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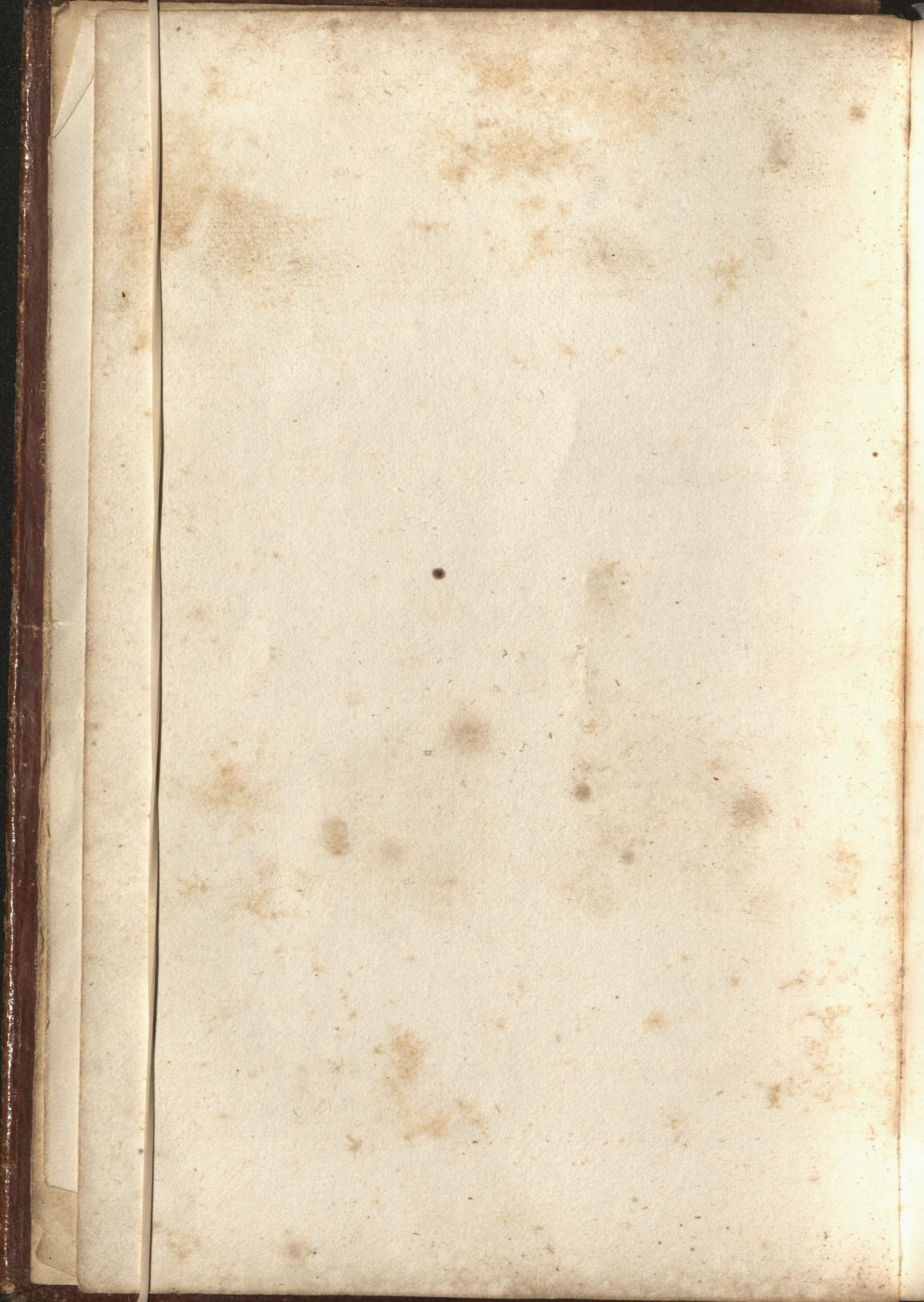
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ISRAEL PUTNAM.

NEW-YORK  
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VOL. VII.

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NEW YORK:  
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1849.

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VOL. VII.

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NEW YORK.

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS

FOR ALTON A. SMITH

1843

LIVES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS,

ISRAEL PUTNAM,

LUCRETIA MARIA DAVIDSON,

AND

DAVID RITTENHOUSE

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NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS.

FOR ALSTON MYGATT

1849.

LIVES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PITT

ESQ.

BY DAVID R. THORNTON

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DAVID R. THORNTON

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BY FRANCIS BOWEN.

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LIFE  
OF  
SIR WILLIAM PHIPS;

BY  
FRANCIS BOWEN

VOL. VII.

1

Editorial and Historical of the Treasury of  
Lancaster — General Committee of Public  
Safety — Board of Health and  
Relief.

SIX MONTHS

Editorial and Historical of the Treasury of  
Lancaster — General Committee of Public  
Safety — Board of Health and  
Relief.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS

FRANCIS TOWN

## PREFACE.

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COTTON MATHER wrote a life of Sir William Phips, which was first published in London in a separate form, and was afterwards included in the "Magnalia." He was intimately acquainted with the subject of his memoir; and the account would be entitled to full credit, did not his well-known credulity, and the partiality which he everywhere shows, throw some doubt on the more remarkable statements. In the following biographical sketch, his authority has been followed only for the early part of Sir William's life, since the account of his public career is wholly unsatisfactory.

Careful research has been made in the offices of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, though nothing was found that related to the early life or personal character of Phips, some facts were brought to light respecting the two military expeditions which he commanded.

The particulars respecting the capture of Port Royal were drawn from documents, which, with

one exception, have not before been published. In the account of the expedition against Quebec, I have relied on the authority of Walley, the second in command of the troops engaged, whose official relation was published in the appendix to Hutchin-son's "History of Massachusetts"; and on that of Major Savage, who commanded a portion of the army, and whose letter, containing a history of the expedition, may be found in the Collections of the Historical Society. Some statements were taken from the account given by Hontan, a French officer, who served under Frontenac in Quebec at the time of the assault. Hutchinson discredits the authority of this writer, but, as far as can be ascer- tained, without sufficient reason. He was an eye- witness of what he relates, and his narrative agrees in the main with the English accounts. In the history of the subsequent part of Sir William's life, I have followed Hutchinson.

# SIR WILLIAM PHIPS.

## CHAPTER I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“argosies with portly sail,  
The signiors and rich burghers of the flood.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besides the want of provisions, other considera-

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

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

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

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

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## CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The hostilities with the natives, besides the terror

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

The winter of 1690 was signalized by the capture of Schenectady in New York, and Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, the destruction of which places was accompanied by circumstances even of unusual atrocity; while the capture of Fort Pennington, in Maine, rendered the situation of the settlements in that quarter extremely dangerous. The kind of partisan warfare, which had before been practised against the savages, proved insufficient against the combined efforts of the French and Indians, the colonists were induced to attempt the capture of the places whence the enemy obtained their supplies. Port Royal, the capital of the French province of Acadia, was conveniently situated for carrying on intercourse with the Eastern Indians, and for affording a shelter to the privateers, which annoyed the English shipping, and, occasionally, the smaller settlements on the coast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Leisler, the acting governor of New York, en-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 7th, though the weather was tempestu-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Having fired away much of their powder against

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A commission was accordingly prepared under

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The commencement of Sir William's adminis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER V

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

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile the frontiers were suffering under

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

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

This attack upon Wells was the only considera-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

own popularity, by putting a negative on the election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another private quarrel of the governor occur-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the execution of these designs was suddenly

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

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

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

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

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

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