of the houses, raises the traveller to an elevation which enables him to overlook twelve miles of the valley, which lies immediately below him, and to view the meanders of the river throughout its whole extent. Nowhere else are the intervals so broad, nor is there any other spot where the river sweeps from side to side of

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the valley with such varied and graceful curves. Towards the north it is divided into two streams, which having encircled the Oxbow island unite again below it. Passing southward with a gently deviating course, now eastward, then westward, it receives the waters of the Oliverian and Wait's river, and having almost encircled the Piermont meadows, at the southern point of which it turns and seems to run back upon its course, it returns and passes southward through Orford and Hanover. When the freshets of spring have swelled the river to a flood, it overflows the banks, and what was a valley now seems a lake; but when mantled in summer green or covered with golden harvest, everything growing with rank luxuriance, the meadows present the appearance of a vast plantation shaded here and there by majestic trees and waving with the richest crops. When the frosts of autumn have given to the woods those varied hues which constitute the peculiar charm of American forest scenery, this valley presents a picture, of many miles in extent, where, in the many-colored woods, the red, yellow and russet brown are interspersed and blended in those rich and diverse shades, which, as they are never seen in Europe, are the wonder of European travellers. Another and different view is afforded from the summit of mount Pulaski, which rises on the Vermont side of the river, immediately behind the village of Newbury, and not far from the Sulphur springs, which make that town the frequent and delightful resort of travellers. The ascent up this little mountain is by a winding path of half a

mile, leading through rough pastures, which, in August, are fragrant with the sweet fern and adorned by the flowers of the beautiful harebell. Pursuing it upward, you enter the woods, from which you emerge suddenly upon the edge of a precipice, rising almost perpendicularly from the plain, on which stands the village of Newbury. The Oxbow, a green island, lies immediately before you, and in the distance Moosehillock, surrounded by a group of smaller mountains. A number of villages of the valley appear at intervals, and the course of the Connecticut is seen for several miles pursuing its devious channel, and occasionally washing the bases of the hills on either side.

Leaving the Connecticut at Haverhill, the traveller passes the wild rapids of the Ammonoosuck, and begins to leave behind him the abrupt cliffs on its banks. It is not, however, till he has ascended far up the eminences which divide the two rivers that the roar of that impetuous torrent ceases to be heard. But he has now arrived where the lands recede towards Lancaster, when, turning his face towards the south, he is presented with one of the most magnificent views of mountain scenery in the world. Westward stands Moosehillock, its dark brown rocks wound in a sheet of snow, which shrouds it from the base upward, and seems to blend with the clouds which float along or hang lodged upon the summit. Farther eastward are the Franconia mountains. Except their tops, they present, from their iron foundations upward, only the dark outline of an impenetrable evergreen forest. Further south extends a long range of moun-

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tains in Lincoln, but growing loftier in their progress, their dazzling heights at last overtop the lower Franconia mountains, and exhibit their bald peaks, brown with the hues of the rocks, and sloping downwards into a deep wilderness. Eastward is the great Haystack mountain, and still farther is the grand feature of these regions, the White Hills, which seem to prop the heavens, and strike the beholder with emotions of awe. In winter they appear like vast mounds of snow, drifted on high, peak over peak, to the skies. Westward a dense forest spreads itself, and lends the charm of its various coloring to the picture of grandeur which springs from the sublime structure of the mountains around. In winter these cold summits afford no variety, except in the shadows of the clouds, which throw fantastic figures moving in groups over the snows of the mountains. Sometimes, at night, the outline of these towering cliffs is dimly discernible by the light of the moon and stars; but they never present a more magnificent view than when the first rays of morning flash upon them, or the rays of the sun gild them at its setting. Descending from the heights of Bethlehem, a short ride, which completes the distance of forty-five miles from Haverhill, brings him to the hotel at the Notch.

Another route to the mountains is from Lancaster. Leaving Dalton, intervening hills hide them from the traveller, until he emerges upon the meadows around the village of Lancaster, at the mouth of Israel's river. This stream is fed by springs which ooze from beneath the White Hills. He approaches the mountains by ascending the river



through an avenue fenced in by hills of the wildest structure. Bows of the tamarac and spruce overhang the road. Pondicherry mountain stands on the right, and Pliny mountain walls up the left; both clad in deep green foliage to their utmost heights. Sometimes the heat of the sun in this region causes an evaporation, which gives them the appearance of being veiled in soft azure. This route from Lancaster is twenty-five miles, in a southeastern direction, and ends at "the Gothic battlements of the White Hills." Before arriving there, the traveller comes again upon the meadows of the wild Ammonoosuck, which winds westward. Over these level lands he passes to the Notch, and comes upon the source of the Saco, which first appears a gentle rill, that sends its current eastward down through that immense gap which seems to have been rent in the mountains by some dread convulsion of nature. At the entrance of this terrific chasm, a huge fragment, which has started from the precipice, impends towards the road, and seems ready to fall. Descending the river, the mountains in some places seem to close before you, and meet together. In other places their bare sides, scarred with avalanches, rise perpendicularly at first, then, receding, swell into rugged pinnacles, with projecting crags on either side, which nod over the bleak ridges beneath, threatening to burst from their gigantic mounds and crush the lower walls that surround them. The Saco has now swelled to a maddening torrent, and thunders down the chasm with a fierce roar and a wild echo. Over a cliff on one of the highest points of elevation, distinctly seen, bursts a cataract. In

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summer it is a beautiful cascade. But in spring it comes, apparently gushing from the rocks, leaps down, foaming whiter than the snow which swells it into fury, and, crossing the road under a light bridge, tumbles headlong into the Saco. After struggling through the mountains, the river issues, with a calm flow, upon the plain below; and scarcely can the country furnish a more pleasant vale than that which borders the slow-winding current of the Saco in the towns of Conway and Fryeburg. Brilliant crystals of quartz, of fine prismatic forms and a pure transparency, sometimes slightly tinged with purple, are washed into the tributary torrents, and are found amongst the rocks that border their banks.

Previous to the survey of Dr. Jackson, the scenery at the extreme north of the state was little known. Its striking features were observed by him, and are known, to a few persons who have since visited them, to be among the grandest exhibitions of nature in North America. Indian Stream is a small settlement near the falls at the outlet of Connecticut lake. It is the most northerly inhabited place in New Hampshire, and comprises, in the whole, a colony of three hundred and fifteen persons, scattered on the undulating shores of the lake. They are far removed from any other settlement, and for many years refused obedience to the laws of the state. Desiring none of the benefits of civil government, they claimed exemption from its burdens; and under a simple government of their own, they resisted the officers of the law, until they were visited by a military force and reduced to subjection. Their country borders

on the table-lands of Canada, and exhibits striking and peculiar features. In 1841, Dr. Jackson explored Camel's Rump mountain, at some distance from the village. It is supposed that none but the Indians had ever ascended it before. It was in the midst of a violent storm, and having pitched his tent, he remained there two days. The last being clear, and the barometer having risen apparently to its usual height, he found the proximate height of the mountain to be three thousand six hundred and fifteen feet above the level of the sea; which determined it to be one of the highest mountains in the state, next to the White mountain range. Its geological character he describes as peculiar. The specimens of rock which he found consisted of amorphous masses of hornstone, of various hues of color, from a light apple green to almost black. He found it covered with a low and tangled undergrowth, with stunted fir-balsams and spruce. The view from its summit is one of surpassing interest and grandeur. Northward stretches the lofty range of hills which divide the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence from those of the Magalloway and Connecticut; and beyond these the broad prairies or table-lands of Canada. Southward are seen Umbagog lake and the Diamond hills, with the numerous waters in their vicinity, and far beyond them the lofty heights of the White mountains. Westward are the lakes and tributary streams of the Connecticut, and along the horizon's verge, the Green mountains. Eastward the view is bounded by the granite peaks of Maine, mount Bigelow and mount Abraham. Through the mountains in the town of Dixville

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there is a narrow defile, which may be regarded as one of the most remarkable exhibitions of nature in the state, and is described by Dr. Jackson, as "perhaps surpassing even the famous Notch of the White mountains in picturesque grandeur."

Angular and precipitous rocks, rising hundreds of feet almost perpendicularly on either side, present in their rugged appearance a stronger resemblance to the rocks of the Alps than is found elsewhere in New England. Such are the natural features of this remote and but partially explored section of the state. A region so interesting cannot long remain unnoticed by those who visit the state to view its peculiar and sublime features; and it is not improbable that the time will soon come when the traveller, from the shores of Lake Winnipiseogee and the peaks of the White mountains, not content with the wonders of nature already seen, will pass Dixville Notch, and view the magnificent scenery of the Magalloway.

## ERRATA.

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- Page 21, 10th line from the top, for *an* read *and*.  
Page 116, 27th line, for *presented* read *prevented*.  
Page 137, 29th line, for *Penhollow* read *Penhallow*.  
Page 226, in the margin, for 1776 read 1766.  
Page 228, in the margin, for 1776 read 1770.  
Page 232, 18th line, for 19th read 18th.  
Page 232, 29th line, for *eighteenth* read *nineteenth*.  
Page 246, 16th line, for *mottoes* read *mottos*.  
Page 256, 6th line, for *Warren* read *Warner*.  
Page 336 25th line, for *illuison* read *illusion*.  
Page 339, 13th line, for *nine* read *eight*.  
Page 402, 31st line, omit §c.  
Page 441, 8th line, for *quoth* read *said*.  
Page 453, 2d line, for *Bows* read *Boughs*.

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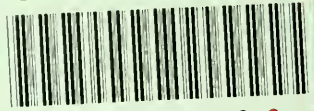








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